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THE resources and political condition of the Chinese Empire are at the present time subjects of much interest and of very serious importance; and the rapid extension of our respective commercial relations makes it expedient for us to examine with careful attention the capabilities and internal state of a nation with whose prosperity or decay we are becoming most intimately concerned.

In this article we purpose to confine our attention to that part of the empire known to Europeans under the name of China Proper, and to the Chinese as the Central Kingdom; for, although the possessions of the reigning Manchu dynasty embrace immense tracts of country in Central and Northern Asia, these have but very slight influence over the fortunes or condition of China, and we shall therefore dismiss from our consideration the lofty and barren table-lands of Tibet and the sandy wastes and deserts of Mongolia. Manchuria, as being the original seat of those Tartars who are now ruling the empire, has of late been brought into prominent notice; but, as far as the Chinese are concerned, it is only important because it affords an outlet for the superabundant population of the northern maritime provinces.

The geographical situation of China has had a special influence over the character and institutions of its inhabitants. The difficult

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cult and dangerous land journey across Turkistan and Tibet, and the long sea voyage by the Pacific or Indian Oceans, have hitherto tended to isolate and sever her from all European interests; and even during the most flourishing period of the Roman Empire in the East it was found advisable to neglect the land transit, and to make an island in the Indian Ocean midway between the two empires the common emporium for their respective commerce.

It has thus necessarily happened that the Chinese have been utterly indifferent to, and uninfluenced by, the revolutions of Western nations; and as they found in the wide extent and fertile soil of their own country ample provision for their wants, they had no motives to impel them to seek in other climates the productions so bountifully supplied by their own. In only one particular have the Chinese swerved from their system of self-centralisation, and it has been reserved for this race of materialists to afford the world the only instance of a people deliberately seeking, borrowing, and adopting the religion of an alien nation.*

The effect of this isolation upon the character and civilisation of the Chinese is precisely what will have been expected. Unaware of the progress of other nations, and therefore ignorant of those principles which caused that progress, they have been satisfied to accept their own laws and institutions as representing the perfection of human wisdom. Thus successive generations have laboured passively and contentedly in the groove traced out for them by their ancestors; and from the husbandman, who patiently ploughs his ground according to the instructions of antiquity, to the aspirant for office, who mechanically studies the precepts of Confucius, the whole nation have been for twenty-four centuries unalterable in their devotion to the maxims of their forefathers.

This almost slavish obedience to fixed rules of conduct has in a densely populated country like China some considerable advantages, and much facilitates the action of government. It has fortunately happened that their early legislators have provided the people with many excellent fiscal and penal laws, and Confucius and his first commentators have supplied some very meritorious maxims for the guidance of their moral natures.

* An emperor of the Han dynasty despatched ambassadors towards the West to discover the true religion, which was supposed to be practised somewhere in that direction. Upon their arrival in Northern India, the ambassadors found the people eagerly embracing the tenets of Fo; satisfied with what they observed, and probably glad of the opportunity of returning home, the Chinese retraced their steps, bringing back with them several priests to spread the new faith. It was in this manner that Buddhism was introduced into China (A.D. 66).

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Some great benefits and much internal prosperity have also been attained in consequence of those widely-spread systems of competitive examinations and patriarchal authority that lie at the root of all Chinese polity, and which have essentially aided in maintaining the integrity of the empire.

The Roman Catholic missionaries who, in the seventeenth century, undertook the survey of China, were astonished at the advanced civilised condition of the provinces, and in their letters they fell into the natural error of over-estimating the knowledge and capabilities of the people. At that time Europe was slowly recovering from the effects of long civil and desolating wars, and perhaps they were thus in some degree justified in considering China as being comparatively more highly civilised; but the remarkable extension of European education, and the numerous scientific discoveries of the two past centuries, have entirely reversed the respective positions, and China has for many years been comparatively stagnant and even retrogressive, and must therefore be prepared to have new vigour transfused into her veins by the gradual influence of European science and enterprise. It has been maintained with some apparent reason that the introduction of Western modes of thought and action will act fatally upon her existing institutions, and that the Chinese are destined to submit to the superior mental and physical power of foreigners. The frequent rebellions in the provinces, the encroachments of alien nations, the weakness of the Imperial Government, and, above all, the seeming absence of cohesion among the people, coincide with such a view. But it happens that progression, the main element hitherto wanting in Chinese civilisation, is becoming gradually but surely developed by this state of disorganisation. The late hostilities with England, the existence of a semi-religious civil war mainly created by the presence and teaching of foreign missionaries, the circumstance of consuls and merchants living and trading with perfect freedom and impunity in the heart of the country—these and other events have at last directed the attention of these long-isolated, self-reliant people to the true power of their foreign visitors, and have awakened their minds to a sense of their own weakness and deficiencies.

The Chinese are, as a nation, gifted with a keen perception of whatever affects their own interests, and their Asiatic cunning teaches them to make the best use of the opportunities given for accumulating wealth or gaining power; they have also remarkable capabilities for labour and endurance; and whenever they discover that it would be to their advantage to adopt foreign improvements, it is certain that they will not forego any means of

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obtaining them; and when once the Spirit of Progress begins to make its way into their country, the Anglo-Saxon will find that he will have a hard race to run to gain pre-eminence. There is, perhaps, no institution so utterly opposed to the progress of an Eastern nation as that of caste, and this has no existence in any portion of the empire. The people, therefore, unrepressed by any sense of personal degradation, and being also intensely clannish in all their social relations, are peculiarly devoted to their own soil. They are also fair agriculturists, and most ingenious, patient mechanics, and possess that cheerful, laborious disposition so necessary for the welfare of an over-populated country. China Proper contains within itself many physical advantages: the rivers are numerous, and many of them are navigable for a more than usual proportion of their length; the water-communication by the means of canals is very extensive; the mountainous country towards the West is rich with mineral wealth, and, when required, coal can be obtained in great quantities in the North-Western and Central provinces. She also possesses a great extent of seaboard singularly free from outlying rocks or shoals, and containing several useful, well-sheltered harbours.

It must not, however, be supposed that China is a very wealthy nation, or that the land is in any extraordinary degree productive. Much misapprehension upon these subjects has arisen from the remarks of travellers who have only visited those fertile districts bordering upon the sea-coast, and who, judging from what they had personally observed, have been led to form exaggerated estimates of the revenue and population of the whole empire. It has happened that the provinces from which have been gathered the principal items of information are those of Che-kiang and Kiang-su, which respectively contain the well-known treaty ports Ningpo and Shanghae. How erroneous must be all general estimates based upon these two provinces will be at once seen by examining the provincial revenue and population returns, where we find that Che-kiang and Kiang-su, although only equal in extent to one-fourteenth of the area of the provincial empire, yet yield above one-fifth of the whole revenue, and support one-sixth of the population.

The physical geography of a country containing the enormous area of 1,300,000 square miles, and embracing the parallels of 20° and 40° N. latitude and meridians of 101° and 122° of E. longitude, is necessarily very varied; but investigations into this subject are much simplified by regarding China Proper as consisting of three distinct physical divisions—the Mountainous country, the Hill country, and the Great Plain. Upon

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Upon examination of a map of China, it will be found that by tracing from south to north the line which indicates the 110th degree of E. longitude, the empire will have been divided into two almost exactly equal parts, each containing an area of above 600,000 square miles. All the country west of the line thus traced is mountainous and thinly populated; eastward of this line the land slopes towards the sea, and embraces the fertile and densely inhabited provinces containing the Plain and Hill country. Nothing so clearly points out the marked difference existing in the respective producing power of Western and Eastern China as the Government returns of the provincial population and revenue for the year 1847, in which we find that out of a total population of 368 millions the western division above indicated only supports about 65 millions; and with respect to revenue the disproportion is still greater, for the amount sent to the Imperial and Provincial treasuries from the eastern division exceeds above seven-fold that of the western. This excessive disparity in the relative conditions of the empire, and the consequent dependence upon the resources of the seaboard provinces, have a most detrimental influence upon the general welfare of the nation.

The Plain occupies the greater part of North-Eastern China, and, beginning near the Great Wall, it extends southward to the banks of the Yang-tze-kiang, varying in breadth between 150 and 400 miles, the whole surface being approximately estimated to equal 210,000 square miles. That portion lying in the province of Chihle, and which supplies the more immediate wants of Pekin, is dry and sandy, and produces in considerable abundance wheat, millet, and vegetables. The Plain as it widens towards the south becomes well-watered by the numerous rivers and lakes in Kiang-su and Ngan-hui, and furnishes in a most extraordinary degree quantities of grain, tobacco, cotton, and tea; its most productive portion lies in the maritime province of Kiang-su, and has the advantage of being drained by the Grand Canal. This part of the Plain is especially remarkable for the excessive population that it contains, and, incredible as it may appear, there is unquestionable proof that each square mile in Kiang-su supports not less than 800 human lives. The physical character of the Plain varies in each of the provinces of which it consists; in Shantung its level is considerably above that of the sea, and its surface is undulating; as it approaches the coast it becomes low and sometimes swampy; near its southern limits in Ngan-hui and Hoo-peh it again becomes undulating and dry, with the exception of that part adjacent to the Yang-tze, which is subject to the annual overflow of

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of that river. The Great Plain is more productive and more densely inhabited than any other equally extensive portion of the known world, and to it China is indebted for nearly one half of her population, and more than one half of her wealth.

The hilly country may be loosely defined as consisting of that part of China south of the Yang-tze-kiang situated between the 110th degree of E. longitude and the sea; the slopes of the hills produce the tea-plant, the valleys and the rich soil near the mouths of the southern rivers yield large crops of rice, and the borders of the canals and inland streams are plentifully lined with mulberry-trees in the silk districts, and with fruit-trees in the provinces near the tropic. The whole of this part of the empire is amply supplied with water communication; and thus, although the swampy nature of the rice districts, together with other local causes, have hitherto prevented the construction of roads sufficiently broad for wheeled traffic, yet, thanks to the existing network of canals and rivers, there is no absence of good and moderately rapid means of transport.

The mountainous country consists of the entire inland half of the empire, and has for its western boundaries the lofty and sterile table-lands of Tibet and the sand wastes of Mongolia. Long ranges of mountains running in parallel lines from south to north are the principal physical features of this infertile country. The inhabitants are generally poor, and often subject to much privation and want; rice, their chief article of food, is for the most part imported from the productive provinces near the sea, and when this supply fails, which from causes out of control is too frequently the case, they suffer much from severe and widely-spread famine. The Roman Catholic missionaries resident in these provinces describe most vividly the miseries of the labouring population among whom they live. In Sz-chuen, a vast province containing an area equal to nearly four times that of England, we hear of mothers selling their children into slavery, of whole families starved to death, and of thousands subsisting for months upon little else than such nourishment as could be derived from the unnatural combination of a few grains of rice with roots and common earth. Shut off by Tibet from all resources on their western frontier, the natives of Sz-chuen have to trust entirely to what their own stubborn soil will produce, and to such imports as they can obtain from their neighbours to the eastward, and these imports are often thinned by the inundations of the Yang-tze-kiang and Hoang-ho, or by those desolating insurrections to which the whole empire has, of late, been so constantly subjected.

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The industry of the scattered population of the western provinces is chiefly directed to the extraction of those mineral and metallic ores which form the principal wealth of this part of China, the most important being coal, iron, copper, gold, and silver.

The coal that mainly supplies the south is chiefly found in Sz-chuen. The Yang-tze in its course through this province cuts through a succession of cross ranges of hills extending in a direction almost due north and south at right angles to the river. In the gorges thus formed narrow horizontal seams of coal, averaging from three to five feet in thickness, are laid bare upon the face of the slopes. The men employed in excavating these seams do not work to any great depth, and are usually content with the large lumps extracted near the surface. This coal has been found to be of an inferior kind, and ill-adapted for the purposes of steam-vessels. Coal is also obtained, but not to any great extent, in the central provinces of Kiang-si and Hoo-nan, but, being almost exclusively bituminous, its use is chiefly confined to the supply of the distilleries of sam-shu, a strong yellow spirit extracted from rice, of which there is a great consumption throughout China. Hankow, the great centre of the native inland trade, and from its position necessarily a most important commercial city, receives from the coal districts moderate cargoes of coal, which are subsequently distributed amongst the towns and villages lying adjacent to the Yang-tze or its tributaries, and it is from Hankow that the foreign steamers trading on the river usually obtain their supplies. The engineers of these steamers state that the Chinese coal is, with the tubular boilers now in general use, apt to choke the tubes; that it gives out great quantities of thick black smoke; and that it is very rapidly consumed: and these objections are not met by any sufficiently compensating advantages in respect of economy, for it is not a little remarkable, considering the cheapness of labour, that the price of this native coal averages twenty-six shillings per ton.

In the north a coarse kind of anthracite is obtained from Shansi, and is much used in the factories and foundries of that province: small quantities of this coal are also sent to Tientsin and the south. The total amount at present raised in these northern districts, although greater than that obtained in Sz-chuen and Hoo-nan, is still very inconsiderable, not exceeding upon the average half a million of tons annually; but there is good reason for believing that it will be from Shansi that the best coal will eventually be obtained; and as the inhabitants are accustomed to the working of mines and casting of metals, it is probable

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probable that this province will be pre-eminent, not only for the quality of its coal, but also for its quantity.

The most observable particular relative to the use of coal in China is the insignificant quantity consumed by the people. It has been estimated from reliable data that this consumption does not annually exceed nine hundred thousand tons, and this estimate includes what is used in the foundries and distilleries. Great Britain, with less than one-twelfth the population, exceeds China in her expenditure of coal in the proportion of seventy-five to one.

In their households, both in the North and South, the Chinese rarely use fire except for the preparation of boiling water for their tea, or for the cooking of the necessary meals, and for these purposes a portable earthenware brazier and a little charcoal are found sufficient. The explanation of the slight consumption of coal lies in the simple fact, that to the majority of the people that kind of fuel is all but unknown. In the agricultural districts the farmers make considerable use of their refuse roots and stalks, and at some of the Northern markets compositions of coal-dust and earthy substance, made into small square blocks, are exposed for sale and find purchasers among the village poor; but, in a general sense, the fuel almost exclusively burnt throughout China is charcoal.

Considering the violent changes of temperature to which their country is peculiarly subject, it is strange that the Chinese have not adopted some satisfactory method of heating their houses. Whether in the cold North or burning South, they build precisely upon the same plan, and utterly ignore the use of chimneys and open fire-places. Some of the houses in Shantung and Chihle have in the principal sleeping apartments a narrow brick-casing, inside which is burnt a small wood fire, the upper part of the casing serving the purpose of a bed-place; but, as a rule, the people are content to overcome the cold of winter by the unhealthy but economical plan of excluding the fresh air, and by wearing thickly padded clothing. Thus, so far as the Chinese themselves are concerned, it is not probable that any large increase in their present consumption of coal would be likely to take place; but, now that foreign steamers carry cargoes upon their principal rivers, they will soon discover that the native coal is likely to become valuable as an article of commerce. This fact, when clearly ascertained, will urge the inhabitants of the coal districts to devote more labour to their work, and, when aided by the mechanical knowledge of the West, we may expect to find them supply sufficient to meet the requirements of the vessels trading on the China Sea. As the seams become more deeply worked

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worked the coal will be of a better quality than what is now produced, and will give engineers and stokers less cause for complaint.

In Shansi, the province that supplies the best coal, is also found the purest iron-ore. The methods commonly adopted by the Chinese for the production of cast and malleable iron, although in some respects imperfect, evince a considerable degree of skill. The rough ore is usually found in nodules, near the surface of the ground; these, after being roughly cleaned of all earthy substance, are thrown into small furnaces capable of containing about a ton; with the ore is mixed either charcoal or common pit coal in its ordinary state, and not, as in England, transformed into coke. The iron when melted is run out into moulds of sand, and left to cool. The principal objects cast are cinerary urns, braziers, incense-vases, idols for the Buddhist temples, large cooking pans, and bells, together with quantities of grotesque and intricate castings useful for garden or household ornaments. Guns of all sizes below forty-two pounders are also cast, but with less correctness and less finish than should be expected, considering the length of time that has elapsed since the art of gun-casting was introduced into the empire. To obtain malleable iron the workmen dig in the ground near the furnaces a circular space from four to six inches deep, and several feet in diameter. Round this space is built a wall about two feet high. The iron flows from the furnace into this reservoir, and is there allowed to rest for several minutes; men then station themselves on the wall, and with thick poles rapidly stir the molten matter at their feet for such time as experience has taught them is necessary. As the iron cools, some of the workmen separate it into small rectangular blocks, others work it into short round bars. The blocks and bars are then piled up, and eventually sent away for sale to all parts of the country, but chiefly to Tientsin and Hankow.

In the manufacture of their gun-barrels the Chinese have of late largely employed English bar-iron, which they find to be much more malleable than their own, and in consequence of this fact the importation of foreign iron has within the last few years considerably increased. The state of the native iron-trade is not, however, such as to give cause for the opinion that the import of foreign iron will continue to increase, as it is found that for all purposes of ordinary workmanship and all agricultural and farm implements the Chinese iron meets all the requirements of the people. In its rough state they purchase it at the moderate rate of about nine shillings per cwt., and, owing to the numbers and skill of the travelling blacksmiths, the necessary tools are obtained

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obtained at a very small cost. The total amount of iron used is, as compared with what is used by European nations, very insignificant, for the Chinese do not employ it except where absolutely necessary; and thus it is not surprising that such small quantities are found stored in the principal cities. The introduction of foreign iron is chiefly dependent upon the use of firearms, and its demand will for many years be proportional to this want; but whenever the Chinese are enabled to produce wrought iron of equal quality and cheapness, they will return to their constant rule of trusting as far as possible to their own native resources.

With regard to the relative importance of the precious metals, silver, in virtue of its general use as a medium of exchange, holds the first rank. It is principally obtained from some mines in the province of Yunnan, near the borders of Cochin China; there are also said to be extensive Government mines in Shansi and Shantung, but our information with respect to them is at present incomplete, and we have no data from which it is possible to estimate the amount extracted. It is evident, however, judging from the quantity used and exported, that the mines both in the north and south are rich and extensively worked. Silver is brought into the market in variously sized ingots, which from their shape have been called shoes. These ingots represent certain fixed weights in Taels, and are stamped, as a guarantee for their purity, with the names of the chief workmen and bankers, and also the district from which they are sent, and the year in which they are cast.* This Sycee silver, so called from the combination of two Chinese words denoting fineness, is sold by weight, and in all transactions of importance is almost invariably employed for the purpose of exchange. The indemnities for the late wars have been paid in this form, and it is in Sycee also that all the taxes in money are collected, and forwarded to the provincial or imperial treasuries.

In those commercial ports now open to trade the ordinary coinage employed in the transactions with foreigners are Spanish and Mexican dollars. These, however, as they change their owners, decrease rapidly in value, in consequence of the Chinese custom of stamping on them the name of the last possessor or some other mark to prove their purity, by which process the coin in the course of time becomes flattened, and a certain quantity of the silver is lost. Eventually, when the original Spanish or Mexican stamps become effaced, and the dollars are no

* The Tael is a Chinese measure of weight, which in silver is equal in value to about six shillings and twopence sterling. The shoes vary in weight from five to fifty taels.

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longer recognisable, they are broken and sold by weight to the money-changers, and subsequently melted down into bullion. Dollars are almost entirely unknown among the inhabitants of the towns and villages in the interior, whose only currency consists either of copper cash, or pieces of pure silver valued according to weight.

Gold is obtained from Yunnan and Shansi, but not to any great extent. The streams in the first-named province and in Sz-chuen carry with them, in their rapid course from their sources in the mountains of Tibet, grains of gold in sufficient quantities to repay the labour of the gold-seekers living near their banks. The most important of these streams is the 'Kincha-kiang,' or 'Golden-sanded river.' The Kincha takes its rise among the southern slopes of the Northern Tibetan range, and its course through Yunnan and Sz-chuen deposits such a considerable number of grains that a large proportion of the labour in the western portions of these provinces is devoted to the searching of its sand-flats and rocky crevices. The Kincha after receiving several tributaries changes its character and name, and before leaving Sz-chuen becomes the well-known river Yang-tze.

Gold is not employed in any form in the currency of the empire, and its use is chiefly confined to ornamental purposes. In many of the richer Buddhist temples there are a few gold images and grotesque figures, and at the Yuen-min-yuen Palace there were found several ornaments made from a native gold of great purity. Among the mass of the people, especially in the interior, this metal is almost unknown. The Australian and Californian emigrants are, however, beginning to create a change in this respect; and we hear that small ingots from two to three inches long, and containing about ninety-five per cent. of pure gold, are being sent down for export from the North-Western provinces.

The only coin that is universally current and well understood by all classes is the small circular copper piece called tsien, better known by foreigners by the general term cash. A considerable proportion of the copper found in Yunnan and Kwangsi is employed in the provincial mints for the purpose of casting this money. The cash are stamped with the title of the dynasty and the name of the reigning emperor, and are theoretically supposed to be pure metal; but they are invariably so much debased by the admixture of iron filings and sand that they practically lose one-third of their proper value. The Chinese in their currency adopt the decimal system. Each cash has in the centre a small square hole, through which are run strings. Ten cash thus strung together represent one candareen; ten candareens are called one mace;

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mace; and ten mace are supposed to represent the value of one tael of silver. At present, however, the cash have become so much depreciated that fifteen and even sixteen mace are usually demanded as an equivalent for the tael. Amongst a people so singularly constituted some great advantages are derived from the general use of a coin of such slight value as the cash. In European markets it would not be easy to find any equivalents for the fifth of a farthing; but in China, where everything is sold by weight—where pork, fish, and other necessaries are cut up in fragments according to the demand—there cannot be any coin so small that would not find its corresponding value in kind; and thus the labourer or mechanic goes to market with his string of cash, and is enabled to purchase his exact modicum of rice, his little ration of vegetables, the handful of ground-nuts, and, perhaps, a square inch of fish or pork, and returns home to enjoy a varied and nutritious meal at the smallest possible cost. . The use of the cash is also of especial advantage among the crowded and under-paid working classes in the cities, as it enables them to buy precisely and exactly what they require, even to a single nail. It also fixes at a low sum the price of porterage and water transit. Next to coinage, copper is chiefly employed for the purpose of manufacturing gongs, bells, and ornamental figures or vases; it is also much used in making those tripod urns in which are kept the ashes of the incense-sticks consumed in the pagodas and temples.

Considering the well-known energy of the people, their aptitude for labour, and the presumed mineral and metallic wealth of the empire, the results obtained from the working of the mines fall much below what might have been reasonably expected; and it is remarkable that the Government are contented to receive, as the annual product of the taxation of the whole of the mines, the comparatively small sum of 700,000*l.* sterling.

The Chinese have, perhaps, made less advance in the various arts of working and casting metals than in any other branch of industry; they nevertheless deserve even in these respects more credit than is usually given to them. At the Taku and other forts bordering on the Pei-ho there were found, placed in battery, many most accurately cast brass guns, averaging in weight from nine to eleven tons, or more than double that of the Armstrong 100-pounder. These guns evidenced most careful work; and although of great length, they exhibited no flaws, and were free from all irregularities of surface. Their projectiles, however, are not equal to the guns, for they have hitherto failed in their attempts to cast perfectly spherical shot, and thus the practice at long ranges is always necessarily indifferent.

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At the close of the last China war it was curious to observe how rapidly the workmen in the north had taken advantage of the knowledge they had obtained from the possession of the military stores belonging to the gunboats sunk in the Pei-ho in 1859; the manner in which they had imitated our metal shell-fuzes, canister-shot, and other *matériel*, proved no slight degree of skill and ingenuity. The most remarkable specimens of workmanship, however, which that war produced were the large iron stakes which barred the progress of the gunboats in 1860. These were not only models of industry and strength, but were also admirably adapted to the purpose for which they were constructed. In proportion with their increasing acquaintance with foreign appliances for war, the Chinese will unquestionably improve upon their present methods for attack and defence, but it is not likely that they will ever attain to any great military skill; the genius of the nation is essentially unwarlike, and must always find its best development in the peaceful operations of commerce and agriculture.

In that section of the book of ritual laws which treats of the order of precedence, the honourable position assigned to farmers and field-labourers is a signal instance of the high degree of importance which successive governments have attached to the profession of agriculture. After classing the nation under the four principal heads of Literati, Agriculturists, Artisans, and Merchants, the Tchou-li proceeds to enumerate the nine relative ranks of the working classes. Amongst these the first place of honour is given to the 'cultivators of those grains that support human life;' next in precedence are the 'gardeners who raise leguminous plants and rear fruit-trees;' the remaining seven classes succeed in the following order—wood-cutters, herdsmen, artisans, shopkeepers and traders, legitimate wives, domestic servants; and ninthly and lastly, all those individuals without fixed professions who wait for hire.

In a country so subject to sudden famines and destructive inundations, and in which the population closely presses upon the production, it can be readily understood how much the attention of the government must be directed to the state of agriculture, and in China this attention is the more necessary, because a famine in any distant province is almost invariably followed by a revolt; and unless the misery that causes the local insurrection is promptly relieved either by the supply of grain from an adjoining province, the remission of the land-tax, or some other immediate remedy, the disaffection spreads, the insurgents are joined by those lawless bands of discharged soldiery who are always ready to join any leader who will give them a chance for plunder, and at

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at last, unless strong and rapid measures are adopted to prevent it, the local insurrection becomes a very serious and wide-spread rebellion.

The comparatively advanced condition of Chinese farming is mainly due to the laws which regulate the tenure and disposal of landed property. These laws, although modified by the extension of the empire and its increased population, retain much that reminds us that the Chinese were originally an unsettled nomadic race, accustomed to group themselves into independent families or clans, each subject to its own patriarch. Two thousand years have elapsed since China was united, as at present, under one head, and during that period many rebellious and dynastic revolutions have taken place; but fortunately the fiscal and territorial laws have practically remained almost unchanged, and the social condition of the working classes has not been subjected to unpopular innovations.

The nation, as now constituted, consists of a number of distinct clans, each possessing tracts of land, more or less extensive, according to their respective wealth and strength. In some instances the property thus held comprehends several villages, with a considerable quantity of land, and in others the property resolves itself into a simple hamlet, with a few adjoining fields. The number of persons belonging to a clan varies from two or three hundred to several thousands, all of whom are in some degree related, and retain the common surname. Land is held as freehold, subject to an annual tax amounting to about one-tenth of the value of the produce, the government reserving to themselves the power of expelling any proprietor who fails in paying this tax, and of giving his land into other hands: this power is, however, rarely exercised except under extraordinary circumstances. The patriarchal character of all Chinese polity is especially observable in all questions relating to the tenure of land; the most careful attention is paid to the rights of proprietors, and every facility is given to enable them to retain possession of their ground. The district magistrates have stringent orders not to disturb, if possible, such owners as have dwelt upon their land for two or more generations, and on no account whatever are the new occupiers allowed to remove or till the ground within a certain distance from the graves of the families of their predecessors.

There being no law of primogeniture, the paternal estate descends to the sons, amongst whom it is either equally divided or made subject to such arrangement as may best meet the requirements of the family. The eldest son is held, in a great degree, responsible to the magistrates for the proper cultivation of the land, and therefore always holds a certain influence over the actions

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actions of his brothers. In no case are daughters permitted to inherit: the law strictly prohibits women from succeeding to property of any description, and the provision for their maintenance is left entirely to the discretion of their male relatives.

With regard to deeds of sale the law is very simple, and places no difficulties in the way of ordinary transfer: there exists, however, an understood custom, which, from its universal practice, has taken the character of law, that prevents an owner from selling his land to any but such as belong to his own clan. The regulations affecting mortgages are more stringent: a mortgagee, before his mortgage is valid, must take possession of the land, cultivate it, and pay the customary taxes; the original holder is also given every assistance to enable him to redeem his land. As a general rule, whatever may be the changes caused by individual poverty or crime, the villages with the dependent fields are occupied by their respective clans or families, whose members support each other in all cases of distress, and consequently the owners of the soil are bound to their property by the strongest ties of interest and affection.

The system of small tenures, although open to some objections with respect to the general agricultural interests of the empire, has the advantage of making each proprietor exercise his utmost ability in developing the full capacity of his ground, and thus, notwithstanding many local disadvantages, the Chinese are enabled to obtain from their land most satisfactory results.

In the rice districts of the South the farmers always produce two good crops annually, and it is not unusual for the fields lying adjacent to the rivers to yield five crops in two years—a most important result, as it is upon the regular and sufficient supply of rice that entirely depends the well-being of the whole population.

Rice requires an abundant supply of water, and the farmers, therefore, employ every available means to secure for their fields a free and ample irrigation. The principal rice-producing districts are in the South-Eastern provinces, where the moist clay soil of the valleys, helped by the quickening rays of an almost tropical sun, yields most luxuriant harvests.

The fields are prepared for the first crop in the early spring; they are then well flooded, and afterwards carefully ploughed. The seeds, after being soaked, are thickly sown in small adjacent patches of ground, which have been previously enriched with liquid manure: when the young shoots reach a height of five or six inches, they are dug up from their bed and transplanted in rectangular rows, nine or ten inches apart, into the fields already prepared for their reception. The labourers employed upon this

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this duty, whether men or women, are generally very dexterous and work with remarkable rapidity, six persons being able, on an average, to plant two acres in a day.

Owing to the heavy rains of April and the hot June sun, the rice ripens quickly, and is ready for cutting towards the end of the latter month. In May the farmers prepare for the second crop by planting, as before, thick rows of seeds in well-manured patches; and as soon as the first harvest is gathered in, the fields are again flooded and ploughed, the shoots are transplanted, and the second crop is ripe early in November. In the Central and North-Eastern provinces the sudden changes of temperature and the shortness of summer are unfavourable to the growth of rice, and the harvest is frequently insufficient to meet the requirements of the people. North of the Yang-tze-kiang only one crop is grown in the year, and this is usually sown in May or June and reaped in October.

The terrace cultivation, in which the Chinese farmers have developed their greatest skill, and of which many inconsistent accounts have been written, is simply a laborious method of utilising the ground on the hill slopes, and is principally confined to the over-populated country within one hundred miles of the coast. These slopes are planted with rice, sweet potatoes, and other vegetables; and, to prevent the rains washing away the earth and manure, flat terraces are made, one above the other, having their edges generally protected by low rough walls. Rice, because demanding much water, is grown upon the lower terraces; and to get sufficient irrigation small rivulets are diverted from some brook or spring flowing from a higher level and are conducted into the highest terrace, and from thence, having performed its work, the water is allowed to flow into the terrace below, and so on to the base. Wherever the means of water-supply are not sufficient to allow of this system being followed, the Chinese are most ingenious in their methods for remedying the defect, and their common field-pump for raising water from one level to another is so simple and efficient, that it has been adopted as the model for the chain-pumps at present universally used in our ships and dockyards.

The toil undergone in producing rice is excessively severe: during the planting and ploughing season the labourer has to wade all day under a burning sun through a deep yielding clay soil covered with several inches of stagnant water. The wages, however, in some measure repay the labour; he receives daily a sum of money equal to about fourpence-halfpenny, together with a fixed ration of rice of an equal value. This scale of wages, amounting to above five shillings per week, must be considered

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sidered high in a country where labour is so cheap, and where the best rice-growing land is let for so moderate an annual rent as twenty-one or twenty-five shillings per acre. The average produce is estimated at nearly 3300 lbs. an acre, and the price of the grain, although dependent upon the Northern demand, is, as a rule, about eighteen shillings a cwt.

Some approximate notion of the enormous amount of rice consumed in China will be obtained upon recollecting that it forms the principal article of food in every household throughout the empire, and that its transport to the north and west is by far the most important element of the native junk trade. The due execution of that law which requires that a portion of rice equal to about one-tenth of the produce should be set aside and forwarded as a tax in kind to the provincial and imperial granaries, alone demands considerable water carriage, as is fully shown by the crowds of well-laden junks that annually proceed northward with the imperial grain; but in addition to this necessary transport the desire of gain, especially in times of distress, impels the southern farmers to embark large cargoes on speculation, and forward them to those districts where want forces the inhabitants to pay exorbitant prices.

The Government give their gravest consideration to all subjects relating to the cultivation and shipment of rice; every possible care is taken to ensure that the water communication is kept open, and that nothing should interfere with the due shipping or storing of the grain. That portion reserved in the granaries of the provincial capitals is intended to meet any exceptional local wants, and to supply the poor and blind; it is also applied, if required, to augment the deficient resources of such adjacent provinces as may be suffering from famine.

The rice harvest is, in fact, the most momentous question with which the Emperor and his officials have to deal, for upon its abundance or failure depends, not only the welfare of the people, but also in a great measure the existence of the Government. In China everything yields to the imperious necessity for providing food for an overwhelming population, and therefore more attention is paid to the culture of the various grains, such as rice or wheat (the latter of which is chiefly produced in the north-eastern part of the plain), than to any other branch of agriculture. Next in order, however, to this necessary food, the minds of the landowners are directed to the remunerative growth of the cotton and tea plants, and also, in a less degree, to the cultivation of the mulberry-tree.

Cotton is grown in all the central provinces, but principally in

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Che-kiang and Kiang-su. There are two kinds, the white and the yellow, and it is from the latter that is produced the strong and durable material which has by foreigners been called Nankin cloth, and from which, when dyed blue, is made the ordinary dress worn by all the labouring classes. According to the accounts of native historians it appears that cotton was not cultivated until the thirteenth century; and that, although it was brought into the empire as an article of tribute, the Chinese did not begin to plant the seeds or manufacture the material until the close of the Sung dynasty, A.D. 1281. Partly owing to the exceeding fertility of the soil, and also to its advantageous position near the banks of navigable rivers, the country surrounding Shanghae is famous both for the quality and the quantity of the cotton that it produces. The seeds are planted early in April, shortly before the celebration of the Feast of Tombs, the land having been previously prepared by thorough ploughing and manuring. The seeds are carried by the sowers in baskets, and scattered broadcast over the ground, and either simply trodden in or covered over with handfuls of earth, and rolled with a heavy wooden roller. The rains which fall at this time of the year and the succeeding hot summer cause vegetation to proceed with great vigour; the shoots spring up rapidly, and the plants begin to flower early in August. In the autumn, as the pods begin to burst, the pickers go into the fields and gather the cotton; for which work—the stature of the plant being low, not averaging above two feet high—children are found to be best adapted.

In the beautiful valleys of the Che-kiang province and in the Chusan archipelago this cotton-gathering presents an interesting and instructive instance of the peculiarly patriarchal character of the agriculturists. The farms are invariably small, and are worked by the proprietors and their immediate families. In the warm September evenings the elders go out into their fields to watch the little children at work; and among these elders are usually to be found the old gray-haired grandfathers, who have taken part in or watched over many similar gatherings, and have seen stored in the adjoining barns the produce of some threescore or fourscore years. The children work with that zeal which is consequent upon the knowledge of a personal interest in the result, and the crop is quickly gathered. In their haste open pods are frequently overlooked, a circumstance of which the native writer of an essay upon cotton cultivation condescends to remind them. 'Look back,' he writes somewhat poetically, 'Look back on the part which you have left, and you will find that more pods have opened; you will discover white pods on the part over which your

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your feet have travelled.' The cotton when brought into the farm-yard is spread upon reed hurdles and thoroughly dried. It is then separated from the seeds, and when perfectly freed, or,* as it is termed, cleaned, a portion is placed aside for family use, and the remainder is put into large sacks, and sent for sale to the nearest town, where the merchants store it in warehouses, and supply the general demand. In each of the homesteads scattered over the cotton districts is contained all the various machinery required for converting raw cotton into cloth; and it is, perhaps, in China alone that it happens that the farmers make their garments from the produce of their own land. When the crop is gathered, all the family, especially the women and young girls, set to work carding, spinning, and weaving; and from their home-spun material they make strong working clothes, well fitted for the purposes of labour. By thus manufacturing his own cloth the thrifty farmer is enabled to employ his whole household usefully and economically throughout the year. During the season between October and April the men and boys are employed in ploughing, manuring, and preparing the land for a fresh crop, or, as is very usual, in sowing an intermediate crop of wheat or other useful grain; and during the same period the women are working hard in the house at their spinning-wheels, and producing, not only sufficient cloth for their own families, but also such a surplus as will go far to supply the wants of their non-cotton-growing neighbours.

The same system of small tenures and individual farming that we have observed in the cultivation of cotton is also pursued in the tea districts. Each farmer grows on his narrow patch of hill-side ground some few scores of tea-shrubs, whose leaves he either picks and cures for home use, or picks and sells to his more commercially disposed neighbours. The regular tea-merchants who supply the home and foreign markets, generally obtain their tea through local agents, who go into the villages and farm-houses and buy up the surplus produce of each proprietor.

It appears that the tea-plant was not known in China until about the fourth century, and that tea was not introduced into general use before the early part of the ninth, when the Government strongly recommended the infusion of the leaf with boiling water, as a means of preventing the numerous diseases which were created by the excessively bad quality of the unmixed water ordinarily drunk. From then up to the present time tea (if we except the occasional use of the spirit distilled from rice) is the

* Che-kiang cotton yields from seven to nine pounds in twenty: near Shanghae and Soo-chow the proportion is a little more favourable.

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only beverage drunk in all households throughout the empire; and to such an extent has this exclusive use of tea reached, that common cold water is a liquid from which every well-conditioned Chinaman shrinks with the utmost repugnance.

The tea-plant is cultivated more or less in all the central and Eastern provinces, but the principal tea-growing districts are in the maritime provinces of Fokien, Che-kiang, and Kiang-su, and on the western hills of Kwangtung.

The farmers put the seeds into the ground in the early spring, and first distribute them thickly in small beds, where they remain for nine or twelve months, until the shrubs have reached about the height of an English foot; they are then transplanted and placed in rows three or four feet apart. It sometimes happens that the farmer sows the seed at the proper distances, and allows the shrub to grow and remain in its place, without undergoing the transplanting process: but this plan is not usual.

The shrubs produce young leaves fit for gathering when between two and three years old, arrive at their full size when six or seven years old, and, if treated with care, continue to yield tea-leaves for ten or fifteen years; they are then dug up and destroyed, and their place is occupied by a fresh plantation.

There are generally four distinct gatherings or crops taken in each year: the first occurs in April, when the leaves are scarce and young, and are supposed to produce the finest flavoured tea; the second, and, with respect to quantity, principal gathering, takes place in May; another smaller crop is picked in July; and, lastly, in August the shrub undergoes its latest gleaning, and, as the leaves are then large and coarse, this crop is considered very inferior, and is applied to meet the demand of the poorer labouring classes. The most necessary requisites for the proper cultivation of the tea-shrub are good drainage, moderate moisture, and a rich sandy earth, containing a fair proportion of vegetable mould. These requirements are best obtained on the slopes of hills; and although it is not uncommon for tea to be grown upon high level lands, yet the farmer always prefers a gentle slope, and thus the hilly country in the south-eastern provinces is found to be best adapted for its production.*

Upon an average it is estimated that one thousand square yards of ground are employed to raise from three hundred to four hundred plants, and each of these plants will annually produce six ounces of tea-leaves. In some fortunately situated plantations

* For information respecting the methods adopted for rolling and curing the leaves and preparing them for the foreign markets, our readers are referred to the interesting and valuable account given by Mr. Fortune in his work on the 'Tea Countries of China.'

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where the shrub grows to an unusual size, the annual yield exceeds double or treble this amount; but, taking good with indifferent, six ounces are found to be the average quantity gathered.

During the tea season the labour of picking the leaves is principally performed by the women and children attached to the farms; but whenever hired labourers are employed, each is supposed to pick about thirteen pounds daily, for which work is received a small supply of rice, together with a string of copper cash equal in value to about three pence sterling.

Upon considering the time and ingenuity employed through the various processes before the leaf is ready for use as tea, it is not a little remarkable, and proves the general cheapness of labour and economy of transit, that the dealers in the southern provinces are able to supply very fair Congou tea to their poorer customers at the moderate rate of $3\frac{1}{2}d.$ per lb.

It is curious to trace the gradual increase in the price of this tea, which is that drunk by the majority of Europeans, from the moment it leaves its native hills until it reaches the retail dealer in an English village, who sells it at twelve times its original cost. It is calculated that the agents who act for the merchants obtain ordinary Congou for about four taels per picul, or $2\frac{1}{2}d.$ per lb. Before this tea reaches the shipping port it has to undergo charges for chests, packing, carriage, and inland custom dues, together with other extra expenses, so that on arrival at such a port as Foo-chow or Shanghae the total cost per picul has reached above seven taels; then there is to be paid the export duty, which amounts to the somewhat excessive charge of $2\frac{1}{2}$ taels. Thus the tea, by the time it is put into the holds of the ships, has cost the merchant, exclusive of shipping and waterage expenses, nearly ten taels per picul, or about sixpence per lb. To this has to be added the freight charge from China to England, the wharfage and warehouse expenses, the duty, now reduced to one shilling, the profit of the wholesale dealer, the expense of delivery to the country, and lastly, the profit of the retail dealer, who supplies *his* village customers for three shillings what is supplied by the Chinese dealers to *their* customers for about three pence.

The original price paid by agents to cultivators varies according to the nature of the tea, that of the finer kinds reaching as high as four pence, or even five pence per lb.; and as the expenses and duties are the same as upon the lesser priced teas, they yield a better profit to the exporters.

The export of tea from China to the United Kingdom during the year 1862 was one hundred and eight millions, five hundred and

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and twenty-three thousand lbs., of which remarkable quantity eighty-one millions were reserved for our own consumption, the remainder being re-exported to supply the Continental demand.* It is thus evident that China must be considerably benefited by this item of foreign trade, not only through the customs duties that she levies, but also because of the numbers of her inhabitants who thereby obtain employment. Of these we may instance the carpenters, plumbers, and painters, who prepare the boxes and tea-chests, the porters and watermen who transport them, and the numerous men, women, and children employed in gathering, drying, and sorting the leaves. But although some important benefits do certainly accrue to the Chinese from the tea-trade, we should be careful not to over-estimate them, and remember that the export is but a fractional part of what is used in the home consumption, and that the withdrawal of the foreign demand, although it might cause in certain districts temporary distress, would not inflict any serious injury upon the internal prosperity of the empire.

Tea, with the Chinese, holds a position corresponding with that of rice; the latter is the great staple of food, and the former is the frequent and necessary beverage of every individual, rich or poor, throughout the country. A stranger, whether wandering in crowded cities or in the agricultural districts, will find in every house, and at all hours between sunrise and sunset, a fragrant cup of tea ready for his acceptance; and near the roads or canal-banks he may frequently observe those wayside tea-houses, evidencing the forethought and charity of their builders, wherein he or the weary coolie may quench their thirst free of charge.

Tea is drunk at all meals and at frequent intervals during the day, at family or village meetings, and at local or State ceremonies; and to ensure freshness and purity it is taken in small quantities, very weak and without milk or sugar. The stalks and refuse of the plant are pressed into small square cakes and sent into Mongolia and Manchuria, and are there eaten as food by the wandering Tartars, or by the Coolies living near the trading stations on the Amoor.†

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* The export of tea from China to Continental Europe *direct* is very trifling, not exceeding one or two cargoes, or about one million pounds annually.

† The names given to the different teas that are exported are usually derived from their appearance or place of culture: thus, Souchong, or 'Siau-chang,' means 'little plant.' Hyson is derived from Yu-tsien, 'before the rains,' or Hi-chun, 'flourishing spring,' from the fact of the leaves being gathered early. Pekoe is from 'Pecco,' 'white-hairs,' because the very young leaves from which this tea is made have a white down upon them. Bohea is derived from the Bu-i hills, where this tea is produced.—*Vide* 'Middle Kingdom,' chap. xiv.

Congou is said to be a corruption from Kung-foo—work or labour—because its leaves, in their preparation, are subjected to frequent rubbings.

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There are no data upon which to base an accurate estimate of the number of pounds of tea consumed in the Chinese empire, but it is probable that an approximation to the truth may be obtained by assuming the consumption to equal one thousand millions.

In the production of silk the Chinese do not, as regards quality, compete favourably with the French or Italians, and their best samples do not obtain so good a price in European markets as those forwarded from the South of France; but, although thus inferior in quality, the abundant supply that China is able to yield must always make her silk-trade most important and necessary.

For the growth of their mulberry-trees the cultivators usually select the land adjacent to canals or streamlets, as they find that such situation is the most advantageous for insuring a good crop of leaves. The trees vary in size and appearance according to the districts in which they are grown: those in the Southern provinces are small and low, partaking the character of a shrub; but in the more favoured Central provinces they are allowed to reach a height of from six to nine feet—a height within reach of the hands of the leaf-gatherers.

The best silk-districts lie in that part of the Great Plain containing portions of the four provinces of Hoo-peh, Che-kiang, Kiang-su, and Ngan-hui—provinces which are amply supplied with water both from lakes and rivers, and possess the central silk-markets of Soo-chow and Hoo-chow, together with the export cities Shanghae and Ningpo.

The farmers retain the production of silk entirely in their own hands; each grows his own trees, keeps his own silk-worms, and, aided by his household, prepares for sale his own packets of raw silk; and large farms or attendant manufactories are unknown.

During the season the market-towns are thronged with the farmers and their wives, who come in to dispose of their silk to the wholesale merchants; after the usual wrangling and pretended objections which form such an indispensable part in all the trading transactions of these loquacious people, the silk is submitted to the examination of the inspectors, by whose opinion the merchants are guided in their purchases, and who pronounce their final decision upon its value. The raw silk, when bought, is carried into storehouses, and there sorted and made up into large parcels, which are eventually sent into the principal commercial cities and sold to the native or foreign merchant at prices varying from twelve to twenty-five dollars per hundred taels weight, or from 160 to 370 dollars per cwt.

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The silk export to Europe has of late been very steady, and has averaged during the last four years about eighty-two thousand bales, or above eight million pounds annually, of which the greater portion is shipped in English vessels and imported to the United Kingdom. Silk in lesser quantities is also embarked in French and American ships, and, in fact, constitutes the principal article of trade with the first-named nation, but the English have lately made such advances in their commercial strength that the exportation has practically almost entirely fallen into their hands, and Continental Europe is content to receive the greater part of its silk from Great Britain, whose re-export in the year 1862 was 58,200 bales, the total import during the same year being 78,500 bales.

China must always hold a prominent position with respect to the trade in silk, because she is able to produce vast quantities in short spaces of time and at the most moderate cost; the fertility of the Plain, the energy of the farmers, and the cheapness and abundance of labour, must always make it impossible for any other country to compete with her with the slightest hope of success.

Whenever the resources of the Chinese empire have come under the consideration of foreigners, the nature of her exports has had the effect of causing them to give undue weight to questions relating to tea and silk, and China is too frequently regarded merely as a country that exports tea or silk and imports opium and cotton goods. It should not, however, be forgotten that these imports and exports have but a slight influence upon the general condition of that empire, and affect but a small proportion of its inhabitants, and that by far the greater part of the cultivated land is employed in the necessary production of food —such food as will meet the imperious demand of an excessive population.

The agriculturists, in their desire to develop to the utmost extent the life-supporting capabilities of their land, have found it advisable to confine their attention to the cultivation of grain and vegetables, and do not set aside any part of the ground for grazing purposes, there not being, as far as we know, a single acre throughout the provinces sown with grass-seed. Pigs, fowls, and ducks supply the animal food of nine-tenths of the people; the pigs are fed from the refuse of the house or farm, the fowls obtain their supplies from a like source, and the ducks are driven from field to field, or landed from boats on the river-banks, and so find for themselves the means of support. Fish are also a prominent feature in the markets, and the bays and rivers yield them in abundance. The many clever and patient methods

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methods adopted for catching these fish—of which we may instance the well-known cormorant-fishing of the North, and the moonlight bay-fishing in the South—are amongst the proofs of the peculiar ingenuity and perseverance attached to the Chinese character. Oxen are scarce, and near the treaty-ports are raised principally for the purpose of meeting the demand of the foreign residents and shipping; in the rice districts the water-buffalo is invariably employed for the necessary ploughing, it being found that this animal, from its strength and habits, is the most useful and economical.

Upon all points relating to farming the Chinese are a keenly-calculating, matter-of-fact people; nothing with them is lost or cast aside; and in manuring the land, as in selecting the seeds, everything is made subordinate to the consideration of what will support most human beings and yield the greatest profit.

It is in the various conditions of agricultural life that this people appear to the greatest advantage. Thrifty and industrious by nature, domestic and social through the character of their institutions, the farmers and labouring peasantry present the uniform spectacle of a contented, gentle, and hospitable race. Taught by early education and custom to esteem parental authority, the youths and children are obedient and unassuming, and thus there are to be seen in each household the aged and the young living together in most admirable harmony, and bound to each other by the powerful ties of mutual interest and respect.

Upon investigating the nature and magnitude of the inland traffic of the empire, the very extensive means of water-communication and its almost exclusive use for all purposes of transport will at once arrest attention. China is fortunate in possessing a great length of seaboard containing many good harbours and well-sheltered bays, on whose shores are raised a hardy, energetic, and skilful race of sailors. This seaboard is connected with the interior by frequent broad and navigable rivers, up whose streams the heavily-laden junks can safely steer their course for hundreds of miles, and discharge their cargoes at the commercial towns lying adjacent to the banks, and these main arteries are connected with each other by a network of tributaries, creeks, and canals to an extent elsewhere unparalleled.

The most important trading rivers are the Yang-tze, with its tributary, the Han; the Min, upon whose banks is situated the treaty city Foo-chow; the Pei, which connects Tientsin and the trade of Pekin with the sea; the Yung, with its treaty port Ningpo; and lastly, the West, North, and East Rivers, whose waters meet near Canton, and from thence discharge their united volume into the sea around Macao and Hongkong. The Hoang-ho

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or Yellow River is not only useless for all commercial purposes, but has a disastrous influence over the fortunes of the people living near its banks. The rapidity and waywardness of the stream, its liability to burst its banks and flood the country, and the amount of revenue annually employed in the attempt to keep it within bounds, have rightly earned for this river the name of 'the grief of the sons of Hona.' The breaking away a few years past of a portion of the northern bank has caused a remarkable change in the course of the river, and its erratic waters flow no longer into the Yellow Sea, but find their outlet in the gulf of Pechili. This change has had a most detrimental effect upon the surrounding country, and has materially impaired the usefulness of the Grand Canal.

That most important river, the Yang-tze, differs totally in its effect upon the country from its rival the Hoang-ho, and to it the Chinese are indebted for much of their prosperity. From its rise in the Tibetan mountains, as far as Central Sz-chuen, the river is known as the Kincha, or 'Golden Sanded;' but before leaving Sz-chuen it is called the 'Yang-tze' or 'Son of the Ocean,' which name it retains throughout the remainder of its length. From source to mouth the distance in a straight line is 1850 miles, and the whole length is estimated to equal 2900 miles. In this long course it is swelled by the waters of the Tung-ting and Poyang Lakes, and receives many tributaries, of which the principal is the Han, the great trading river which connects the Northern and Southern provinces, and has situated at its junction with the Yang-tze the well-known commercial city of Hankow. From Hankow the Yang-tze rolls seaward, with broadening banks, through the fertile provinces of the plain, and after passing successively Kiu-kiang, Nankin, and Chin-kiang, it receives the waters of the Woosung, laden with the foreign ships from Shanghae, and thence discharges its vast volume into the China Sea, whose waters it discolours for above one hundred miles from its mouth.

With respect to the extent of basin drained, the Yang-tze approximates in magnitude to the Amazon, Ganges, and Mississippi; but these rivers are much inferior in their capabilities for navigation. The first rapids on the Yang-tze-kiang occur a few miles above a city of the second rank, named I-chang, situated near the entrance of the mountainous region of Sz-chuen, and distant by river from the sea above eleven hundred English statute miles, and up to this point the main channel has a minimum depth at low water of not less than eighteen feet. In order that the extent of inland communication thus open may be well understood, we will take as an example the case of a well-laden English ship of fifteen

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fifteen hundred tons leaving this country with exports for the interior of China. Such a ship, upon arrival at the mouth of the Yang-tze, would probably proceed to Shanghae and transfer her cargo to vessels regularly trading on the river; but it would be possible for her to keep on her course until within sight of the British Consul's flag waving on the heights of Chin-kiang, at which port, 144 miles above Shanghae, she would be permitted to trade. Proceeding onwards and passing Nankin, the old capital of the Ming dynasty and present head-quarters of the Taepings, she would arrive at Kiu-kiang, a city placed at the junction of the Poyang Lake, 419 miles from Shanghae, and where the union jack would again denote the presence of a consul. This treaty port, although at present, owing to exceptional circumstances, in an unflourishing condition, must, by the mere fact of its situation at the entrance of the tea and silk districts and its direct communication with the southern ports, become eventually of great importance. Hankow, the last consular station on the Yang-tze, and distant from the sea 590 miles, would be the next port reached, and here the foreign vessel would find herself in the centre of inland traffic and surrounded by thousands of junks congregated from all parts of the country. At Hankow her commercial voyage would cease; but the noble river would permit her, if necessary, again to proceed upwards and continue her course without difficulty as far as I-chang, the limit of the navigable Yang-tze, where her progress would be finally arrested, and an English crew might regard with wonder the distant ranges of bleak hills which mark the entrance of the unfertile and thinly-inhabited province of Sz-chuen, and observe with pride their ship swinging to an anchor dropped beyond the heart of a great empire, at a distance of 990 geographical or 1139 statute miles from the coast.

The Si-kiang and Pei-ho, respectively at the southern and northern extremities, are the rivers ranking next in importance. The latter is navigable for small craft as far as Tientsin; but it has the double disadvantage of being frozen over between the months of November and March, and of having at its entrance a bar, which at the highest springs has not above twelve feet of water over it. The Si-kiang or Western River has lately been explored by our surveyors, and is found to be navigable for vessels of less than sixteen feet draught of water for nearly one hundred miles from its mouth, and light shallow steamers might penetrate as far as the province of Kwang-si. If the proposed overland communication between Rangoon and Canton should ever be practically adopted, the Si-kiang will carry much of the mutual productions, and in that case become a river of considerable

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able utility. At present its trade is much impeded by numerous bands of insurgents, who infest the surrounding country and pillage or destroy whatever falls within their grasp. The Si-kiang differs from other Chinese rivers in the clearness and purity of its waters, and the population living near the banks are exceptionally free from cutaneous disorders: much of the adjoining land is devoted to the growth of the sugar-cane, and the river is principally used for carrying this produce, together with rafts of timber from the Kwangsi forests, to the markets of Canton. With respect to the rivers Min and Yung, which connect with the sea the treaty ports Foo-chow and Ning-po, it may be observed that their importance, as far as foreign interests are concerned, will diminish as fresh treaty ports are opened and more advantageous routes become available; but they must always be most serviceable for native commerce, and contribute in no slight degree to the remarkable fertility and beautiful scenery of the districts through which they pass.

Owing to the absence of official returns, the extent of the native coast and inland trade can only be judged from the number of junks that are observed carrying or discharging cargoes, and this number is sufficiently great to lead to the presumption that the traffic in the rivers and harbours is even more considerable than what might have been deduced from the known population and capabilities of the empire; and if the total tonnage of the junks now employed on the China seas, lakes, and rivers could be rightly estimated, it would be probably found to equal, if not exceed, that of the combined mercantile marine of Europe.

In their export and import junk trade the Chinese confine themselves to Siam, Japan, Cochin-China, and the adjacent islands of the Malay Archipelago. The outward cargoes principally consist of silks, cotton goods, tea, metals, and common crockery; emigrants to Singapore, Manila, and other ports, are also embarked in considerable numbers from the overcrowded maritime provinces. For the return voyage the junks load with grain, pepper, betel-nuts, rattans, edible birds'-nests, &c. Of late years much of this island trade has been conducted by foreign shipping, and so long as the Chinese continue to build upon their present models, this gradual disuse of junks is likely to continue; their bluff bows and flat floors are unsuited to heavy seas, and the knowledge of this fact teaches the pilots to keep, as much as possible, within sight of land: the voyages are, therefore, necessarily tedious, and the cheapness of freight or passage hardly compensates for loss of time. A similar reasoning has led to the opinion that the coasting-trade will, before long, be exclusively carried in foreign holds: the circumstances are, however, very different, and

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and the light draught and manageable qualities of the junks, together with the local knowledge of their masters, must for many years ensure their general use for that purpose. The coasting-junks are generally vessels between two hundred and five hundred tons burden, and are manned by a skilful but superstitious and timorous crew: the pilots, pretending to little knowledge of navigation beyond the use of the compass, seldom lose sight of the shore, and upon the approach of night anchor under some protecting headland—a precaution most advisable on a coast possessing no lighthouses or landmarks. Notwithstanding these delays, the pilots, through their acquaintance with the prevailing winds and local tides, make rapid passages, and rarely fail in conducting the junks under their charge safe to the harbour to which they are bound.

The chief danger that owners of cargo have to consider is that arising from the prevalence of piracy; and to guard against this the large junks that sail from or to the southern ports are armed with a few pieces of cannon of small calibre, and the crew are supplied with spears, gingalls, and shields. It is found that vessels thus armed, and in company with others, are seldom attacked; and if, on proceeding to the north, they arrive safely above the latitude of the Chusan Islands, their further voyage is secure, as piracy is almost unknown upon the northern seaboard. The cargoes consist principally of sugar, tea, silk, cotton, mats, oil, salt, vegetables, fish, and grain. Rice is also shipped in large quantities, as the present difficulty of transit by the Grand Canal has obliged the authorities to permit its transport by sea. The rivers and canals of China represent the high roads of Europe, and the trade upon them is consequently of a very varied description, and has to meet the whole demand of the interior. A detailed account of the nature and extent of the commercial transactions of a population numbering nearly 400,000,000 would be tedious and unnecessary, especially as that population is of a preeminently trading character, and delights in gambling and bargaining, and all the minor details of petty barter. That the numbers of junks and other river craft must be enormous may be readily admitted; but even after all due allowance is made, the total tonnage of the native fleets that daily arrive or sail in or from our treaty ports surpasses the most wide calculation. Seven thousand junks annually drop their anchors abreast of the city of Shanghae. For Hankow this number may fairly be quadrupled: and the crowds of vessels that incessantly sail to and fro upon the waters of Canton and the southern maritime provinces are almost beyond computation.

It has been a constant subject for surprise to manufacturers in Great

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Great Britain that the export trade to China has not increased in such degree as the number and known commercial disposition of the people would justly lead them to expect. They were aware of the extent of the trade with India, and presumed that with equal facilities for commerce the advantages of the China trade would be proportionally greater. This natural deduction has been proved erroneous, and the error has arisen, not from over-estimation of the commercial capabilities of the empire, but solely from a misconception of the character and wants of the people. Previous to the first war our export trade was exclusively confined to Canton and its immediate neighbourhood, and the merchants explained its stagnation by the absence of available means for supplying the Chinese with the goods which they were supposed to so ardently desire. At this time foreigners were treated by the officials with insufferable arrogance or contempt; vexatious hindrances were placed in the way of trade; and, in fact, the general state of our commercial and political relations was altogether unsatisfactory. The disputes arising from the opium traffic brought matters to a crisis, and at last it was comprehended, both by the European community at Canton and the Home Government, that a war was necessary in order to open the country and place our commerce upon an equitable footing. The war took place, and it resulted that we obtained permission to trade freely at five important ports, and were ceded an island, upon which we established a strong military force, and erected naval and mercantile storehouses. Now, then, is the time, thought the Manchester manufacturers, for our exports to pour into China, and cargo upon cargo of cotton and other goods were sent out by them in the expectation of finding a large demand and of realising ample profit. The result was most disappointing. For the two years succeeding the signature of the treaty the novelty of our goods created an exceptional demand; and in 1845 the value of our exports reached the sum of 2,394,827*l.* sterling, a value which, although far exceeding that of earlier years, was comparatively insignificant. But subsequently to 1845 the curiosity of the Chinese abated, and in 1852, a year remarkable for widely-spread peace and commercial competition, the whole value of our exports to China only amounted to 1,918,244*l.* sterling; whilst those to India for the same year were valued at nearly 8,000,000*l.*

Our merchants had then the difficult duty of explaining the apparently inexplicable anomaly of India, with a population less than one-fourth of that of China, consuming above four times the amount of exports, and again the fault was ascribed to the absence of sufficient free ports, and to the restrictions of the Chinese Government.

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Government. It was demanded that the Yang-tze-kiang and the commercial towns of the interior should be open to trade, that British agents should have permission to travel in all parts of the country, that a representative should be stationed at Pekin, and that a comprehensive and equitable treaty of commerce should be ratified and carried into execution. These propositions required another war, for which the seizure of the lorcha 'Arrow,' in 1856, afforded a cause; and at its conclusion a treaty was obtained, which was sufficiently advantageous to satisfy all requirements.* The wide extension of our general relations with China has in a great measure compensated for the expenses and inconvenience of the war, but the result with respect to demand for our exports has not fulfilled expectation. The Chinese have not evinced any particular desire to purchase the proffered goods; and the disproportion between the Indian and the Chinese consumption, although less than in preceding years, is still very remarkable. All these miscalculations have been caused by the absence of real knowledge of the wants and habits of the people. If these had been more clearly understood, and if proper justice had in earlier years been awarded to the energetic and self-reliant character of the nation, many grave errors would have been avoided, and fewer pecuniary losses would have been deplored.

When our exports were first introduced into the markets of the interior our manufacturers were surprised to find that, instead of meeting with a large demand for their cotton and other goods from, as they had imagined, a people anxious to obtain the benefits accruing to them through the foreign free-trade, they were absolutely competing—and for some years competing at a loss—with a nation of cotton-growers and traders, who were equally anxious to obtain a sale for their own native goods. In this race the advantages were more equally distributed than was then generally supposed. The British manufacturer had in his favour machinery with all its appliances for ensuring a good, rapidly-made, and cheap material; but the Chinese grew their own cotton, and, although much time was lost by them in manufacturing the cloth, the disadvantage was in some measure compensated by the cheapness of labour. It therefore happened that, although the native purchasers were offered foreign cloths at an unusually low price, a material better suited to their wants was offered by their own producers at a price almost as low, and was so generally preferred that our merchants were in many cases obliged to part with their goods at a ruinously cheap rate.

* Including the three ports on the Yang-tze-kiang we have now thirteen ports open to our trade, of which the most profitable are Hankow, Shanghae, and Canton.

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The Chinese are a people keenly alive to their own interests, and although partaking of many of the peculiar vices and characteristics of other Asiatics, they stand alone in respect of energy and desire for accumulation. The remarkable extent in which they possess these qualities is not only observable in their own country, but also in those to which they emigrate; and in all the Malayan archipelago their laborious character has already obtained for them a preponderating influence.

With these persevering and self-acquiring qualities our merchants were at the close of the first war rudely and unexpectedly brought in contact. The Chinese were willing to part with their tea or silk in exchange for the Spanish dollars so abundantly supplied to them, but they were not equally willing to allow foreign productions to supersede their own, and consequently the exports to China fell much below the most moderate estimates. Some years have elapsed since this first competition, and, fortunately for the balance of bullion, the proportion between the exports and imports is less unequal; but even at the present time, if it were not for the opium traffic, the excess of the Chinese exports over European imports would have a decidedly detrimental action upon our trade.

In 1860—the year we select for example, because it immediately preceded the war between the Federal and Confederate States of America, and the consequent stoppage of our usual supply of raw cotton—the value of our legal trade with China was as follows:—Imports to United Kingdom, 9,323,764*l.*; exports from ditto, 5,318,036*l.*; thus proving a balance against the United Kingdom of over 4,000,000*l.* sterling. Of the above imports tea represents 6,601,894*l.*, and silk 2,335,168*l.*, or together nearly 9,000,000*l.* Of the exports cotton represents a value of 3,567,775*l.*; woollens, 868,103*l.*; and hardware, cutlery, glass, and other goods complete the total amount. Looking at these statistics it will be seen that our commerce almost resolves itself into exporting cotton goods, and importing tea and silk. The prospects of advance in our export trade are therefore much dependent upon the demand for cotton cloth, a demand which has never been urgent, and which, under present circumstances, is not likely to increase in proportion to the expectations of the exporters.

The Chinese are a cotton-consuming people, for the majority of the men, women, and children in all parts of the empire clothe themselves exclusively with cotton frocks and trousers. The cotton cloth expended in making this native clothing is estimated to represent a value of 175,000,000*l.* per annum. The average annual value of our cotton imports during the last ten years is not quite

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quite 2,000,000*l.*, which shows the consumption of native and foreign cottons to be in favour of the former in the proportion of nearly ninety to one. In accounting for this remarkable disproportion it must be recollected that our exports previous to 1843 were too insignificant to deserve notice; that for several preceding hundred years the Chinese had been wearing cotton clothes; and that for the required supply of the material they had been accustomed to rely exclusively upon their own sufficient resources. In our observations upon the cotton-growing districts attention has been drawn to the peculiar system of farming, by which the native producer is enabled to part with his produce at the lowest possible rate. The main feature of this system is that of the material being made by the farmer's family upon the same farm that grows the shrub. With this home-spun stuff are clothed the whole of the surrounding agricultural population, and the surplus is sent to the markets, and supplies the wants of mechanics, boat-people, coolies, and, in fact, all the working classes. The cloth, being of a coarse, durable nature, is well adapted for working purposes; and as the garments made from it are sufficiently strong to last for several years, they satisfy the economical and thrifty nature of the purchasers. To increase our export cotton trade it will be necessary to introduce into the Chinese markets a material equally strong and of a yet more moderate price, and then some advantageous result may with certainty be expected, for the Chinese are a remarkably self-interested race, and will always strive to obtain their goods at the cheapest rate, and be perfectly careless how or from where the goods are sent, provided their own personal interests are gratified.

In all transactions with the Chinese, it should be clearly understood that they are the most laborious, thrifty nation in the world, a people inclined to devote their whole energies to whatever work they may have to do—a people cheerful, materialistic, and undemonstrative, who will labour hard, be content with little, and be utterly indifferent to anything that may happen out of the immediate groove in which they are placed. They are glad to supply foreigners with as much tea, silk, or other native produce, as they will take; but they are not equally desirous of parting with their own silver or goods in exchange for foreign imports, and, probably, would not much regret their total withdrawal. At present they are willing to purchase, in a moderate degree, cotton cloth, hardware, woollen stuff, and wrought iron; but the only imports that they really care for, or show any eagerness to obtain, are munitions of war and opium.

The average annual revenue accruing to India from the duties levied upon exported opium is nearly five millions sterling, and the value of the quantity exported averages nine millions. It is

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therefore evident that the illegal introduction of opium into China has been and is of important service both in arresting the drain of silver into that empire, and in increasing the Indian revenues; but, although thus serviceable to the producers, it has had an injurious effect upon the people to whom it has been introduced, for it has not only led to the degradation and ruin of many families living in or near the Treaty Ports, but has also caused most flagrant breaches of good faith on the part of the Chinese Government officials, many of whom have been tempted to sacrifice their duty to satisfy their desire for gain. It has consequently happened that a widely-spread system of duplicity and fraud has for many years been necessarily practised, a system which has not only created serious political troubles, but which has also, in the minds of thinking Chinamen, affected the credit and honour of the Western nations. This necessity for fraud or smuggling no longer exists, and since the Treaty of Tientsin (1858) the opium traffic, although not absolutely legalised, is conducted openly and with the tacit consent of the authorities. The steady prohibition, by the Chinese Government, of the import of opium has arisen in a great measure from the opinion that the empire would be thereby drained of its silver, and this view has for many years been strongly supported by the despatches of the provincial treasurers; but latterly this objection has not been much urged, and it is therefore presumable that the Government are satisfied with the present balance of bullion. It must be also borne in mind that the poppy is extensively grown in Sz-chuen, and the North-West provinces, and that native opium is produced in such sufficiently large quantities and at so low a price as to command the markets of the interior. At Hankow our Indian opium has been offered and rejected, and its importers do not expect that its sale will extend beyond the existing demand of the inhabitants of the maritime provinces.

According to the official returns, the total value of the opium exported from India in the year ending April, 1860, was 9,054,391*l.*; of this amount 664,231*l.* was the value of the demand of the Chinese residents in the Malayan Archipelago, and 8,366,335*l.* was that of what was imported direct into China. The effect of this import upon the balance of trade will now be seen.

For the year 1860 there were exported from China to Great Britain:—

	lbs.	Value.
Raw silk	2,088,017 ..	£2,185,742
Tea	85,295,129 ..	6,601,894
General	.. ..	536,128
	Total ..	£9,323,764

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In the same year there were imported into China from Great Britain goods to the value of 5,318,036*l.*, showing a balance of legal trade against Great Britain of 4,005,728*l.* In 1860 the value of opium imported into China was 8,366,335*l.*, which turns the balance of bullion against China to the amount of 4,360,607*l.* These calculations refer exclusively to the respective commercial transactions of India, China, and the United Kingdom, and the data can be relied on; to judge the extent of all the foreign trade with China, it is necessary to know the value of the entire imports and exports at all the ports; and for this purpose the returns are not readily attainable, and are incomplete. We have, however, an estimate of the whole value of the cargoes, including opium, exported or imported in vessels of all nations at the ports of Shanghae and Canton during the year 1860; and this estimate states the value of the imports to be in round numbers about eighteen millions, and the exports between fourteen and fifteen millions. The foreign trade at these two ports may be estimated as representing three-fourths of that of all China, and it may therefore be assumed that its whole value, exclusive of the Russian inland traffic, is about forty-four millions, of which twenty-four millions represent the imports, and twenty millions the exports, which still leaves a balance against China of four millions sterling. This drain upon the Chinese resources is entirely caused by the eager demand for opium; and the objections of the Government to its introduction are therefore, even on the simple ground of political expediency, perfectly intelligible. The revenues accruing to the Imperial treasury from the Customs duties are, however, sufficiently great to compensate for the deficiency, and thus the respective advantages of the foreign import and export trade are not unequally balanced.

The returns of trade during the years 1861, 1862, 1863, have been much influenced by the consequences of the war in the American States, and are too exceptional to admit of correct calculations being based upon them; but it is evident that the general condition of foreign commercial intercourse is progressive, and must continue to be so in proportion to the increasing number of residents, the introduction of modern inventions, and the gradual adoption of European methods of communication and transit. This progression, however, although certain, must be slow, because the empire will for many years be subjected to violent political revolutions; and even granting that the Chinese Government may be disposed to advance the interests of the mercantile community, the latter should not expect from them any decided line of conduct, and must be prepared to find them wa-

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vering and irresolute, either impelled by factions at Pekin or swayed by the uncertain public opinion of the provinces.

Prince Kung, the near relative and adviser of the young Emperor, is an able, clear-sighted politician, singularly well disposed towards foreigners, and desirous of advancing, to the utmost of his power, the commercial interests of the nation over which he is regent; but his tenure of office is uncertain, and the not unlikely event of a political crisis would lead to an entire reconstruction of the Ministry, and probably to grave changes in the attitude of Chinese officials.

In all cases, however, the adoption and thorough execution of liberal commercial treaties must of necessity be difficult and slow; there are violent party interests to contend against, natural antagonisms to overcome, and a traditionally hostile policy to be forgotten. Many years must elapse before the untravelled Chinaman can fully appreciate the advantages attending the introduction of Western arts and reforms, or approve of the red-haired foreigner traversing with impunity his flowery land; but in the meanwhile much may be done by following a steady and undeviating course of action, by pressing upon the attention of the Emperors the advisability of progressive intercourse, and by demanding a strict adherence to the more important clauses of treaties. The suspicious nature of Asiatics leads them—unfortunately for their own interests—to treat forbearance with contempt; they never comprehend that foreign Powers can have any other motives than those of individual gain or aggrandizement, and therefore invariably presume that concession is a proof of weakness. The present state of our relations with China is mainly consequent upon a preponderance of military strength, and it must be expected that the fulfilment of those clauses of our treaty that are antagonistic to the opinions of the people will be proportional to the belief in the continuance of that strength.

The position of the resident foreign communities is, upon the whole, satisfactory, and their transactions with the native merchants are based upon the broad principles of mutual confidence and trust. It is, however, much to be regretted that a right understanding between Europeans and Chinese is greatly impeded by that detestable class of rowdies and adventurers who infest in daily increasing numbers the Treaty Ports, and who, by their lawless manners and fraudulent conduct, disgrace the character of those nations whose names they choose to adopt. Whenever Western and Eastern civilisations, with their necessarily discordant elements, are brought in contact, misunderstandings and quarrels arising from ignorance or antipathy must be of frequent occurrence.

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occurrence. Such cases will inevitably happen as our intercourse with China becomes more extended; and, in the event of their being sufficiently serious to threaten the harmony of our relations, it is only just that due consideration should be shown to the impoverished condition of the Imperial treasury and to the many difficulties that embarrass the actions of the Government. Our limits will not permit us to notice the full extent of these difficulties, but we shall examine the nature of those that are most important, and which are intimately connected with long-cherished institutions.

A cursory glance at the constitution of the Empire might probably lead to the opinion that the Emperor possessed great controlling power, and that under his autocratic rule the people were deprived of all real freedom. This opinion, which has been not unfrequently advanced, would make a right comprehension of the condition of the nation impossible. Any Chinese Emperor who desires to govern well and remain upon the throne is so hedged in by precedent, so confined by ancient law and custom, and subjected to advice from all quarters, that he must be practically a thoroughly constitutional monarch. The people also, particularly in the central and southern provinces, are accustomed to exercise a remarkable amount of personal liberty of speech and action, and, owing to the peculiar system of administration and the slight and direct nature of taxation, are almost unconscious of the supervision and authority of the magistrates.

It is justly remarked by Mr. Meadows, our Consul at Newchwang, that there 'is a large amount of local self-government, to which no one who visits China can shut his eyes, and which is an insoluble problem to those who persist in seeing in the Government a despotism, and in the people slaves.' *

This characteristic feature is especially observable in the agricultural districts. The inhabitants of each village elect certain members of their own community to perform the important duties of elders, the men thus elected being usually owners of land or houses, fathers of families, and possessed of some slight literary abilities. Whenever questions of local importance require discussion the elders meet in the ancestral halls, and have submitted to them for decision the projects of their village brethren. The subjects upon which they have to adjudicate are very varied, and include family quarrels, festivals, plans for building temples or cutting canals, police organization, and punishment of minor offences. Political disturbances or serious infringements of the penal laws are reported by them to the district magistrate; and

* 'Chinese and their Rebellions.'

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this official either awards the legal punishment or forwards the report through the proper channels to his provincial superiors. This system of self-government answers admirably in all hamlets, or in villages adjacent to any town possessing a resident garrison; but there are cases where it is open to grave objections, and leads to incessant anarchy and disorder. We have already noticed the circumstance of the inhabitants of each village being all members of one large family or clan. In the event of such a clan being numerically weak, or within easy reach of military coercion, its organization is useful both in supporting the Government and promoting the well-being of the labouring classes; but it sometimes happens that a clan consists of two or three thousand individuals, and resides in the immediate neighbourhood of another clan equally strong and implacably hostile. Such instances are especially common in the turbulent provinces of the south; and then, instead of the elders meeting to discuss the peaceable concerns of their villages, they meet to make arrangements for a clan-fight—a fight in which the combatants, numbering possibly five or six thousand men, maintain for several days, and even weeks, a useless desultory warfare, causing great disturbance in the surrounding districts, and fostering an universal spirit of discontent. Many of the insurrections that have threatened the existence of past or present dynasties are distinctly traceable to these rivalries; and of late years a petty quarrel in the heart of the Kwangsi province, arising from the supposed theft of a cow, led to a clan-fight of several weeks, during which time a small and but little noticed congregation of obscure and indigent men known as worshippers of a new god formed themselves into a political association, defied the authority of the magistrates, and, as leaders of the Taeping rebellion, have directed one of the most remarkable revolutions upon record. The customs of self-management and of obedience to elders are so closely bound up with the deeply-rooted institution of patriarchal power that the provincial officials rarely interfere in these clan feuds until too late, and then have the mortification of finding their authority totally disregarded. It thus happens that a principle in itself good, and under proper guidance most useful in promoting peace and good order, becomes, through the military inefficiency of the Government and an unwisely extended system of toleration, a grave element of disorganization.

Another cause of state weakness arises from the regulations affecting the public examinations. The working of that great competitive system of China, which makes official rank dependent upon literary merit, is generally well understood, and does not here require notice, although it may be observed that the expenses attending

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attending such education as would enable a student to compete successfully, are far beyond the ordinary means of the humbler classes, and these, consequently, do not practically share in the much vaunted advantages of open competition. There are also certain orders of the people who are not permitted by law to hold office in any form. Of these we may instance all actors, public singers, or theatrical performers; also that large class of domestic slaves or bond-servants, who alone number many millions. But the evils arising from competition are not occasioned by limitation, but by a too wide extension, and by the circumstance of the Emperor being obliged, if he governs justly, to select his officials from the lists of successful candidates.

In peaceful times the distribution among the thirteen hundred districts in the provinces of a number of resident gentlemen of quiet habits and literary ability, possessed with legal authority, is conducive to much good; and the system that provides these officials satisfies the feelings of the people, and works harmoniously with their other institutions; but it signally fails in providing men of such character and administrative ability as are required for grave emergencies. A sedentary and studious boyhood, followed by three severe competitive trials in early manhood, are not advisable preparations for men who have to control rebellious populations, as is apparent from the tenor of the Pekin gazettes, which during the past twenty years of internal discord contain a long series of reproaches for timidity and misconduct, acknowledgments of incapacity, and degradations from office.

The competitive system creates also a national indifference with regard to the stability of an existing Government. The people are aware that whatever may have been the dynasty, Tartar or Chinese, the Emperors have rarely infringed the custom that awards office to successful graduates, and they find that their personal interests are not affected by a change of rulers. Thus the institution of competitive examinations, although possessing many advantages, is accompanied with two very serious defects: it produces in times of danger incapable officials, and it engenders among the people an undesirable absence of sympathy with their Government.

The most injurious, however, of all the causes which tend to weaken the Empire is the universal depreciation of military service, a principle which pervades the whole political system, and which is, in fact, the natural result consequent upon the undue estimation given to literary pursuits. The Utopian fallacies involved in this principle were wisely disregarded by the early Manchu Emperors. These Tartars, upon their usurpation, sensibly

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sensibly determined to maintain their power by organizing an efficient army. Garrisons were stationed in the walled cities, guns were cast and placed in battery, and the troops were well supplied with arms. Obedience to the existing laws was strictly enforced, and political agitators met with instant punishment. It has resulted that the whole of the eighteenth century, that immediately succeeding the conquest, is always instanced by the Chinese themselves as the most peaceful and glorious in their annals. The later Emperors have gradually forgotten the secret of their strength, and have allowed themselves to be influenced by the maxims of Chinese philosophy, and general insubordination has been the consequence. The walls and gates of the fortified towns are crumbling or in ruins, dismounted guns lie rusty and useless in the long grass of the slopes, and the arms and ammunition supposed to be in store are either missing or disgracefully unserviceable. The native army has degenerated into a most inefficient militia; the Tartar garrisons, through want of proper drill, have lost much of their military vigour; and at present the only really valuable troops that the Emperor has under his command are the hundred thousand Tartars stationed at or near Pekin. The officers and men of the native Chinese army are recruited from an inferior class, and are regarded with considerable contempt by their non-combatant countrymen. The Tartars are differently circumstanced, and their superior officers are usually men of ability and social standing; the men also are comparâtively effective, but their numbers are altogether inadequate for the purpose of maintaining order in the tumultuous provinces, and this fact has led their generals to adopt a very unadvisable policy. It is their custom, whenever their forces are required to take the field, to enrol large numbers of volunteers, to whom is given a considerable bounty, together with extra pay and rations. Upon the conclusion of the operations these men, who are then discharged, spread themselves over the country, swell the local bands of insurgents, and by their pillaging and lawlessness aid in fomenting the disturbances they were intended to quell. There are other causes which create distress among the people and enfeeble the Government, but which our limits will only permit us to indicate. Of these the most important are the too great extent of the empire and the excessive population of certain of its districts, the dissimilarity of the provincial dialects, the absence of good roads, and lastly, the frequent recurrence of inundations and earthquakes. To these the central provinces are specially subject, and thousands, who are thereby made homeless, finding themselves unrelieved by any fitting scheme of poor-laws or public charities, resort to plunder or insurrection. The Manchus have

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have also a special difficulty to contend against, affecting themselves alone, and this is the wide-spread belief entertained by the Chinese that their dynasty is drawing to a close, and that the imperial weakness is precursive to an early and inevitable fall.

Before the Empire can attain that administrative strength and provincial cohesion so essential for stability, it will be necessary that the military forces be reorganized and their social status raised. Piracy must be suppressed; efficient bodies of police should be established in the large cities; and that miserable force, the imperial navy, must be altogether reconstructed. It will also be requisite for the Government, while maintaining the integrity of the civil institutions, to be careful not to permit patriarchal authority and competitive regulations to produce internal anarchy and official incapacity.

In order that the measures to be adopted to carry these principles into practice may be effective and lasting, the Chinese people will have to modify many of their long-cherished opinions, and considerable changes must take place with respect to their views upon home and foreign policy—changes that will be slow of formation, but which are being prepared for by events now in progress. Of these the most prominent are the Taeping rebellion, the extension of European intercourse, and the employment of foreign contingents. The former, which is attracting the grave attention of all classes in the East, is especially remarkable, because it contains elements that have never before existed in Chinese insurrections, and has developed amongst a numerous body of men the germs of religious fanaticism. Whatever may be the fate of this rebellion, it will have performed one great and signal service. Through its influence in propagating the belief in an active Supreme Power, and through the destruction by its adherents of all Buddhist temples within their territory, it will tend to weaken and perhaps ultimately eradicate that incongruous combination of superstition and atheism, that deplorable indifference upon all religious subjects, which now degrade the national character.

Our limits forbid us to discuss, on the present occasion, the interesting topics which were treated of in the debate in which Lord Naas's able speech on the 6th of July, 1863, was delivered; but putting out of view the merits of the policy which England or other foreign nations may have pursued towards China, we may remark that the employment for the first time in Chinese annals of foreign contingents is mainly consequent upon the Government finding themselves unable to overpower the Taepings and suppress piracy. It is doubtful whether these contingents will effect the precise purposes for which they have been raised; indeed, while we write

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write we are informed that the most powerful foreign aid which the Government has yet bespoken, that of Captain Osborn's armament, has, for some unknown reason, been rejected at the last moment by Prince Kung. This step may involve serious consequences to the dynasty which the Prince represents; but whatever may be the issue of the civil war now raging, the lessons which foreigners have taught will unquestionably be useful in developing the latent strength of the Empire. The attention of the people will be at last directed to the causes that have made them incapable of successfully resisting European demands, and have necessitated submission to grievous humiliations. They will observe their own countrymen, when rightly drilled and armed, become courageous and efficient soldiers, and so they will gradually comprehend the advantages attending discipline and organization, and they will perceive the comparative inefficacy of their sailing and rowing war-junks as contrasted with well-ordered, well-manned, and highly-competent steam-propelled gunboats. The obvious lessons to be thus taught will not be lost upon an energetic although conceited race, sufficiently clear-sighted when material interests are in question.

China has in this nineteenth century reached a very critical period of her history, and her ancient institutions and long-enduring but now stagnant civilization are upon their trial. It is therefore fortunate that her people, with their self-reliance and remarkable unity of character, combine a devoted attachment to their native provinces; for these qualities will be needed to carry them safely through that temporary disorganization which seems inevitable, but which we hope may result in assuring to China a more permanent stability and in placing her in a more satisfactory position among the ranks of useful and progressive nations.

ART. II.—1. *English Traits.* By R. W. Emerson. London, 1856.
2. *The Conduct of Life.* By R. W. Emerson. 1860.
3. *The Autocrat of the Breakfast Table.* By O. W. Holmes. London, 1861.
4. *Our Old Home.* By Nathaniel Hawthorne. London, 1863.

AT first sight it appears exceedingly strange that three races, like the English, Irish, and French, dwelling so near each other, with no vast difference of country or conditions of climate, yet divided so distinctly at the heart of their national character, with the unlikeness so sharply defined in the national features, should ever have had the same Eastern origin, the same childhood

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hood in one family, and slept unconsciously in the same cradle of the Aryan races. We find it difficult to quote the natural laws of such a change; it has a look of the miraculous. We fancy the unlikeness could not have been much greater if it had come straight from the hand of the Creator. Yet we have only to turn to America, and we shall see a change of race in progress such as is likely to result in a transformation quite as complete.

Mr. Emerson incidentally remarks that the American is only the continuation of the English genius under other conditions, more or less propitious. This difference of conditions, however, may make a world of difference in the outcome, as the French physiologist is said to have discovered when he shut up his tadpoles under water, where the usual influence of light could not operate on them, and found that they did not develop legs and arms and grow into frogs; *their* continuation lay in lengthening their tails and swelling into enormous tadpoles! The continuation theory is a favourite fallacy of the Yankee mind. By aid of it they have presumed to stand upon a platform of our past, and 'talk tall talk' of their grander future, assuring themselves that America contained all England *plus* the New World, and that they started yonder, just where the national life left off here! Alas! the English genius and character did not emigrate intact; and when the branch race was torn from the ancient tree, it was certain to lose much of its best life-sap. Then it had to be re-planted in a soil not enriched and humanized, through ages of time, with the ripe sheddings of a fruitful national life, and had to grow as best it could in an atmosphere that lacked the nourishment and vital breath of English air. The American poet Holmes sets the old tree and the old soil in a compact picture for his countrymen:—

'Hugged in the clinging billows' clasp,
From seaweed fringe to mountain heather,
The British oak with rooted grasp
Her slender handful holds together;
With cliffs of white and bowers of green,
And ocean narrowing to caress her,
And hills and threaded streams between,
Our little Mother Isle, God bless her!

'Beneath each swinging forest bough
Some arm as stout in death reposes—
From wave-washed foot to heaven-kissed brow
Her valour's life-blood runs in roses;
Nay, let our brothers of the West
Write smiling in their florid pages,
One half her soil has walked the rest
In Poets, Heroes, Martyrs, Sages.'

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For two thousand years has the English race been taking root, and, by innumerable fibres, clutching hold of the land as with living fingers. During a great part of that time Nature has worked invisibly at the bases of the national character, toiling on in her quiet, patient way, through storm or silence, to produce the visible result at last.

The English is a race, with an internal nature, so to speak, large as is the external nature of the American continent. How could they possibly continue the genius there which had here its birth-place and home? In literature, for example, they were not in the least likely to make their starting-point the place where Milton, and Bacon, and Shakspeare had ended. What literature they have has certainly sprung mainly from the old soil that still clung to the roots of the national life when it was taken up for transplanting, and to this day it breathes more of the English earth than of the Yankee soil, but it shows no continuation of the English genius. Their new conditions have developed a new character; any likeness to us that they may have once had has paled and faded away.

In one sense alone could there be any approach to a continuation; this was in the prodigious advantages they possessed in all material means at the beginning. To a great extent they were able to build their immediate success on foundations which we had laid for them. Our experience of ages *did* supply them with tools to their hand, and they stepped into all our command of the physical forces of nature easily as into ready-made clothing. In this respect they found the royal road to empire, and almost started with steam in their race of a national life. They have had a splendid run. Prosperity has been sudden as some spontaneous growth of the land, enriching human labour at a miraculous rate of interest. But the success has not the sweetness of ours: they have *come into* their good fortune; ours was earned hardly by long centuries of toil and painful victory. Our institutions have grown like the shell and shield of the nation's inner life, shaped by it and coloured with it; theirs have been cast, and the national character has had to conform as best it might. The largeness of their territory has passed into their language, but it has not passed into the human nature. This idea of material size has completely tyrannised over the Yankee mind, and dwarfed some of its better qualities. We have no hesitation in asserting, that to the New Englander the greatest thing done by the English—the high-water mark of all our achievements—is London! No act of national heroism, no lofty nobleness of character, no work in our literature, no moral sublimity in our history, affects and overpowers the Yankee mind as does the enormous size, the omnipresent

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present magnitude of London. It is the only English thing in the presence of which their assertive nature is lost in astonishment, and cannot even make a disparaging comparison: these miles on miles of human habitations, and this roaring Niagara of multitudinous human life. But they are now in a court of trial for nations, where size of country, length of land, breadth of waters, and height of mountains will not count for much, if greatness of soul be wanting. One human spirit dilating to its full stature may be of far more avail. Shakspeare knew that by the greatness of soul, rather than by the size of country, are nations great and precious, when he sang of England as—

'This land of such *dear souls*, this dear, dear land.'

Again, the American national life has been spent chiefly on the surface, in a fury of material activity or the loud raging of political strife, which stuns and kills in the egg that more delicate spirit of thought waiting for birth, and dimly dreaming of a life to come. They have never produced any considerable class of men who dwell apart high on the mountains, breathe a pure air, and send down an influence as of healing waters to run through the valleys and plains, sweetening and enriching the lower life of the nation, and making it green and fruitful. These are the men who in England constitute the party of humanity, and hold the high places and the towers of defence against any encroachment of tyranny, whether of Individuals or Mobs. Whatever fights take place, or party is overthrown in the political arena, the life and liberty of the nation are safe so long as these high places are held by such as hold them with us.

Perhaps it is natural for youth to boast when it first puts on the armour for the battle of life, individual or national. The sense of power, and the will to perform, are so strong within it. The sword glitters so pleasantly to the young eyes—feels so satisfying to the grasp—so sharp to the touch. Then we have a tendency to vaunt. We are stiller when we return from victory at the close of some day of Marathon or Waterloo, with dints on the armour, scars on the limbs, and a great work done. We are quieter now. We have left our sting behind. Possibly we might fairly boast a little as we think of one good stroke in the thick of the fight—one rallying effort that helped to turn the tide of battle; but we do not boast now; we have wrung the strength and pride out of great obstacles: we let our deeds speak for us. They may take the armour and hang it up to brighten other eyes. They may tell the story to tingle in other ears. Our boasting days are done.

The New Englanders, on the other hand, flushed with prosperity,

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perity, and fond of approbation, are boastful, and at the same time nervously sensitive to criticism. We are aware of instances in which an honest English criticism—not harsh, but not sufficiently flattering—has proved fatal to the friendly feeling of American authors, who cannot stand that which English writers put up with and live down every day. One cause of poor Edgar Poe's Ishmaelitish life amongst his fellow authors was his love of playing upon this national weakness. He found they could not swallow criticism when spoken ever so kindly, and so he gave it to them bitterly. And, as they had been long accustomed to nothing stronger than a gentle tickling of each other's thinskinnedness, they yelled when his lash fell on them with its hearty smack, and they turned on him instinctively.

Most people have noticed how Nature, at certain whimsical moments, will mould human faces, features, expressions, so queerly comical and quaintly absurd that all the attempts of caricature fail to match them. Leech, Doyle, and Cruikshank are outdone any day in the streets of London. In a similar manner we find there is nothing like Nature for doing justice to our American friends, and only American nature can give them adequate representation. When Mr. Dickens drew the sketches of Yankee character in his 'Martin Chuzzlewit,' they were assailed in America as gross caricatures, and enjoyed in England as pictures very pleasant to laugh at, if not exactly to be believed in. Since then we have learned that the Americans *do* produce such characters, and perform such things as cannot be caricatured. The work of the novelist does not come near enough to that of Nature in quite another direction. We have heard a whole nation telling the wide world that they 'must be cracked up,' in just such an attitude as though Hannibal Chollop had been their model. The two reporters of the 'Water-toast Gazette,' who described Martin Chuzzlewit, and took him, the one below the waistcoat, the other above, were eclipsed by the reporters that attended the Prince of Wales on his American tour. The Young Columbians who harangued the Water-toast Sympathisers; General Choke, La Fayette, Kettle, and Jefferson Brick, have reached their summit of the vulgar sublime in the 'New York Herald.' It does not appear probable at first sight that any human being should use the greeting of General Fladdock to his friends the Norrises—'And do I then once again behold the choicest spirits of my country?' Yet we have it on reliable authority that when a certain American was introduced to the poet Longfellow, he struck an attitude, exclaiming, 'And is it possible that I stand in the presence of the illustrious Mr. Longfellow?'

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Longfellow?' In Walt Whitman, a 'Rough,' a 'Kosmos,' as he delights to call himself, America has given a living embodiment to that description of Elijah Pogram's :—

'A model man, quite fresh from Nature's mould. A true-born child of this free hemisphere! verdant as the mountains of our country; bright and flowing as our mineral Licks; unspiled by withering conventionalisms as air our broad and boundless Perearers! Rough he may be. So air our Barrs. Wild he may be. So air our Baffalors. But he is a child of Natur' and a child of Freedom; and his boastful answer to the Despot and the Tyrant is that his bright home is in the settin' sun.'

The New Englanders have many excellences and many faults, both wholly unlike our own. Of course there is a small minority amongst them who see how the American institutions give the greatest chance for all that is big and blatant to usurp attention; but it is difficult to catch the quiet voice of their protest. They feel sad to know that the worst American characteristics should so often be accepted as sole representatives to the world. They trust that somehow or other the power may yet be evolved which shall work up and refine the raw material in which America abounds. We take Mr. Emerson to be the exponent of the thoughts and feelings of this minority. We fancy that but comparatively few of his countrymen will follow him up into his serener range of vision. Still, he is very popular as a lecturer in the New-England States, especially with the thinking portion of their women, which affords one of the pleasantest specimens of the Yankee character.

Carlyle praises Mr. Emerson because, in such a never-resting locomotive country, he is one of those rare men who have the invaluable talent of sitting still. But he has not sat still with his eyes shut, nor merely looked on things with that 'inward eye which is the bliss of solitude.' Whether he turns his eyes abroad or fixes them on what passes around him at home, he can now and again send a glance right to the heart of the matter. Looking across the dreary flats of the American multitude, we see him as a man in their midst of pronounced individuality, with force to resist the tyranny of the majority—with moral courage and mental vigour enough to withstand the pressure of the crowd. Although sitting, he seems to us a head and shoulders above the rest, and we think that what he says of his countrymen, as of us, is worth listening to. He bears strong testimony that the populations of the large cities of America are godless and materialised. Observing the habit of expense, the riot of the senses, the absence

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absence of bonds, clanship, fellow-feeling of all kinds, in the hotel life of the large Atlantic cities, he fears that when man or woman is driven to the wall the chances of integrity and virtue are frightfully diminished; they are becoming a luxury which few can afford. Pretension, he tells us, is the special foible of American youth, and there is a restlessness in them which argues want of character. They run away to other countries because they are not good in their own, and then hurry back because they pass for nothing in the new places. An eminent teacher of girls said, 'The idea of a girl's education with us is, whatever qualifies them for going to Europe;' and for the consolation of those who are unable to travel, Holmes wittily promises that 'good Americans, when they die, go to Paris.'

Mr. Emerson tells us emphatically that the education is universal, but 'the culture is superficial.' He perceives that the value of education must be tested by its power of fostering and bringing forth the elements of individuality; that the strength of the national character and the reserve force of Race depend on the hidden amount of individuality there may be hoarded in the land. To this wealth secreted by nature, often in strange ways and unexpected places, we have to look when our resources are most drawn upon and there is a run on the national strength. When all our methods of culture may fail, this will give us the right man, the hero, who steps forth and does his work, and seems a gift direct from God. Mr. Emerson admits that one Alfred, one Shakspeare, one Milton, one Sidney, one Raleigh, one Wellington, is preferable to a million foolish democrats, and reminds his readers that our communications with the Infinite must be personal; Heaven does not deal with humanity, or save souls 'in bundles.'

It is our present purpose, however, more particularly to examine what the New Englanders have to say of the Old Home. Mr. Emerson goes deepest into the biography of our national character, as written in the history of our great Englishmen, and shows a closer acquaintance with the spirit of the race, as it lives in our literature. Mr. Hawthorne is a much shallower observer of appearances, and seldom goes beneath the surface of things except in the expression of his own ill-feeling. Mr. Emerson is fair in his judgments and frank in his statements. He looks at the old land with clear honest eyes, and is ungrudging in his praise as fearless in his blame. His spirit is large and magnanimous, but it has not got into the style of his writing. The sentences in 'English Traits' are crisp to crackling; yet the book is the best that has been written

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written on its subject. Mr. Emerson says it would take a hundred years to see England well. He has evidently found that to know the English character well, you must study it for at least a thousand years back. He tells us he was given to understand in his childhood that the British Island, from which his forefathers came, was 'no lotus-garden, no paradise of serene sky, and roses, and music, and merriment all the year round, but a cold, foggy, mournful country, where nothing grew well in the open air but robust men and virtuous women, and these of a wonderful fibre and endurance; that their best parts were slowly revealed; their virtues did not come out until they quarrelled; they did not strike twelve the first time: good lovers, good haters, and you could know little about them till you had seen them long, and little good of them till you had seen them in action; that in prosperity they were moody and dumpish, but in adversity they were grand.'

Mr. Emerson's observations of England and the English lead him to the conclusion that England is the best of actual nations. He finds the country anchored at the side of Europe—the very heart of the modern world. For a shop-keeping nation it has the finest position, the best stand on the planet. Resembling a ship in shape, the most patriotic of admirals could not have worked it into a more fortuitous place, or anchored it more judiciously for commanding the watery highways and the markets of the world. The sea, which Virgil thought encircled and shut up the poor remote Britons from the rest of the human family, has proved to be their ring of marriage with all nations, and the largeness of its horizon has somehow entered into the life of this little island. England is a model world on a convenient scale, containing a miniature of Europe and a pocket Switzerland, a soil of singular perfection, land and waters abounding with plenty. The place is small, especially to the Yankee mind, fearful of traversing it at full stride lest it should overstep the white chalk cliffs; but there is no bit of earth so closely packed with every kind of wealth. Below the surface it is so crammed with the life of the past—every step of it holding you to read its pages in the history of art or humanity—and above it is crowded with the works of the past and the life of the present. To Mr. Emerson's eyes the island presents a little bit of Nature's most felicitous work in conception, left as a sketch, which has been finished like a perfect picture by the hand of man. Originally the place was a prize for the strongest—a fit home of hardy workers and heroic fighters, for the best men to win: an island, whose chief enchantments were barren shingle, rough weather, and cloudy skies. Yet many races came to contend for it, and beat all the weakness out of each

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each other, and leave to it at last the legacy of their welded strength. Here the widest extremes have met, and the fiercest antagonisms have clenched hands. The mixture of a wide range of nationalities has produced a race that is nobler than any one of those which have gone to the making of it. The Briton in the blood still hugs the homestead; the Scandinavian listens to the murmurs of the mighty mother, the ocean. The one spirit yearns wistfully across the blue waters, with eyes that sparkle for adventure, whilst it is shut up on shore; the other, when abroad, still turns with eyes of longing and heart that aches with home-sickness to the little island lying far away. Mr. Emerson thinks great advantages, in the matter of race, have been given to the English, as well as in their geographical stand-point. But they have toiled honestly to win their present position as the most successful people for the last millennium. Their passion for utility and their practical common sense have given them the throne of the modern world. The Russian in his snows is aiming to be English; the Turk and the Chinese are also making awkward efforts in the same direction. Those who resist this influence neither feel it nor obey it any the less. The English, Mr. Emerson says, are free, forcible men, in a country where life is safe and has reached its greatest value. They give the bias to the current age, not by chance, or by mass, but by their character and by the number of individuals among them of personal ability. They have supreme endurance in labour and in war. Their success is not sudden or fortunate, but they have maintained constancy for ages. Their sense of superiority is founded on their habit of victory.

The nation, he says, has yet a tough, acrid animal nature, which centuries of civilizing have not been able to sweeten. The smoothness of following ages has not quite effaced the stamp of Odin. Dear to the English heart is a fair stand-up fight, and a set-to in the streets will always delight the passers-by. They love fair play, open fighting, a clear deck, and want no favour. The English game, he avers, is main force to main force—the planting of foot to foot, a rough tug and no dodging. They hate all craft and subtlety; and when they have pounded each other to a poultice, they will shake hands and be friends for the remainder of their lives. They have extreme difficulty to run away, and will die game: all fight well, from the costermongers, who learn to 'work their fists' in the streets, up to the young 'puppies,' who, 'fought well' at Waterloo. They are good at storming redoubts, at boarding frigates, at dying in the last ditch, on any desperate service that has daylight and honour in it. But, with all this rough force and supreme 'pluck,' the race, unlike the Roman,

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Roman, is tender as well as stout of heart—'as mild as it is game, and game as it is mild':—

'The English,' Mr. Emerson says, 'do not wear their heart on their sleeve for daws to peck at. They hide virtues under vices, or the semblance of them. It is the misshapen hairy Scandinavian Troll again, who lifts the cart out of the mire, or "threshes the corn that ten day-labourers could not end," but it is done in the dark, and with a muttered malediction. He is a churl with a soft place in his heart, whose speech is a brash of bitter waters, but who loves to help you at a pinch. He says no, and serves you, and your thanks disgust him. There was lately a cross-grained miser, odd and ugly, resembling in countenance the portrait of Punch with the laugh left out; rich by his own industry, sulking in a lonely house, who never gave a dinner to any man, and disdained all courtesies, yet as true a worshipper of beauty in form and colour as ever existed, and profusely pouring over the cold mind of his countrymen creations of grace and truth, removing the reproach of sterility from English Art, catching from their savage climate every fine hint, and importing into their galleries every tint and trait of summer cities and skies; making an era in painting; and when he saw that the splendour of one of his pictures in the Exhibition dimmed his rival's that hung next it, secretly took a brush and blackened his own.'

No people, Mr. Emerson thinks, have so much thoroughness: they clinch every nail they drive. They have no running for luck—no immoderate speed. Conscious that no better race of men exists, they rely most on the simplest means in war, business, and mechanics. They do not put too fine a point on matters, but concentrate the expense and the labour in the right place. They are bound to see their measure carried, and will stick to it through ages of defeat. Private persons will exhibit in scientific and antiquarian researches the very same pertinacity as the nation showed in the coalitions in which it yoked Europe together against the empire of Buonaparte, and fought on through failure after failure until it conquered at last.

Mr. Emerson finds the Englishman to be him of all men who stands firmest in his shoes. They have in themselves, he says, what they value in their horses—mettle and bottom. Their practical power rests on their national sincerity, and their sincerity and veracity appear to result on a sounder animal structure, as if they could afford it. They dare to displease, and require you to be of your own opinion! They will not have to do with a man in a mask; let them know the whole truth. Say what you mean. Be what you are. Draw the line straight, hit whom and where you may. The Englishman's eye looks full into the face of things, and he grips his weapon or tool by the handle. He has

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a supreme eye to facts, a bias toward utility, and a logic that brings salt to soup, hammer to nail, oar to boat; the logic of cooks, carpenters, and chemists, following the sequence of nature, and one on which words make no impression. Mr. Emerson considers the unconditional surrender of the English mind to facts, and the choice of means to reach their ends, are as admirable as with ants and bees. Yet with this one-eyed logic of a Cyclopian kind of character he admits that the English have a spirit of singular fairness, a belief in the existence of two sides, and a resolution to see fair play. There is an appeal from the assertion of the parties to the proof of what is asserted. The whole universe of Englishmen will suspend their judgment until a trial can be had. He also says there is an English hero superior to the French, the German, the Italian, or the Greek:—

'The national temper in the civil history is not flashy or whiffling. The slow deep English mass smoulders with fire, which at last sets all its borders in flame. The wrath of London is not French wrath, but has a long memory, and in its hottest heat a register and a rule. Half of their strength they put not forth. They never let out all the length of their reins. But they are capable of a sublime resolution; and if hereafter the war of races, often predicted and making itself a war of opinion also (a question of despotism and liberty coming from Eastern Europe), should menace the English civilization, these sea-kings may take once again to their floating castles, and find a new home and a second millennium of power in their colonies. Whoever would see the uncoiling of that tremendous spring, the explosion of their well-husbanded forces, must follow the swarms which, pouring now for two hundred years from the British Islands, have sailed and traded and fought and colonized through all climates round the globe.'

One great secret of the English power Mr. Emerson perceives lies in the mutual good understanding of the race. Difference of rank does not divide the national heart. An electric touch by any of our national ideas will melt us all into one family. This we have proved on many a hard-fought field, where peer and peasant have stood shoulder to shoulder, and fallen side by side. 'English believes in English. They have trust in each other. The very felons have pride in one another's English stanchness. The people are more bound in character, than differenced in ability and rank.'

Mr. Emerson delights in the English plainness of speech and dress. An Englishman, he remarks, understates and avoids the superlative, 'checks himself in compliment, alleging that in the French language one cannot speak without lying.' Pretension and vapouring are always distasteful. 'They keep to the other extreme of low tone in voice, dress, and manners. They hate pretence,

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tence, and nonsense, and sentimentalism. Plain rich clothes and equipage, with plain rich finish, mark the English truth. Where ornaments are worn, they must be gems. They dislike everything theatrical in public life, and anything showy in private. They have no French taste for a badge. The Lord dresses a little worse than the Commoner; but the best dress with them is that which is the most difficult to remember or describe.'

The upper classes have only birth, say the people across the water. Mr. Emerson replies, Yes, but they have manners, and it is wonderful how much talent runs into manners; power of any kind readily appears in the manners, and beneficent power gives a majesty which cannot be concealed or resisted. The superior education of the nobles recommends them to the country. They are high-spirited, active, educated men, born to wealth and power, who have run through every country, and kept in every country the best company; have seen every secret of art and Nature. They have the sense of superiority, with the absence of all the ambitious effort which disgusts in the aspiring classes; a pure tone of thought and feeling, and the power to command, among their other luxuries, the presence of the most accomplished men in their festive meetings. Besides, these are they who make England that strong-box and museum it is; who gather and protect works of art, dragged from amidst burning cities and revolutionary countries, and brought hither out of all the world. These lords, says Mr. Emerson, are the treasurers and librarians of mankind, engaged by their pride and wealth to this function; and he pardoned high park-fences, when he found that besides does and pheasants, these have preserved Arundel marbles, Townley galleries, Howard and Spenserian libraries, Warwick and Portland vases, Saxon manuscripts, monastic architecture, millennial trees, and breeds of cattle elsewhere extinct. Mr. Emerson holds that some men are born to own, and can animate their possessions. Others cannot; their owning is not graceful. They seem to steal their own dividends. Those should own, who can administer; not they who hoard and conceal. And he is the rich man in whom the people are rich; whilst he is the poor man in whom the people are poor. He also perceives, rightly enough, that the English aristocracy strengthen their hold on the national heart by making the private life their place of honour. Domesticity is the tap-root which enables the nation to branch wide and high; and this the nobility, the county-families, carefully cultivate. They do not give up their country tastes to a town life, nor are their rural predilections absorbed even by a life spent in the service of the State. They like to live on their own lands, amongst their people, and they wisely and frequently exchange

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exchange the crowds that are not company, and the talk that is but a tinkling cymbal, for intercourse with out-of-door nature, the bursting of blossoms, the singing of birds, the waving of wheat, the breath of the heather, and the smell of the turnips. They seek to renew life at the springs of health, which gives a fresh bloom to the fireside humanities. The love and labour of generations are spent on the building, planting, and decorating their homesteads, and the world has been ransacked to enrich them.

Surveying the England of to-day, Mr. Emerson is ready, like the rest of us, to undervalue the Present. This has always been a common failing, or an uncommon virtue, of human nature. The greatest periods of our history, which to us seem filled with divine heat and a plenitude of power, have been spoken lightly of by some that lived in them. Mr. Emerson thinks no 'sublime augury' cheers the student of our current literature—no greatness, unless perhaps in our criticism, which often bespeaks the 'presence of the invisible gods.' Meanwhile, he knows there is always a retrieving power in the English race. He can see but little life in the Church of England (he wrote some eight or nine years ago); but he admits it 'has many certificates to show of humble, effective service in humanising the people, in cheering and refining men—feeding, healing, educating. It has the seal of martyrs and confessors; the noblest books; a sublime architecture; a ritual marked by the same secular merits, nothing cheap or purchasable.' And he holds that, 'if religion be the doing of all good, and for its sake the suffering of all evil —*souffrir de tout le monde et faire souffrir personne*—that divine secret has existed in England from the days of Alfred to those of Romilly, of Clarkson, and of Florence Nightingale, and in thousands who have no fame.'

Mr. Emerson is wrong in supposing that the English husband has a right to lead the wife to market for sale. He likewise dwells too strongly perhaps on the fleshly side of the national character—our love of good feeding and drinking; dips us rather too deep in beer and flesh-pots, and lays too much stress on the coarseness of our logic, and the materiality of our success. 'No people have true common sense but those who are born in England,' said Montesquieu. But the English common sense is not limited merely to what we call doing well in the world. It is not confined to drudgery or going to market. It has no dread of singularity, and is not nonplussed by finding itself in novel positions. In short, the total of English common sense contains something that is lacking in the common sense of other nations. It is that sort of common sense which is compatible with the greatest imagination;

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imagination; so that the work of the one looks likes the result of the other inspired and transfigured. Mr. Emerson has a lurking misgiving that the English are not equally good at making the fine up-stroke with their firm down-stroke, and are wanting in the lively spirit and sparkle of fancy. But we would remind him that fancy is a much lower mental faculty, with all its brilliant quickness, than that imagination which, in its simple sublimity, is apt to look like common sense, and a homely force for every-day work. Fancy catches the light with its spectrum, and breaks it into colours. Imagination sees things in the plain, pure, unbroken light. Fancy plays with illusions, and dallies with likenesses. Imagination does not care to tell us what things are like; it announces facts as they are, or uses its metaphor by Identification and not as a Comparison. The greatest Imagination is the greatest Realist in the high ranges, just as Common Sense is in the lowest. Indeed, if rightly considered, the loftiest 'Ideal' (we use this word with reluctance) is to the great Imagination only the utmost Real.

Again, Mr. Emerson sees the value of English Individuality, but does not point out that, whilst we produce the most robust specimens of individuality under the sun, and the largest number of men who dare to be in a minority of one, think just as they like, and say what they think, even as their forefathers have been doing for hundreds of years, yet this force, so independent in the individual, is kept well in hand by an essentially law-abiding, law-loving spirit. It seldom breaks out at the wrong time, or in the wrong way. The strong feeling of Nationality gathers it up, and guides it for the good and glory of the country. It can all be repressed within the necessary bounds when England needs, as a man will draw back a step to strike a fuller blow. And it is this repression of so much individuality within the bounds of law that puts so much reserved power into the national character, and gives to its motions the perfect harmony of restrained strength. It is perfectly true that we have put more of this individuality into literature than any other people has done; we possess more of it in common life than any other nation; and more of it goes to the making of the English than any other race. But our preeminence amongst races and nations lies chiefly in the fact that these bristling and startling individualities, which keep strangers at a distance, can be all turned in one direction when the foe is in front; and the nation of oddities will march into battle as evenly, and with the oneness of the Macedonian Phalanx; and though the rear-rank man could step into a leader's place at a pinch, yet we can keep

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keep each man his position, ruled by a stronger power than ever held the Greek or Roman shields together.

Mr. Emerson can see that the English are a people of a myriad personalities, and cannot be represented by the popular figures of John Bull and John's bull-dog. He admits that, after all, what is said about a nation is a superficial dealing with symptoms. 'We cannot go deep enough into the biography of the spirit who never throws himself entire into one hero, but delegates his energy in parts. The wealth of the source is seen in the plenitude of English nature. What variety of power and talent; what facility and plenteousness of knighthood, lordship, ladyship, royalty, loyalty; what a proud chivalry is indicated in Collins's Peerage, through eight hundred years! What dignity resting on what reality and stoutness! What courage in war, what sinew in labour, what cunning workmen, what inventors, engineers, seamen, pilots, clerks, and scholars! No one man, and no few men, can represent them.' Mr. Hawthorne, on the other hand, only believes in one John Bull—the popular embodiment of beef and beer; the bluff, hearty yeoman, with *no* possible refinement whatever; the Falstaff-like mountain of a man, who puts all his weight into his tread—especially if a Yankee's tender toes happen to be in the way; with his stomach full of meat, and pockets full of money; his face in a ruddy glow, like a round, red harvest-moon, except when mottled, double-chinned, and treble-chined. This is his image of the genuine Englishman; and he is sadly oppressed by the weight and size of it. That which does not come up, or swell out, to these proportions is not English in his estimation. It is too 'refined,' and more properly belongs to the American nation. Thus he finds that the sailor-darling of the English people, Nelson, was no representative of ours, because he had none of the ponderous respectability, the gross physique, which are to Mr. Hawthorne the sole sign and symbol of English nationality. Nelson was delicately organised as a woman, and as painfully sensitive as a poet; moreover, he had genius, which no Englishman it seems ever possessed, unless he was morbid and maimed, 'as we may satisfy ourselves by running over the list of their poets, for example, and observing how many of them have been sickly or deformed, and how often their lives have been darkened by insanity.' The reader will be sure to see how great is the truth of observation here, and how apposite the illustration. It is well known that genius never did break out in our race, except as the result of disease! Shakspeare and Ben Jonson, George Chapman, and Walter Scott were

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were remarkably morbid men. Whilst Spenser, Milton, Wordsworth, and many other of our great poets, were undoubtedly insane. Nelson, Mr. Hawthorne says, won the love and admiration of his country through the efficacy of qualities that are not English. Precisely so. It never was an English quality to bring your ship close alongside that of the enemy, and there live or there die—one must go down before we part! Nor did Nelson understand the national nature in the least when he made his famous appeal to the sentiment of duty. He did not belong to us; and he was so successful because so eminently un-English! Let us see what Mr. Emerson says on this head:—

'The English delight in the antagonism which combines in one person the extremes of courage and tenderness. Nelson, dying at Trafalgar, sends his love to Lord Collingwood, and like an innocent schoolboy that goes to bed, says, "Kiss me, Hardy," and turns to sleep. Lord Collingwood, his comrade, was of a nature the most affectionate and domestic. And, Sir James Parry said, the other day, of Sir John Franklin, that if he found Wellington Sound open, he explored it; for he was a man who never turned his back on a danger, yet of that tenderness that he would not brush away a mosquito.'

But Mr. Hawthorne cannot see the relationship of Nelson to our race because he was not a big John Bull kind of man, with a robust personal vigour, and unpolishably rugged. Nor does he appear to know that this island has produced many of the most delicate, yet perfectly healthy, natures that ever breathed an aroma of womanly sweetness into literature—such as Philip Sidney, George Herbert, and Spenser, whom we take at random, as diverse illustrations of a far different sort of Englishmen.

Mr. Hawthorne is blind to the fact that John Bull's stoutness lies in the spirit as well as in corporal substance, and that Nelson, with his small stature and slender form, is as much an Englishman in spirit as though he had weighed twenty stone; whilst the slender body of Shelley contained as much English 'pluck' as did the large bulk of Dr. Johnson. The truth is that no greater fallacy obtains than this respecting the typical Englishman. Not that we wish for a moment to repudiate John Bull, or deny that Mr. Punch's portraits have the stamp of authenticity. We admit the groundwork of the character: let others build as they may upon it! We rejoice in John, with his sturdy spirit magnificently lodged in plenty of flesh. We like to see his face across the dinner-table, purple with port, it may be; or meet him in the farm-yard, when the increase of the year has gently swelled his sense of self-importance, and his genial smile is an illumination of contentedness. We like the humour of the thing,

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thing, and are not concerned to point out that the sum-total of the English character is not included in the one picture. The type represents certain elements of the national strength, and it answers to the requirements of the popular imagination, which expects and demands that all greatness shall have large physical embodiment. But few of our great Englishmen have really been formed in this mould. Ben Jonson and Henry VIII. would almost stand alone. On the other hand, what a number we might name of Englishmen, true as ever breathed, who were neither of massive form nor heroic height of stature, and whose greatness could not be measured by their girth,—from Francis Drake to Nelson, from Milton and Newton to William Pitt! Let us not be misunderstood. We are not growing ashamed of our own flesh and blood because Mr. Hawthorne has fallen into an error. We do not see that souls fatten with our American cousins from the body's leanness, and we trust that John Bull may flourish long and his shadow never grow less. It is what Oxford men term the 'beefiness of the fellow' which has turned the scale of victory in his favour; enabled him to give the winning stroke with oar or sword in many a close tug of contest; and when he has thrown his enemy in some last deadly wrestle, he has fallen on him with double weight. Those observers, however, who persist in seeing only the coarse earthy outside of John Bull are not likely to do justice to that inner sanctuary of the English nature, where the gentler virtues nestle in dim, shy nooks, and the tender undergrowths of home feelings and kindly affections are nurtured and protected by the surrounding strength, or they might possibly see how many springs of secret sweetness tend to humanise and spiritualise the ponderous nature of the massive man.

We are charged with being dumb and sombre, gross and taciturn; each man a living image of our geographical isolation. But this uninviting exterior shields and shelters much delicate inner life, and gives it privacy. This kind of character affords quiet for the mind to brood in, and sufficient depth of soil to grow the choicest fruits. English nature likes to dwell inside of good thick walls, that are not easily overlooked, and cannot bear such as are transparent to the public gaze. It loves a privacy shady and sacred, and rather prefers to grow prickly externally, for protection. We are generally shy and shut-up with one another, and particularly so with strangers. Those, therefore, who judge the Englishman and the English race from the outside will do about as much justice as we should to Shakspeare if we could ignore his works, with all their imagery of his inner life, and remember only the fact that he made all the money he could in London, and

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and then went back to Stratford to try and make more. What a genuine John Bull he would have been! The race which has produced Shakspeare—and he is our sole adequate representative man—may at least fairly claim to possess as great a range and variety of character as can be found in his works. But Mr. Hawthorne is not favourably endowed or fitted to enter the English nature; he acknowledges only one type, and that, to him, a repulsive one.

He also thinks us a one-eyed people, and the secret of our success is to be found in our way of shutting the other, so as to get the most distinct and decided view. In this manner, we achieve magnificent triumphs without seeing half the obstacles and difficulties which lie in the way—if we would only keep both eyes open. He says if General M'Clellan could but have shut his left eye, the right one would long ago have guided his army into Richmond. But it appears the Yankee mind cannot thus stultify itself, it is so very wide-awake; nor could it condescend to stumble into victory—it must see the way clear, with both eyes open, before it would take advantage of fortune.

It is interesting to know the kind of man that he did like, not to say fell in love with. Poor Leigh Hunt, with his southern weakness of fibre and his amiable simplicities of character, he found quite delightful. He was a beautiful and venerable old man—more soft and agreeable in manners than any other Englishman whom Mr. Hawthorne met. Exceedingly appreciative of American praise, which he received with face quietly alive, and gentle murmurs of satisfaction and continual folding of hands! But 'there was not an English trait in him from head to foot, morally, intellectually, or physically. Beef, ale or stout, brandy or port-wine, entered not at all into his composition. His person and manners were thoroughly American, and of the best type.' We are glad Mr. Hawthorne perceived that this was not the sort of stuff out of which Englishmen are usually made, nor the pattern according to which they are cut. This was a man whom the Yankee could patronise. Now, John Bull cannot stand patronage, either greasy or grim; he will not have it. Mr. Hawthorne would patronise us if he could; if we would only allow it. 'An American,' he says, 'is not very apt to love the English people, as a whole, on whatever length of acquaintance. I fancy they would value our regard, and even reciprocate it in their ungracious way, if we could give it to them in spite of all rebuffs.' But the national character is not so easily got over as was Leigh Hunt.

Mr. Hawthorne is almost as much oppressed in mind with what he elegantly terms the 'female Bull' as he is with the male.

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male. The only figure, he tells us, that comes fairly forth to his mind's eye out of his life at Leamington is 'that of a dowager, one of hundreds whom I used to marvel at in England, who had an awful ponderosity of frame; not pulpy, like the loose development of our few fat women, but massive with solid beef and streaky tallow; so that (though struggling manfully against the idea) you inevitably think of her as made up of steaks and sirloins!' We confess never to have thought of this when we have looked on those rubicund old English ladies, so light of heart that they can carry their external weight with jovial impunity and occupy their proper share of space, like an overflow of satisfaction; with their exceedingly delightful old faces, and cheeks like the summer jenneting and more than its sweetness in their smile. On seeing such women, and the young-eyed spirit yet looking out in spite of age, we have thought of motherhood in its mellowest aspect: we may have marvelled where the violet nature of the slender girl had gone, but we never contemplated the jolliest, most solid old dame from the cannibal point of view! But Mr. Hawthorne, in his ineffable coarseness, cannot even look on the budding beauty of English girlhood, or the full flower of English womanhood, without speculating upon the quantity of 'clay' that makes up the human form. He cannot get rid of the idea that Bull is made of beef, and accordingly 'beef' enters into all his calculations, although he sometimes calls it 'clay.' He admits being driven to acknowledge that English ladies, 'looked at from a lower point of view, were perhaps a little finer animals' than the American women; but 'it would be a pitiful bargain to give up the ethereal charm of American beauty in exchange for half a hundred weight of human clay.'

If nature refuses to go beyond a pallid briar-rose kind of beauty, a lily-like delicacy of grace, and cannot produce the fuller bosom and riper tint, by all means let our friends set up their lily ideal of womanhood for home admiration, and stick the faint wild-rose symbol in the national button-hole. Tastes differ, and we are not so 'refined' in ours. We like to see how victorious a thing is the force of beauty in the full glory of physical health. We do not despise the roses that bloom all the winter through, even though an American taste be apt to deem the deep healthy bloom 'fitter for a milkmaid than a lady.' A Yankee may think that his 'national paleness and lean habit of flesh' may give an advantage in an æsthetic point of view. We like to feel the radiating health, and to hear the ring of it in the voice.

Our English women, however, are not all of the ponderous size that—like America to the Americans—they have to be embraced

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embraced at twice. Nor are our types of feminine loveliness all of the buxom and blooming kind. We, too, have our white lilies of womanhood, with slim tall figures, flowing shapes, and faces that have the Greek fineness of feature. If Mr. Hawthorne had noticed their delicacy of form and complexion, he might have completed his family picture by calling these the 'veal of the female Bull.' Moreover, the Yankees may pride themselves on their 'refinement' and spareness of flesh, and they may produce a race of men who shall lack the English sap, hue, and plumpness; men who shall be lean in look, lanky in limb, and lantern-jawed, without its following necessarily that these shall be flashing heroic little Nelsons; Workers wiry and tenacious as Pitt; Poets with the delicate nature of Keats; the champagne-sparkle of Praed, the pathetic wit of Hood, or the beauty of holiness that shines through the verse of Vaughan. The thinness worn by a soul too keen for its physical sheath, or the fire of genius making its lamp of the body diaphanous, may be a different sort of thing from the thinness produced by a desiccating climate.

We said that Mr. Hawthorne was a shallow observer. Here are one or two striking illustrations of our meaning. At Uttoxeter he asked a boy of some twelve years of age if he had ever heard of Dr. Johnson's penance in the Market-place, where he stood bareheaded in the rain. The boy had never heard of it. Whereupon Mr. Hawthorne remarks, 'Just think of the absurd little town knowing nothing of the only memorable incident which ever happened within its boundaries since the old Britons built it!' And this because one little boy had not heard of the circumstance! Again, in Greenwich Park, Mr. Hawthorne saw some of the London 'unwashed' disporting themselves, and he infers a mighty difference betwixt the working-classes of England and America. He remarks, 'Every man and woman on our side of the water has a working-day suit and a holiday suit, and is occasionally fresh as a rose; whereas in the good old country the grimness of his labour or squalid habits clings for ever to the individual, and gets to be a part of his personal substance.' These, he says, are broad (very broad of the mark) 'facts, involving great corollaries and dependencies.' An inference this about on a par with that of the old gentleman who wrote a tract on the 'Falling Sickness amongst the London Rooks'! At the Twelve Brethren of Leicester's Hospital, Mr. Hawthorne finds that a countryman of his had framed a bit of poor Amy Robsart's needlework in a carved piece of oak from Kenilworth Castle; and he says, 'certainly, no Englishman would be capable of this little bit of enthusiasm.' As if Englishmen had never done not only

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only tenderly graceful acts, but the most seriously absurd things in their enthusiasm!

Nothing short of the most cheery nature could have had heart to smile into Mr. Hawthorne's bitter wintry face long enough to win a smile of approval in return. Once or twice, however, we catch a watery sunbeam there for a moment, even in the presence of English people. He was delighted to find there were women amongst us who by their dress acknowledged that they were poor, and thus had the grace of fitness which is not ashamed of being, like the daisy, one of the commonplaces of Nature. A kind of beauty this, he says, that will certainly never be found in America, where every girl tries to dress herself into somebody else. Also he remarks that in England people can grow old without the weary necessity of seeming younger than they are. 'In old English towns Old Age comes forth more cheerfully and genially into the sunshine than among ourselves, where the rush, stir, bustle, and irreverent energy of Youth are so prepondérant that the poor forlorn grandsires begin to doubt whether they have a right to breathe in such a world any longer, and so hide their silvery heads in solitude.'

Mr. Hawthorne seems to have shared somewhat in the feeling common to New Englanders, of the higher culture and quieter nature, who tell us of their longings for the 'Old Home,' and their love of its special English features. We are acquainted with New Englanders in whom the Old Home feeling is at times inexpressibly strong. When their life has been more than usually moved down to the very roots of it under the influence of a great sorrow, it has seemed as though they touched England at that depth, and they have experienced a 'blind pathetic tendency' to wander back to the old place once more. Having no wish to disparage their own country, they yet feel there is something in English air and the tender sweetness of the green grass; the lark, singing in the blue sky overhead; our wild flowers, which seem as the affectionate diminutives used by Nature in her fondest speech; our field footpaths that wander and shady lanes that loiter along their lines of beauty; the homesteads that nestle in the heart of rural life, and thatched cottages that peep on the wayfarer through their wreaths of honeysuckle and roses; our grand Gothic cathedrals, grey old Norman towers, and village church-spires; the long rich grass that fattens round the old abbeys, which they cannot find in their own country. We have heard them say that the only real quiet life seems to be in England, and the only stillness sacred for the dead to rest in seems to lie under the mossy stone or daisied mound of an English country churchyard.

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yard. Home is not easily extemporised on so vast a scale as is mapped out in America; and England alone, with her nestling nooks and old associations and brooding peace, satisfies the finer sense.* Mr. Hawthorne confesses that 'However one's Yankee patriotism may struggle against the admission, it must be owned that the trees and other objects of an English landscape take hold of the observer by numberless minute tendrils, as it were, which, look as closely as we choose, we never find in an American scene. Visiting these famous localities, I hope that I do not compromise my American patriotism by acknowledging that I was often conscious of a fervent hereditary attachment to the native soil of our forefathers, and felt it to be our own "old Home."' He thinks it a charming country on a very small scale, wherein Nature works with a pre-Raphaelite minuteness, much patient affection, and many tender sympathies; her handiwork being inimitable about the trunks of our trees, a square foot of old wall, and a yard or two of dense green hedge; a sprig of ivy embroidering an old boundary-fence, or the mosses taking shape in the cut letters of a name on a tombstone and keeping some forgotten memory green. On the whole, we have no doubt that Mr. Hawthorne found England much too good for the English. For his part, he says, he used to wish they could annex the island, 'transferring the thirty millions of inhabitants to some convenient wilderness in the great West, and putting half or a quarter as many of ourselves into their places. The change would be beneficial to both parties. We, in our dry atmosphere, are getting too nervous, haggard, dyspeptic, extenuated, unsubstantial, theoretic, and need to be made grosser. John Bull, on the other hand, has grown bulbous, long-bodied, short-legged, heavy-witted, material, and, in a word, too intensely English. In a few more centuries he will be the earthliest creature that ever the earth saw'—unless, we presume, such an intermixture and amalgamation with our American cousins should take place. But our little island refuses all such patronage steadily as does the national character. Besides which, what does Mr. Hawthorne say of our picturesque footpaths that go winding from stile to stile, and village to village, by green hedgerows and park-palings and gurgling brooks and lonely farmhouses, keeping from age to age their sacred right of way? 'An American farmer would plough across such a path, and obliterate it with his hills of potatoes and Indian corn; but here it is protected by law, and still more by the sacredness that

* This feeling for the 'Old Home' finds a frank and genuine expression in Mr. Elihu Burritt's forthcoming 'Walk from Land's End to John O'Groat's,' if we may judge from a glance at the early sheets.

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inevitably springs up in the soil along the well-defined footprints of centuries. Old associations are sure to be fragrant herbs in English nostrils: we pull them up as weeds.' So that on the whole, perhaps, it were as well that we should not be ferried across the Atlantic just yet. We should like to love the island a little longer, and keep in sanctity many of its immemorial characteristics.

We find nothing whatever in Mr. Hawthorne's English experience to account for his acrimony. He has recorded no proof that either the country or the national character deserved the bitterness which he appears to have felt before he came hither, and with which he has gone grumbling home. He lets out that he seldom came into personal relations with an Englishman without beginning to like him, and feeling the favourable impression wax stronger with the progress of the acquaintance. Again, he confesses that an American in an English house will 'soon adopt the opinion that the English are the very kindest people on the earth, and will retain the idea as long, at least, as he remains on the inner side of the threshold.' Once outside, Mr. Hawthorne opines that the magnetism which attracts within the magic line, becomes repellent to all beyond. It is very unfair, however, that because the Yankee contracts into the chilling consciousness of his national self when he gets outside the circle of genial warmth, welling humanity, and hearty hospitality, and begins remembering his prejudices, the English character should be held at fault, and charged with the blame. The 'acrid quality' which Mr. Hawthorne speaks of as being in the moral atmosphere of England, will, we fear, be found in his own nature. He met with friends most cordially kind, 'dear friends, genial, outspoken, openhearted Englishmen,' who represented the national nature at its best, from the one who made his visit to Oxford so sunny in memory, to the young friend who 'used to come and sit or stand by my fireside, talking vivaciously and eloquently with me about literature and life, his own national characteristics and mine, with such kindly endurance of the many rough republicanisms wherewith I assailed him, and such frank and amiable assertion of all sorts of English prejudices and mistakes, that I understood his countrymen infinitely the better for him, and was almost prepared to love the intensest Englishman of them all for his sake. Bright was the illumination of my dusky little apartment as often as he made his appearance there.' Strengthened and encouraged by the potent spirit of bold John Barleycorn, Mr. Hawthorne felt it in his heart to say that 'the climate of England has been shamefully maligned. Its sulkiness and asperities are not nearly so offensive as Englishmen tell us (their

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(their climate being the only attribute of their country which they never overvalue); and the really good summer weather is the very kindest and sweetest that the world knows.' And, before he left England, he confesses that his taste had begun to deteriorate by acquaintance with the plumper modelling of female loveliness than it had been his 'happiness to know at home,' although he is firmly resolved to uphold as angels those American ladies who may be a trifle lacking as women. Whilst regarding the grace which it appears does at times veil our coarser 'clay,' he admits that 'an English maiden in her teens, though very seldom so pretty as our own damsels, possesses, to say the truth, a certain charm of half blossom, and delicately folded leaves, and tender womanhood shaded by maidenly reserves, with which, somehow or other, our American girls often fail to adorn themselves during an appreciable moment.' So that in his experience of English character, and climate, and home, and its men and women, we find no warrant, we repeat, for the bitterness of Mr. Hawthorne's book. Yet, from one end to the other, it is steeped in vinegar and gall. Something of this may come from the great national calamity; the 'Star, Wormwood' has fallen into the stream of American life, and turned it into blood for them, and bitterness for us. And our Yankee friends have exhibited on a national scale the same kind of character as that which flies at others, bent on distributing the misfortune that has befallen itself; such as is shown by the husband who thrashes his wife when his temper may have been crossed; or, to take it in a more comical aspect, that of the boy who, having deservedly received a slap on the head, flings a stone at the first inoffending dog he meets. But there is a root of bitterness in Mr. Hawthorne that goes deeper than this; it was planted long before the flag of Secession. This broad fact, palpable throughout the book, could not be brought to a finer point than in the passage we are about to quote.

A friend had given Mr. Hawthorne his suburban residence, with all its conveniences, elegancies, and snuggeries; its drawing-rooms and library, 'still warm and bright with the recollections of the genial presences that we had known there;' its closets, chambers, kitchen, and wine-cellar; its lawn and cosy garden nooks, and whatever else makes up the comprehensive idea of an English home—'he had transferred it all to us, pilgrims and dusty wayfarers, that we might rest and take our ease during his summer's absence on the Continent.' And Mr. Hawthorne enjoyed it all, and felt the feeling of home there as he had felt it nowhere else in this world. The weather, he says, was that of Paradise itself. He wandered up and down the walks of the

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delightful garden, felt the delicious charm of our summer grey skies, the richness of our verdure; felt that the hunger and thirst for natural beauty might be satisfied with our grass and green leaves alone; and, '*conscious of the triumph of England in this respect, and loyally anxious for the credit of my own country, it gratified me to observe what trouble and pains the English gardeners are fain to throw away in producing a few sour plums and abortive pears and apples; as, for example, in this very garden,* where a row of unhappy trees were spread out perfectly flat against a brick wall, looking as if impaled alive or crucified, with a cruel and unattainable purpose of compelling them to produce rich fruit by torture. For my part I never ate an English fruit, raised in the open air, that could compare in flavour with a Yankee turnip.'

Mr. Hawthorne is hardly quite right in saying that not an Englishman of us all ever spared them for the sake of courtesy or kindness. Yet it would not be of any advantage if we were to besmear one another all over with butter and honey. He is right in saying that Americans cannot judge of our susceptibility by their own. Thickheaded we may be, and it dulls many a blow; but we are not quite so thin-skinned as they are. None of them all ever said harder things of us than we continually say of ourselves and of each other. Let them abuse us bitterly as they please (and we shall still find reasonable cause for self-blame besides any blots that they can hit*), we do not see how that will help them out of their difficulty, or hasten the decline and fall of England, which they seem to fancy is coming, and must come. Mr. Emerson even appears to think we have seen our best days. He writes:—

'If we will visit London, the present time is the best time, as some signs portend that it has reached its highest point. It is observed that the English interest us a little less within a few years; and hence the impression that the British power has culminated, is in solstice, or already declining.'

Mr. Emerson should have known that, if England had been declining, the interest of his countrymen could not have been lessened on that account. What says Mr. Hawthorne on this subject? 'At some unexpected moment there must come a terrible crash. The *sole reason* why I should desire it to happen in my days is, that I might be there to see.' It appears to us exceedingly lucky that England could not be set on fire easily, as a single building, or the author of the above atrocious avowal might, when here, have been tempted to emulate the youth who

* See for an enumeration of frightful evils, some of which society might do much to cure, a striking little book, called 'Another Blow for Life,' by G. Godwin, F.R.S. London, 1864.

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fired the Ephesian temple. We have no wish to see the ruin of Mr. Hawthorne's country, and trust that it may yet be averted.

Wordsworth told Mr. Emerson, thirty years ago, that the Americans needed a civil war to teach the necessity of knitting the social ties stronger; and, whatsoever the result may be, that war has come. Their character, as well as institutions, is on its trial. The only real test that has probed it to the heart is now presented to it. Its qualities, good and bad, are gathered together as on the threshing-floor of fate, where the flails are beating fiercely, to separate the wheat from the straw; and the storm-winds are blowing mightily, to winnow the chaff from the grain. We wish them well through the purifying process, and hope they may emerge a better nation, of nobler men, with simpler manners, greater reverence, higher aims, a loftier tone of honour, and a lower tone of talk—as will inevitably follow the living of a more unselfish life, and the doing of more earnest work. And when they shall have passed through their *crucial* experiment they will undoubtedly know the English character somewhat better.

We have not the least consolation for those who would not mind marching to ruin with their own country, if upheld by the proud thought that England also was doomed to a speedy fall. There is not the least sign of such a consummation, devoutly as it may be wished. We never knew John Bull in better health and spirits. Our patriotic sense has been wonderfully quickened of late years; suffering has drawn our bonds of union closer. We were never more near being English, that is, Conservatives to a man. Those who are so cosmopolitan as to admire and love every country except their own have had a throw which has taken the breath out of them. The spirit of our people, the sap of the national life, has of late dwelt less in the branches, and more in the roots of the tree. There has been little flutter in the leaves above, but more concentrated vitality in the fibres clinging to the earth below. This is the meaning of our unanimity and unity. We are able and happy to assure our American friends that the following words, written years since by Mr. Emerson, yet apply to us with an added force:—

'I happened to arrive in England at the moment of a commercial crisis. But it was evident that, let who will fail, England will not. These people have sat here a thousand years, and here will continue to sit. They will not break up, or arrive at any desperate revolution, like their neighbours; for they have as much energy, as much continence of character, as they ever had.

'The wise ancients did not praise the ship parting with flying colours from the port, but only that brave sailer which came back with torn

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torn sheets and battered sides, stripped of her banners, but having ridden out the storm. And so I feel in regard to this aged England, with the possessions, honours, and trophies, and also with the infirmities of a thousand years gathering around her, irretrievably committed as she now is to many old customs which cannot be suddenly changed; pressed upon by the transitions of trade, and new and all incalculable modes, fabrics, arts, machines, and competing populations—I see her not dispirited, not weak, but well remembering that she has seen dark days before; indeed, with a kind of instinct that she sees a little better in a cloudy day, and that in storm of battle and calamity she has a secret vigour and a pulse like a cannon. I see her in her old age, not decrepit but young, and still daring to believe in her power of endurance and expansion. Seeing this, I say,—All hail! Mother of Nations, mother of heroes, with strength still equal to the time; still wise to entertain and swift to execute the policy which the mind and heart of mankind requires in the present hour. So be it! so let it be.'

ART. III.—*The Life of Marcus Tullius Cicero.* By William Forsyth, M.A., Q.C. London, 1864.

THE life which men lived in the Republics of Greece and Rome was essentially, so far as we are able to see it and to see into it, a *public* life—a life in forums and in fields, before dicasts and senators, on foot, in chariots, on horseback—an out-of-doors life; the life, in short, of a *citizen*, not of a *man;* of one who was bound to look before all things to that which the immediate interests of his πόλις or *Civitas* might seem to suggest, and who was little capable of appreciating anything beyond it. To show how powerless were the best organised forms of polity which the wit and wisdom of Greece and Rome could devise to make man *at one* with his God, his neighbour, and himself, may well be believed to be part of the Divine purpose which deferred the coming of Christ for a season, until every eye should turn with wistful gaze towards the Desire of all Nations. This however is a wide field; for the present all we wish the reader to bear in mind is the condition in which man lay cabined, cribbed, confined within the thralls of citizenship. If we consider the nature of the moral atmosphere amid which the ancients were placed, or the conditions of thought to which they were subjected, or the principles of action to which they were compelled to yield homage, we shall perceive how greatly we should err in judging even the noblest spirits of antiquity by the measure of the fulness of the stature of Christ. To admit the justice of applying such a standard would be to confess that Christianity

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Christianity is indeed as 'old as the creation,' and to suggest the inquiry, what advantageth it us to be Christian men and women?

While the life of a Roman citizen was thus public—while he was, in himself, a mere cypher which only acquired value by a combination with the City or the State, the significant digit—public, too, in the main, was the literature of Rome. The *gravitas*, which was the distinguishing feature and highest aim of the Roman character, found its expression in the mannerism, the objectivity, the impersonality, the studied reaching after effect, which we meet with in Roman literature: 'Les Romains n'étaient point hypocrites: mais ils se formaient au dedans d'eux mêmes pour l'ostentation. Le caractère Romain était un modèle auquel tous les grands hommes adaptaient leur nature particulière; et les écrivains moralistes présentaient toujours le même exemple.' This shrewd remark of Madame de Stael's that the Roman modelled his individual nature on a typal idea or pattern of what he believed to be the character of a Roman citizen, is a valuable clue to the right understanding of Roman literature. The suppression of everything emotional—the declaration which a Roman writer makes concerning love, that it is superfluous to show how unsuitable to the dignity of man such a sentiment must necessarily be—the raising of the externals of virtue to the same level as virtue itself, as inculcated by Roman moralists—all these facts converge to show that the Roman never showed himself in déshabillé or in 'mufti,' but always wore the uniform or livery prescribed by his position as member of the State or an inhabitant of the City.

To these general characteristics of Roman literature Cicero forms a solitary and a conspicuous exception. The fact did not escape the attention of the acute author whom we have just quoted. Madame de Stael remarks, 'Cicéron est le seul dont l'individualité perce à travers ses écrits; encore combat-il par son système ce que son amour-propre laisse échapper:' the author of the letters 'ad Atticum' and 'ad Diversos' being on this point at issue with the author of 'De Officiis' and of the 'De Finibus Bonorum et Malorum.' Although the great bulk of his letters—upwards of eight hundred in number—bear that character of rhetorical effusions which marked letter-writing among the Romans, and which we meet with even in the letters of an Augustine or an Ambrose; still there are not a few, preserved, we may believe, in spite of their author, which conduct us into the inmost recesses of the man's heart, and exhibit the conflict of passions and of feeling with dignity and duty which the Roman and the statesman would have shrunk from laying bare.

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bare. We believe we may say, without fear of contradiction, that of Cicero alone in the whole compass of classical antiquity has such an inward picture survived the ravages of time. Of Cicero alone can it be affirmed that we are in many and very considerable instances made acquainted not merely with what he thought it the proper thing to say in public as a *vir consularis*, or to consign to a set treatise, but with what he felt in his heart of hearts and confided to his friend of friends. Most assuredly, at any rate, to not one of his contemporaries are we able to apply the same test and to mete the same measure that we have at our disposal in the case of Cicero.

The relevancy of these remarks to the just appreciation either of the life of Cicero, or of any work which professes to give an account of it, will be apparent on a moment's reflection. Conyers Middleton and Drumann have hitherto stood at opposite poles as biographers of Cicero. The one has made him out to be all but spotless; the other would have us believe that he was all spot. Each of these writers might, we think, have avoided the errors of excessive adulation and of unwarrantable aspersion into which they have respectively fallen, if they had borne in mind the two considerations which have here been set forth. If the one had remembered how large, how important, how numerous are the elements of character, of thought, of conduct, which distinguish even the highest Pagan excellence from that type of Perfect Manhood which is set before the Christian man, he would, in very justice to the hero whom he set himself to extol, have shrunk from inviting, or at least from suggesting, a comparison which could only turn to confusion; he would not have given occasion to Mr. De Quincey to assert, with congenial calumny, that 'it was the object of Middleton to paint, in the person of Cicero, a pure Pagan model of scrupulous morality, and to show that in most difficult times he had acted with a self-restraint and a considerate integrity, to which Christian Ethics could have added no element of value.' So again, if the other had adequately reflected on the very exceptional character of the glimpses which Cicero's correspondence gives us into the fits of fretfulness, of pique, of vanity, of despair, which at times clouded the intellect and paralysed the energies of one of the most pure-minded men that ever 'lived in the tide of time,' and which found vent in artless outpourings to bosom friends, never intended to go any further, he would perhaps have hesitated ere he applied to Cicero a standard from which accident, or a more guarded, less confiding nature, had exempted his contemporaries; he would have judged him rather by his acts than by his words, and those acts by the interpretation which Cicero himself put on them; he would have

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have remembered how often Cicero was exposed to the subtleties of natures less ingenuous than his own; he would have felt that to make such a man an offender for a word was as uncharitable as it was unjust; and would have thought twice before he committed to paper and to print pages upon pages laden with garbled extracts and with railing accusations, which stamp Drumann as the author of one of the most spiteful, malignant, and withal ill-written books that ever disgraced the literature of History and Biography.

Such being the state in which the two most antagonistic writers had left the consideration of Cicero's life and character, it became highly desirable that some one should step forward on a middle ground, and give a strictly fair account of the whole matter. And it was further desirable that the pages of such a writer should be free from any cumbrous polemics or pedantic disquisitions as against either of the advocates of extreme views, but should leave as it were Cicero's life to tell its own tale, putting down only the results of his investigations, but not troubling the reader with the arguments for and against. The work, of which the title stands at the head of this article, seems to us to meet most admirably the requirements of the case. A scholar without pedantry, and a Christian without cant, Mr. Forsyth seems to have seized with praiseworthy tact the precise attitude which it behoves a biographer to take up when narrating the life—the personal life of Cicero. His censures of Cicero are as straight-forward and temperate as his praises are sober and borne out by facts. He nothing extenuates, with Middleton, on the one hand; he sets down nought in malice, with Drumann, on the other. One of his previous works, 'Hortensius,' containing amongst other things an able and yet popular account of Roman Law and Procedure, showed that he had made himself familiar with subjects which must occupy a large space in every biography of the greatest of Roman orators and advocates; and the work now published will add largely and, we believe, lastingly to the reputation which Mr. Forsyth already and deservedly enjoys. Then, again, the experience derived from the knowledge and practice of his own profession furnished very essential conditions of success towards a right estimate of Cicero's conduct at the Roman bar, and has supplied in the course of the narrative some very interesting parallels and illustrations. On every ground, then, we hail this Life of Cicero as a valuable addition to English literature, and as a very satisfactory monument of the industry, the acumen, and the literary power of its author. The remarks now to be made upon it do not pretend to furnish the reader

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reader with anything like a full or adequate analysis of its contents; all we shall attempt is, to call attention to the most noteworthy portions of the volume, or to those which may seem to us to suggest occasion for further illustration or remark.

The two opening chapters give us an interesting picture of the Boyhood and of the Studies of Cicero. In particular, the notice of the public solemnities usual when the Roman youth entered on his sixteenth year, and laid aside the *toga prætexta* for the *toga pura*, may be taken as an illustration of what has been already said of the essentially public character of Roman life:—

'The custom was for the young man to be conducted by his father or other near relation to the Forum, when he was presented to the Prætor whose tribunal or Court was there, and where the ceremony of the change of dress was performed. He then received the congratulations of his relatives and friends who accompanied him, amidst the applause of the surrounding crowd; for there never was any lack of idlers in the Forum, and indeed, so numerous were they, that *old* Cato the Censor once proposed that the ground should be paved with sharp stones to make it a less agreeable lounge. After this the youth was conducted along the *Via Sacra*, which ran through the Forum, up to the Capitol, and a sacrifice was offered at the altar of Jupiter, whose magnificent temple crowned the hill.'—Vol. i. p. 14.

The whole proceeding implied a dedication as solemn to the service of the State as the dedication to the service of God which Confirmation may be said to involve. We see at once how different a life, after this beginning, must needs have been from any of which we in these our days can form any conception; how alien to all our habits of thought and motives of action must have been the motives and the habits which constituted the inner world of the citizen of an ancient republic.

For the rhythm, the richness, and arrangement of his periods, for which the prose of Cicero afterwards became so remarkable, we may well believe that he was indebted to the instruction he received as a boy in the language and literature of Greece. Mr. Forsyth observes that Greek occupied something of the same position in a course of education at Rome that French does amongst ourselves. Accordingly it was by Greek and not by Latin rhetoricians that Cicero was taught the all-important art of Rhetoric. Greek orations and other writings he got by heart, declaimed, and translated. It seems not improbable that his intimacy with Roscius and Æsopus, the actors, may have either been the occasion or the fruit of a desire to carry out in practice what he recommends in theory in his Treatise 'De Oratore' and other parts of his works—namely, to study the actor's art with a view

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view to conquering any ugly trick or defect as a public speaker. So essential did it seem to a Roman in those days to leave nothing undone by which the great art of addressing an assembly might be rendered more effective. To us this attention to minutiæ may seem excessive, but we think it may be doubted whether an opposite excess be not a danger into which we in turn are apt to fall. The oratory of the pulpit especially, to say nothing of the reading of the Liturgy, might gain in effectiveness if some attention were paid even to the most elementary principles in the management of the voice, and of the delivery generally. If any one should assert that the sacredness of the theme and the excellence of the matter may dispense with such adventitious considerations, he must not be surprised if he fails to win the assent of more than an inappreciable fraction of the congregations of Great Britain. In the present day, however, the mind is approached and the judgment won over through so many avenues other than those of an orator's persuasive accents, that we very much doubt whether Cicero's delivery would be relished by an English audience of educated men. The difference between modern and ancient oratory in this particular is thus set forth by Mr. Forsyth:—

'With us a speaker, whether in Parliament or at the bar, knows little or nothing of the action and delivery of a Roman orator. The only motion we make is with the hand, and too often that is confined to a see-saw monotony of perpendicular action, which justifies the satirical comparison by Moore of the speaker to a pump—

"That up and down its awkward arm doth sway,
And coolly spout, and spout, and spout away."

'Very different, however, was it with the orator of Rome. His whole body was instinct with the fire that burned upon his lips, and the accents that trembled upon his tongue found a corresponding expression in the movement of his limbs. Cicero's gestures partook of the excitement of his mind, and the meaning of his words was enforced by the sympathetic action of his frame. He tells us that he threw himself, heart and soul, into action when he spoke, and spared no exertion of his limbs, while he strained his voice to the utmost of its pitch in the open air.'—Vol. i. p. 27.

To any one who has been present at the debates of the Assemblée Constituante at Paris, in 1848, this description of Roman oratory will not bear a character of exaggeration; but to an English audience, we repeat, it may be doubted whether an orator who disported himself in this fashion would not seem somewhat absurd.

But we must follow Cicero on his career. His close application

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tion to study and his strenuous efforts at the bar compelled him for a time to retire from Rome, and seek for relaxation in a voyage to Athens and Asia Minor. And here, in connexion with this visit to Athens, it may not be out of place to remark that no biographer of Cicero, so far as we recollect, has brought forward sufficiently the very considerable knowledge which Cicero acquired of the history of Greek art, and the very correct taste which he showed in estimating its productions. Mr. Forsyth so frequently complains of the pressure of space to which he is subjected, that it may possibly be owing to this cause that such scanty notices on this point are to be met with in his pages. The point, however, is of some importance, as showing the manysidedness of Cicero's natural and acquired tastes on the one hand, and, on the other, a larger and wider sympathy for such objects among the Romans of the day than we ordinarily ascribe to them. For, scattered as these notices are throughout his works, and used as they are in illustration of other, though cognate topics, it is only fair to presume that he counted on being understood by his contemporaries when such allusions and illustrations were employed. Cicero's own tastes—he somewhere tells us—inclined rather to painting than to sculpture; and the statement is one which seems to us peculiarly significant. It tallies, at any rate, with that development of subjectivity in his nature, which would seem rather to belong to the moderns, and which has secured to painting its priority over sculpture in the modern world. But, although his bias was on the side of painting, his appreciation of Greek sculpture was singularly sound. The school of Polycleitus he held to be little short of perfection; implying, however, at the same time (for he adds, 'ut mihi quidem videtur') that in this respect his opinion was not shared by the majority of his countrymen. These, it seems only fair to conjecture, were more taken with the meretricious graces of the school of Praxiteles and the more sensuous art of even later days. It is, we think, to Cicero's credit, and quite in keeping with what we know, and have fair ground to infer about his character, that he gave the palm to the more severe majesty which breathed from the works of Polycleitus and of Pheidias. But it is not merely on the style of Polycleitus that he gives us valuable information, gathered, no doubt, from a knowledge of the works themselves, which he had seen either at Rome or on his travels. No reader of Junius, or of Winckelmann, or, to come to later times, of Brunn, but must be aware how largely we are indebted to Cicero, in common with Quintilian and Pliny, for information respecting the history of Greek art, its different schools, representatives and styles, without which our knowledge

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ledge of that history would present the most serious lacunæ. The tone which he adopts on these matters in his speeches against Verres must not be supposed to militate against what has here been said. It was there a rhetorical artifice, and conducive to the purposes of his argument, that he should represent Verres—himself a genuine enthusiast for art, and, perhaps, not much more of a thief in these matters than Soult—as given to tastes which no well-thinking Roman could tolerate. This, we say, was a rhetorical artifice; but in his other works the knowledge and the taste thus flippantly contemned and repudiated before a Roman audience, crop out repeatedly in no scanty measure. Of Calamis, Canacheus, Myron, Polygnotus, Zeuxis, Timanthes, Protogenes, and Apelles, not to mention many inferior artists, we can glean notices of which the importance can scarcely be overrated, regard being had to our very fragmentary knowledge of the subject. Nor is this all; it is not merely on the external history of art that Cicero is of value: his ideas on the philosophy of art and on æsthetics are among the best that we meet with out of Plato. It is true that on this point he is not always consistent with himself, but in the main his views are thoroughly sound. The noble passage about Pheidias, in the commencement of the 'Orator,' may well bear comparison with the expressions which fell from Raphael's pen, in his famous letter to Count Castiglione—'Essendo carestía di belle donne,' &c. &c. Cicero, in like manner, says, 'For that artist when engaged in executing a statue of Jove or of Minerva had no one before his eyes whom he might copy; no—it was in his own mind that there lodged some shape of surpassing beauty: this it was into which he gazed; it was upon this he fixed his mind; to resemble this was the object of his art and the aim of his hand.' Singularly noble, too, for a Roman inured to practical views of things, is the way in which he distinguishes the useful from the beautiful, and asserts the rights of the latter to superior homage in words which it is difficult to believe could have emanated from a Roman. 'Non quantum quisque *prosit*, sed quanti quisque *sit* ponderandum est.' A fuller illustration of this subject would occupy more space than we can afford; sufficient, we trust, has been said to call attention to an aspect of Cicero which has not, we think, been sufficiently noticed by his numerous biographers, and which confirms the view taken of his temperament being more Greek than Roman.

One of the very best chapters in Mr. Forsyth's pleasing narrative is that entitled 'Correspondence and Domestic Life.' The author has grouped together with great tact the various features of interest in the letters of Cicero, and we think our readers will gladly pardon us for giving them the following extract.

'The

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'The year following his ædileship, B.C. 68, is that in which Cicero's extant correspondence first begins. It is a rich mine of information, and furnishes the best materials, not only for his own biography, but a great part of the history of the time. Nowhere else do we find such a vivid picture of contemporary events. We seem to be present at the shifting scenes of the drama, as the plot unfolds itself which involves the destinies of Rome. We hear the groans of the expiring Republic, which had been mortally wounded during the long civil wars of Marius and Sylla, and was fast sinking under the flood of social and political corruption which is sure to follow in the train of civil war. At one time we watch with eager impatience the arrival of a courier at Tusculum, with a letter from Atticus telling his friend the news of the day, and in Cicero's reply we read all the fluctuations of hope and fear which agitated him during the momentous crisis of his country's fate. At another we contemplate the great orator and statesman in the seclusion of his villa, as a plain country gentleman, busying himself with improvements on his estate, building farms, laying out and planting shrubberies, and turning water courses, or amusing himself with pictures and statues, and the various objects which interest a man of refined and cultivated taste. At another we find him at Rome sick, weary, and disgusted with the din of strife, mistrusting everybody where no one seems worthy of trust, and harping ever on the vanity of ambition and the worthlessness of popular applause. We see him at one moment exalted to the summit of human glory when saluted in the Senate by the proud title of *Pater Patriæ*, and at another sunk in the lowest depths of despair when he is a wandering fugitive exile from Rome, and tells his wife that while he writes he is blinded by his tears.

'There is a charm in these letters to which we have nothing comparable in all that antiquity has spared us. To say nothing of their exquisite Latinity, and not unfrequently their playful wit, they have a freshness and reality which no narrative of bygone events can ever hope to attain. We see in them Cicero as he was. We behold him in his strength and in his weakness—the bold advocate, and yet timid and vacillating statesman—the fond husband—the affectionate father—the kind master—the warm-hearted friend. I speak not now of his political correspondence, written with an object in view, and with a consciousness that it might one day be made public, but his private letters to his relatives and friends, in which he poured out the whole secret of his soul, and laid bare his innermost thoughts, yearning for sympathy and clinging for support. To quote the words of De Quincey:* "In them we come suddenly into deep lulls of angry passion—here upon a scheme for the extension of literature by a domestic history, or by a comparison of Greek with Roman jurisprudence; there again upon some ancient problem from the quiet fields of philosophy." They show that he was a man of genial soul, and of a most kind and amiable disposition—what Dr. Johnson would have

* Collected Works, article 'Cicero.'

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called a thoroughly "clubable" person. He is never more at home than when he is indulging in a little pleasant banter and irony, as when he makes fun of Trebatius the lawyer who had left the atmosphere of the courts, to turn soldier and serve under Cæsar in Gaul. But he is always the scholar and the gentleman; and no one had more of that educated polish which the Romans described by the expressive word *urbanitas*. I do not think that in the whole of his correspondence a single coarse word or vulgar idea occurs. It is not so in his speeches. There he often indulged in language which is, according to modern notions, offensive to good taste and even decency, as when he attacked Piso and Gabinius and Antony. But that was the fault of the plain-speaking time in which he lived, rather than of the man; just as the occasional coarseness of Shakespeare must be attributed to the age in which he was born, and not to his own gentle nature.

'How pleasant it is to hear him giving his friend Atticus a message from the little Tullia, or Tulliola as he often calls her—making use of the endearing diminutive so significant in the ancient Latin and modern Italian—to remind him of his promise to make her a present, and afterwards telling him that Tullia had brought an action against him for breach of contract; or to find him speaking of his only son "the honey-sweet Cicero," that "most aristocratic child," as he playfully styles him, who was with his sister in his youthful days the pride and delight of his life! We see him lounging on the shore at his villa near Antium, and there penning a letter to confess that he is in no humour to work, and amuses himself with counting the waves as they roll upon the beach. We would not willingly exchange that letter to Atticus, in which he says of himself that he knows he has acted like a "genuine donkey" (*me asinum germanum fuisse*), for the stiffest and most elaborate of his political epistles.

. . . . . 'How true is the picture he draws of the contrast between the hollow friendship of the world and the calm and sober happiness of domestic life! Amidst the crowd that thronged his hall, and attended him, as was the custom, to the courts, begirt as he was with "troops of friends," he complains that there is not one with whom he can joke freely, or to whom he can unburden his soul in sorrow. In other words he expresses the same sentiment as Bacon, that "a crowd is not company, and faces are but a gallery of pictures and talk is but a tinkling cymbal, where there is no love."' —Vol. i. p. 53.

We cannot agree with Mr. Forsyth in his opinion expressed in the note at the foot of page 60, that Madvig's conjecture ought to be adopted in that famous passage of one of his letters to Atticus, where he so laconically mentions the news of his father's death—'Pater nobis decessit A.D. viii. Kal. Dec. Hæc habebam ferè, quæ te scire vellem.' Madvig would get over the difficulty, as it is termed, of this extraordinary coldness by reading 'discessit,' *i.e.*, 'left us,' as if merely returning to Arpinum. But to our mind there is

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is no difficulty or surprise involved in the matter. Rather should we have felt surprised if Cicero had enlarged upon the event, or had shown any very marked depression of spirits or ebullition of feeling. Such demonstrations would have been entirely out of character with Roman habits of thought. The *Patria potestas*, indeed, was an integral element of the State, which testified to, and served to corroborate that love of order which was at the bottom of all Roman institutions; but it was not held to include any sentimental aspect of the relation between father and son, if it were not even by its very nature calculated to exclude it. Little details such as these throw a flood of daylight on the gulf which separates us from the men of those days.

We could not quote a more striking proof of Mr. Forsyth's fairness, than the discussion in the seventh chapter on what is confessedly a somewhat ugly point in Cicero's career. It will be remembered that Catiline was a competitor for the Consulship along with Cicero. He was, however, disqualified to become a candidate, unless and until he was acquitted on a charge of corruption in his provincial government of Africa. By a lavish use of money to bribe his prosecutor and the jury, Catiline secured an acquittal. But here comes the difficulty. Fenestella, a grammarian, who was probably born about fifteen years after the event occurred, asserts that in this trial Catiline was defended by Cicero! Asconius, indeed, who lived rather later than Fenestella, denies that this was so; and we entirely agree with Mr. Forsyth in thinking that Asconius is right as far as the actual defence is concerned. But the awkward part of the affair is that in a letter to Atticus, Cicero speaks of his intention to defend Catiline. No mention is made of the particular charge on which he was going to defend him, and the date of the letter would seem to imply that it could not have been the charge mentioned above. This date, combined with other circumstances which Mr. Forsyth very acutely criticises, would be almost enough to lead a thoroughgoing partisan to call in question the genuineness of the letters. This, however, is a suggestion which Mr. Forsyth does not think of making. He is content to leave the matter as he finds it. That Cicero should even have had it in contemplation to defend Catiline, on no matter what charge, is all the more staggering as it was optional to the Roman advocate—unlike the advocate of modern days—to appear or not in any case as he thought fit. Other considerations are mentioned as having been advanced in palliation of Cicero's conduct, but Mr. Forsyth very sensibly dismisses the matter with the following remark:—

'The truth is that we must not look for perfect consistency in Cicero,

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Cicero, nor be surprised to find that with a political end in view he was not so scrupulous as he ought to have been about the means. I believe him to have been one of the purest and most virtuous of the ancients, and in some respects to approach nearest the character of a Christian gentleman; but I am far from thinking him faultless; and the highest Pagan morality, "when darkness covered the earth and gross darkness the people," was something very different from Christian principle.'—Vol. i. p. 91.

We fear, however, that there are not a few Christian gentlemen whose conduct would just as little bear rigid scrutiny as that of Cicero.

Cicero was now consul. He had reached the highest round of the ladder of his ambition, and by so doing had increased at once the severity and the chances of the fall which awaited him—

> 'Hic novus Arpinas ignobilis et modo Romæ
> Municipalis eques'—

was now the first functionary in the first city in the world. It was enough to turn the brain of a man of stronger mind than Cicero, and the vanity with which he looked back on the events of this eventful year of his consulate was such as only a dissembler could have veiled. There can be no doubt that Sallust is correct in stating that the rumours which had got wind about the Catilinarian conspiracy, through the gossip of Fulvia, influenced a considerable section of the nobility in compassing Cicero's election. They saw breakers ahead, and resolved to place Cicero at the helm. It will often be found that in moments of real danger, the cold, the selfish, and the calculating, will push to the front the man of warm zeal and of single purpose whom in their hearts they despise, and on whom, when the danger is past, they will be the first to turn their backs.

At the outset of his new career Cicero delivered a speech which Niebuhr has called one of the most brilliant achievements of his eloquence. The popular party had brought forward, in the person of the tribune, P. Servilius Rullus, one of those famous agrarian laws of which we read so much in the history of Rome. It is of the highest importance to remember that this and previous measures at earlier periods of that history bear no sort of analogy with the designs which, with a justice on which we are not now called upon to pronounce, have been recently attributed to Messrs. Cobden and Bright. In the very curious correspondence and discussions which those charges have occasioned, it must be matter of unfeigned surprise to every scholar and to every student of Roman history to find the names of the Gracchi so unfairly mentioned. With private property the

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the Roman agrarian laws, it should be remembered, had nothing whatever to do. It was only with the domain land of the state, and with that portion of it which had not been sold out and out to the nobles, that these laws were ever designed to meddle; though it cannot be said that they were entirely devoid of harshness, if judged by the modern English standard. The Gracchi and their successors felt that pauperism in its most naked form was the scourge of Rome. The picture which Appian draws of that pauperism is not less graphic than true. It was a pressing danger at all times; it ultimately effected the downfall of Rome. Pliny most justly says, *Latifundia Romam perdidere.* Enormous holdings of land were collected in the hands of a few proprietors, who worked them by slaves in order that war might not rob them of their labourers. Accordingly while we agree with Mr. Forsyth in endorsing the praise bestowed by Niebuhr on Cicero's dexterity in contesting the measure, we cannot but think that the course which he took on this occasion was adverse to the best interests of the republic, though we should hesitate to add with Mr. Merivale 'and probably dishonest in itself.' That it was brought forward by its promoters with any honest purpose, or with any intelligent design beyond that of making political capital and of hunting for popularity and of embarrassing the optimates, may fairly be doubted; and it was probably the knowledge of this fact which betrayed Cicero into opposition to the measure. The principle of an agrarian law and the memory of its most famous champions, the Gracchi, he defends with an energy second only to that with which, on questions of detail, he denounces the measure brought forward by Rullus. It would be a proud day for Mr. Richard Cobden if ever his name could justly be associated in English history with that of the Gracchi in the history of Rome.

The story of Catiline's conspiracy is told by Mr. Forsyth with great vigour, and presents in his hands a very graphic picture. Attempts have not been wanting to rehabilitate Catiline, as the phrase is, just as Judas Iscariot and Robespierre have been made out to be rather well-meaning people than otherwise. Mr. De Quincey, for example, who has tried his hand very cleverly in this way at the apostate disciple of Our Lord, has also informed us that the conspiracy of Catiline was but an attempt 'to raise a reformed government safe and stable upon the hideous oligarchy,' &c. &c. ('Works,' vol. vi. 231). It is to be regretted that this rather startling statement is not accompanied by some reference to authorities. From antiquity itself not even the echo of a single dissentient voice has made its way to our ears as to the character

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character of the conspiracy and of its chief. The evidence of Cicero, who hated Catiline, is here at one with that of Sallust, who hated Cicero. The hostility of the one could not exaggerate, that of the other could not extenuate his faults. The Irish peasant in his roofless hovel boasted that at any rate he was safe from having the roof about his ears; and the 'safe government' which Mr. De Quincey speaks of would have offered to those who would have had the misfortune to live under it like conditions of security by becoming saturnalia of anarchy, and constituting no government at all. When it shall be proved that Guy Fawkes merely had it in design to try a little scheme for ventilating the Houses of Parliament, then, and not till then, shall we prefer to the rule of a 'hideous oligarchy' that of a Catiline and of his crew. They were composed of a set of desperate adventurers who found their supplies cut off by the cessation of the wars under Marius and Sylla, and were ready for any *coup de main* which might open out new sources of plunder wherewith to recruit their broken fortunes. That the liberal party, of whom Cæsar had for his own purposes made himself the champion, may fairly be suspected of having more or less coquetted with and led on this turbulent class in order to get both the extreme and the moderate men of the senatorial party into a dilemma, is a fact which may, to a certain extent, implicate Cæsar, but assuredly does nothing to exonerate Catiline. The crisis was a very serious one, and Mommsen's sneers are entirely out of place when he speaks of the poltroonery which took such extravagant precautions for the security of the criminals arrested on the occasion. To us, who only look upon the events of Cicero's consulate through the perspective of years, it may, even with the best intention to deal fairly, be a task of no ordinary difficulty to realise the magnitude of the danger from which his courage and energy saved the state.

His triumph was but the herald of his fall. Cicero had been used as a tool; the work done, he was cast aside. His energy in repressing Catiline's conspiracy had made him many enemies; his success in doing it had made still more envious of his fame. Pompey in particular was affronted at the impertinence (for such he deemed it) with which Cicero—nettled at Pompey's coldness about his achievements as consul—had dared to speak of his civic glory in the same breath that he mentioned the exploits of the conqueror of Mithridates. We believe that the letter in which Cicero thus indiscreetly expressed himself to Pompey rankled ever after in Pompey's breast, and tended more than anything else to promote Cicero's downfall, which Pompey connived at, even if he did not actually promote. On this point, however,

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however, viz. the relations between Cicero and Pompey, we must let Mr. Forsyth speak for himself. It is one of the very best parts of a very good book, and we cannot put it into better language, and would not be guilty of abridgment:—

'It is very important to ascertain what was Cicero's real opinion of Pompey, upon whom, more than upon any man next to Cæsar, depended the fate of Rome. For this purpose we must not look to his public speeches, in which it might be politic to flatter the successful and popular general, but to his private correspondence, and observe the sentiments he expressed in all the confidence of friendship. We have seen what he said of his first appearance on the scene of politics after his return from the East, and we shall find the true state of the case to be that *Cicero always mistrusted Pompey, and Pompey disliked Cicero.* Cicero soon discovered the weakness of his character, and was quite aware that ambition and not patriotism was the ruling principle of his conduct. But at the same time he knew that he was the only statesman at Rome who could make head against the rising reputation of Cæsar, and counteract the designs of that dangerous and unscrupulous man, of which he himself seems to have had from the first a tolerably clear insight.

'To preserve the constitution as it had been handed down from their forefathers—to maintain the authority of the senate and keep up the aristocratic element as a breakwater against the wild sea of democracy which was surging around them—was the leading object of Cicero's policy. For most of the senators, and especially for the young nobility, he had a profound contempt. Cato, indeed, was an exception, for he was a man of sturdy honesty, and as true as steel. But then he was Utopian and impracticable, and, with the best intentions, sometimes did mischief. At least Cicero, whose motto certainly was not *frangi non flecti*, thought so; and he said that Cato spoke as if he were in the republic of Plato, and not amongst the rabble of Romulus.* As to the aristocracy generally, they were enervated by luxury and given up to frivolous amusements. He describes them as men who thought they were in paradise if they got tame fish to come to their call and eat out of their hands; "fools enough to believe," he adds, with bitter scorn, "that even if the constitution were destroyed their fish-ponds would be safe." But his own personal safety required that he should have some powerful support against the attacks of his enemies, who had already shown that they were determined, if possible, to destroy him. He therefore determined to ally himself as closely as possible with Pompey, and courted his friendship while he kept himself on his guard. To make this clear I will quote one or two passages from his letters, which will, I think, fully bear out the view I take of the relations between these two eminent men—the one, at that time, the greatest soldier, and the other the greatest orator of the Republic.

'Writing to Atticus about the Clodian affair, he says, "But that

* *Ad Att.* ii. 1.

friend

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friend of yours (though you know whom I mean),"—he meant Pompey; Atticus took care to be friends with everybody—"about whom you wrote to me, and said that he began to praise when he found he did not dare to blame, professes to show great affection for me—embraces, loves me secretly—but it is plain enough, he is envious of me. There is in him nothing of courtesy—nothing of sincerity—nothing of political honesty—nothing grand or generous—and no steadiness."

'Shortly afterwards, when Clodius had been acquitted, he tells Atticus that, "the mob-speech-loving leech of the public treasury, the wretched and hungry *canaille*"*—in such terms Cicero spoke of the lower orders at Rome—"thinks that I am an especial favorite with him, surnamed the Great; and faith! we are on such terms of close intimacy that those riotous and revelling conspirators of ours—those downy-bearded youths—call him in their talk Cnæus Cicero. Therefore, in the theatre and at gladiatorial shows, we receive astonishing applause without a single hiss (*sine ullâ pastoriciâ fistulâ*)."

'At a later period of the same year he tells his friend—"I am on the most friendly terms with Pompey. I know what you say. I will be on my guard where caution is required."

'Next year he writes, "I have allied myself so intimately with Pompey that each of us is thereby strengthened in his own line of policy, and stands on firmer ground." But very soon afterwards—in fact, in the next letter—when he is replying to some friendly caution which Atticus had given him, he says that he agrees with him, and does not intend to put himself in the power of another, "for he to whom you allude" (meaning Pompey) "has nothing in him great or elevated; he does nothing but stoop to court popularity."

'He defends himself to Atticus for ingratiating himself with a man whom he so distrusted, on the ground that it was for the public interest they should be friends, for if they quarrelled there would be nothing but disorder in the state. And he flattered himself with the idea that by allying himself with Pompey he could steer his own course and Pompey would follow in his wake, so that no harm, but good, would result from their friendship. Fatal delusion! into which he was the more easily led, because Pompey, well knowing his weak side, took care to flatter him about his famous consulship, and declared that *he* might have served the Republic well, but that Cicero had saved it. "That he should do this," says Cicero, "may or may not be advantageous to me: it certainly is advantageous to the state."'—Vol. i. p. 160.

To the like effect is another passage, with which we shall not ask the reader's pardon for troubling him. Both these extracts seem to us to stamp this Life of Cicero with one of the highest qualities for which a biography can be praised, viz. as a thoroughly *sensible* book:—

* 'Illa concionalis hirudo ærarii, misera ac jejuna plebecula.'

'Such

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'Such then was the state of affairs at the opening of the new year. Cæsar, Pompey, and Crassus, had formed a coalition, and every effort was made to induce Cicero to join them. But he held aloof, determined to temporise, and not commit himself to an alliance which, it was his firm conviction, threatened ruin to the Republic. He did not, however, wish to break altogether with three such powerful men, whose hostility he would have to encounter almost alone, for he could count on no effective support in his own, that is, the conservative party. This gave his conduct the appearance of vacillation; but it may well be doubted whether he could at this juncture have acted more wisely than he did. Had the aristocracy of Rome cared loss for their fish-ponds and more for the interests of the State—had they numbered amongst them many such men as Catulus, and Cato, and Cicero—a party might have been formed which would have been strong enough to resist, and perhaps counteract, the policy of the Triumvirate. But whether, even then, the Republic could have been preserved is another question, which is not so easily answered. I believe that its knell of dissolution had been struck, and that nothing could have prevented its final overthrow. We must remember that at Rome the whole effective power was in the hands of the people. Not through the medium of representative institutions—that great secret for reconciling liberty with order which was never discovered by antiquity—but the people in the most direct and primary sense. The Senate could not pass a single law binding on the whole community. It might pass a *consultum* or an *auctoritas*, which, within certain limits, had authority, but neither was equivalent to what we should call an Act of Parliament. And in what state was the people that reliance could be placed on it to maintain the constitution? The wars of Marius and Sylla, and the intestine disorders which had so long preyed upon the commonwealth, had demoralised the masses, and also the aristocracy. The result of the Social War had added enormously to the constituency by throwing open the franchise to the Italian towns; and the increase of numbers, by diminishing the sense of responsibility, had made the electors more accessible to corruption. The wealth of conquered provinces had given ambitious and successful generals and governors the means of wholesale corruption, which they unsparingly exercised. It was in vain that law after law was passed, each more stringent against bribery. We have seen that even Cato thought it right to secure the election of Bibulus by bribery, because in no other way would he have a chance of making head against Lucceius, who was patronised by Cæsar. The simplicity and virtue of old times had passed away. The people demanded the most profuse expenditure on shows, and games, and festivals, as the passport to their favour and their votes. The immorality of private life was frightfully on the increase. There was hardly a public man in Rome, except Catulus, and Cicero, and Cato, of those whose names still float on the stream of time, whose youth was not branded with the deep stain of profligacy: Catiline, Clodius, Curio, Dolabella, Antonius, Pompey, and Cæsar,

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Cæsar, were all guilty of vices which in our day would have incapacitated them from playing leading parts as statesmen—or at all events would, by the mere force of public opinion, have deprived them of all public influence. Was it not then a chimera to suppose that the republic of other days could be preserved? And yet this was the dream to which Cicero clung, even to the last. Blinded by his attachment to ancient forms—an ardent lover of temperate liberty—conservative in all his views—he could not bring himself to believe that the old constitution was worn out, and that, while the form remained, the spirit and the life were gone. Those who move with the tide are hardly conscious of the rate at which the tide is flowing, and come upon the rocks before they are aware.'—Vol. i. p. 174.

Cicero had not long to wait for a justification of the mistrust with which he regarded Pompey. When Clodius, stung with hatred and revenge at the part which Cicero had played in the affair of the mysteries of the Bona Dea, sought to compass his banishment for having put the Catilinarian conspirators to death without a trial, a word from Pompey might have frustrated what on the whole must be termed a nefarious attempt: but Pompey allowed Cicero to remain a suppliant at his feet and coldly declined taking any action on the subject, on the pretext that his hands were tied as a member of the Triumvirate and that he could do nothing without the consent of Cæsar. This was the act of a base, bad man. But nothing was too base or too bad to serve the purposes and further the intrigues of this scheming traitor to truth and honesty. There is no doubt that Cicero, in the eyes of the leaders of all parties, was what may be called an ugly customer. However much he may undoubtedly have been betrayed at times into a weak and even culpable assent to measures which in his heart and in his better moments he must have known to be unworthy of his advocacy—and instances of this weakness are dealt with by Mr. Forsyth in a spirit of impartial criticism and unqualified rebuke—Cicero was at bottom sound, and would never allow himself to be handed over body and soul to any cause of which he doubted the integrity or suspected the aims. He was too good for his age—he was not enough of a thorough-going partisan; he had too much self-respect. Nor was this all: the doubts and suspicions he thus formed at the intrigues which he saw going on around him found vent in cutting remarks and pungent sayings, which were sure to find their way to ears for which they were not intended, and to persons who had alike the will and the power to resent the offence and to punish the offender. To get him out of Rome was an object which must be compassed, if not by fair means, by means which were little short of foul. Cicero had been offered missions which would

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would have removed him quietly; his refusal to accept them at the hands of the Triumvirate left him without any efficient protection when hostile measures were resorted to by Clodius, and the following law was proposed: 'Be it enacted, that whoever has put to death a Roman citizen uncondemned in due form of trial shall be interdicted from fire and water' (p. 197). Cæsar and Pompey would not lift a finger in his behalf. The two consuls Gabinius and Piso were unscrupulous scoundrels, whose general sympathy with any species of villainy received on this particular occasion additional stimulus from the fact of Clodius having taken the precaution of securing for them specified provinces on which they might exercise their lust and rapine, instead of having to receive them by lot in the usual course. What was Cicero to do? Lucullus urged him to stay at Rome and fight it out with Clodius and his rabble rout of followers: and Mr. Forsyth says this would have been the bold and manly course. Manlier still perhaps was the aversion to violence and bloodshed which made Cicero turn a deaf ear to the proposal. Like Louis Philippe in February, 1848, he preferred resigning himself to the fate which he had not the courage to resist, and took his departure from the city, 'accompanied outside the walls by a large body of friends in tears.' The day of his departure Clodius brought forward a bill interdicting Cicero (who was now mentioned by name) from fire and water, and in the midst of his armed partisans who thronged the forum and intimidated the voters, the bill passed and became law. Before nightfall Cicero's house on the Palatine Hill was in flames. His Tusculan and Formian villas were likewise plundered and laid waste.

How Cicero comported himself under the horrors of exile—with what supine dejection, with what excess of despair—is known to every reader of Cicero's letters, and is not concealed from any reader of Mr. Forsyth's Life of their author. Of course it might be urged in his defence that amid ourselves, when we are minished and brought low through oppression—through any plague or trouble—the consolations of religion are, in the majority of cases, as powerless to assuage and to sustain as the teaching of philosophy was in the case of Cicero, and that we have therefore no right to accuse him of being thus overborne by grief. But apart from all religion and philosophy, there is a certain loss of dignity involved in such incoherent ravings as those which abound in Cicero's letters at this period, which we can scarcely reconcile with the substantial worth of the man as seen on other occasions. Mr. Forsyth treats the matter with his usual candour, and justly repudiates the twaddle of that praise-at-any-price biographer Conyers Middleton:—

'Seldom

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'Seldom has misfortune so crushed a noble spirit, and never perhaps has the "bitter bread of banishment" seemed more bitter to any one than to him. We must remember that the love of country was a passion with the ancients to a degree which it is now difficult to realize; and exile from it, even for a time, was felt to be an intolerable evil. The nearest approach to such a feeling was perhaps that of some favourite under a European monarchy, when frowned upon by his sovereign he was hurled from place and power and banished from the Court. The change to Cicero was, indeed, tremendous. Not only was he an exile from Rome, the scene of all his hopes, his glories, and his triumphs, but he was under the ban of an outlaw. If found within a certain distance from the Capitol, he must die; and it was death to any one to give him food or shelter. His property was destroyed, his family was penniless, and the people whom he had so faithfully served were the authors of his ruin. All this may be urged in his behalf; but, still, it would have been only consistent with Roman fortitude to have shown that he possessed something of the spirit of the fallen archangel, who exclaimed—

> "What matter where if I be still the same?
> The mind is its own place, and of itself
> Can make of Heaven a Hell, a Hell of Heaven."

Wieland was so impressed with this painful exhibition of Cicero's weakness, that he says that good service would have been done to his reputation if his freedman Tiro, or whoever it was that collected and published his letters, had taken the whole of those he wrote to his wife, to his brother, and to Atticus during his exile, and thrown them into the fire. Middleton mourns over the weakness of his idol, but, determined if possible to excuse him, says, that "to have been as great in affliction as he was in prosperity would have been a perfection not given to man." But we cannot accept this view. In prosperity Cicero was far from being faultless, although in moral and social qualities he shone like a star amidst his contemporaries. But what we complain of is not that he was not equal to himself in misfortune, but that he fell so far below himself, and showed a pusillanimity which it is humiliating to contemplate. And yet it is better that this should be known, in order that we may appreciate his real character, than that we should have been imposed upon by the destruction of his letters, and led to believe that he was something different from what he was. For if they had been destroyed, and we had to depend for our knowledge of his demeanour during his banishment solely upon his speeches and letters after his return, we should form a most erroneous estimate of the facts. There he speaks bravely enough of himself, and would have the world suppose that he quitted Rome, not because he was afraid for himself, but solely out of regard to the public interest; and that he bore his calamity with the same courage he had displayed when he faced the conspiracy of Catiline.'—Vol. i. p. 207.

Mr. Forsyth is at pains to show that one of the richest sources of

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of comfort opened to Cicero in this hour of trial, consisted in the correspondence of his wife Terentia, the tenor, however, of whose letters can only be divined from the language in which Cicero replies to them; not a fragment of them, or of any letter by a Greek or Roman woman before the Christian era, having been deemed worthy of preservation by copyists, who lived in an age when women were thought to have no substantive value.

It was in March that Cicero turned his back on Rome; in the January of the following year (B.C. 57, ætat. 50), Lentulus made a motion in a crowded Senate that Cicero should be recalled. Effect was not given to the motion, because it was felt that as an Assembly of the people had banished Cicero, by an Assembly of the people must he be recalled. No resolution of the Senate could dispense with this formality. After about three weeks' delay the bill was brought before the Assembly. But Clodius was again on the alert: a band of armed gladiators rushed into the forum, a riot ensued, and the bill was not passed. Mr. Forsyth well observes that this circumstance gives a good illustration of the evils of the constitution of Rome. All Italy had sent up deputations to Rome, to entreat that Cicero's banishment might have an end; the Senate took the initiative in giving effect to the wishes thus unanimously expressed; the two consuls used every effort; only one of the tribunes kept aloof; Pompey and Cæsar threw no obstacles in the way; an overwhelming number of the nobility and all the well-thinking citizens wished for Cicero's return; but all these wishes, efforts, entreaties, were foiled and paralysed by the audacity of one bold bad man, and by the violence of those hireling ruffians who obeyed his call. This uproar took place on the 25th January, and it was not till the 4th of the following August that the good cause triumphed. On that same day Cicero, who had been kept informed of all that was going on at Rome, ventured to leave Dyrrhachium for Brundusium, where he was received with the liveliest sympathy. To this sympathy we desire to call the most emphatic attention. Whatever may be thought of Cicero by the German professor in his study at Königsberg, it is abundantly clear that Drumann's sentiments were not the sentiments which filled the length and breadth of Italy with sorrow when Cicero was exiled, and which made the welkin ring with exuberant joy when his footsteps were turned homeward. Can this be the craven, mean-spirited, shuffling dissembler—this the base, cold-hearted knave—this the contemner of everything honest and of good report—can this, in short, be the man whom Drumann holds up to our execration, of whom we read in Mr. Forsyth's pages the following narrative?—

'Soon

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'Soon afterwards he set out on his return to Rome, which he reached in twenty-four days. The time seems long, but he travelled slowly, detained by the demonstrations of respect and honour with which he was everywhere greeted. His journey was in fact one continued ovation. In the route he took he passed through Naples, Capua, Sinuessa, Minturnæ, Formiæ,—where no doubt he cast a lingering and sorrowful look towards his dismantled villa—Terracina, and Aricia. From every town on the road the magistrates came out to offer their congratulations. The inhabitants crowded round the man in whose safety they had shown such a warm interest. The peasants abandoned their rustic labours in the fields, and brought their wives and families to see him as he passed. And from distant places deputations were sent to meet him, so that the roads were crowded by the throng. It was the gala week of all Italy, and his entry into every town and village on his route was the signal for a festive holiday.* But his greatest triumph was yet to come. As he approached the Capitol by the Via Appia in September, the Senate came forth in a body beyond the walls to welcome him. A gilded chariot was waiting to receive him, and on this he mounted outside the gate. The whole population of Rome seemed to have deserted the city, and choked the road and adjoining fields. Well might Cicero say that that one day was equivalent to immortality (*immortalitatis instar fuit*). When he reached the Capuan gate he saw the steps of the temples of Mars and the Muses, which were inside the walls, filled by a dense crowd who rent the air with their shouts—and as he slowly proceeded through the Forum along the Via Sacra to the Capitol,—

> "You would have thought the very windows spake,
> So many greedy looks of young and old
> Through casements darted their desiring eyes
> Upon his visage; and that all the walls
> With painted imagery had said at once,
> 'The Gods' preserve thee! welcome 'Cicero!'"
>
> Vol. i. p. 219.

The return of Cicero did not put an end to the violence of Clodius. It is difficult to realise how a man of that description could have been allowed for more than a year to keep Rome in a state of perfect lawlessness under the threat—and something more than the threat—of murder and bloodshed. The conduct of an earnest, honest man, at such a time and in such a state, should be judged of with the greatest caution and even leniency. Such a one can have had no *locus standi* under such circumstances, can have had but few, if any, whom he could consort with on the common ground of common aims and of

* Plutarch declares that it was no exaggeration, and less than the truth, when Cicero declared that he was carried back to Rome on the shoulders of Italy.—*Cic.* c. 33.

common

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common means by which those aims were to be attained. It so happens, as we cannot too often remind our readers, that in the case of Cicero we are allowed a glimpse into the doubts and misgivings which at times overcame his moral courage and overclouded his path, which has been denied to us as respects any of his contemporaries. But the very existence of these doubts and misgivings bears witness to the anxiety he ever felt to do what was right; and if he did not come out of them on all occasions as we could have wished, we should remember that to us it is given to form a judgment *ex eventu*, and that when seen through the long vista of years the perplexities which then clogged and thwarted Cicero dwindle into an insignificance wholly out of proportion with their real magnitude at the time.

We have dwelt at some length on the Consulate, the Exile, and the Return of Cicero, because they constitute epochs or 'outstanding points' in his career. It will not be expected, neither will our limits allow us, to follow Mr. Forsyth's very interesting and very lucid narrative with the same detail, however tempting may be the objects which present themselves. In this book there are many bits which we would gladly single out for praise, many vistas opened out to view by the peculiarly suggestive mind of its author, over which we would gladly linger.

We must hasten on to another of these ἐποχαί, which may, perhaps, be considered one of the most critical of all. The 'choice of Hercules,' as fabled of old time, between Virtue and Vice, was one which need not have given rise to much hesitation—but the 'choice of Cicero' between Cæsar and Pompey may well have occasioned great tossings to and fro to a man of his temperament and character. On this point we cannot, we think, do better than give our readers an analysis of the famous letter to Lentulus, which may be called an apology for his political conduct. Mr. Forsyth regrets that considerations of space have prevented him from printing the analysis he had himself made. We on our part can only regret still more deeply that he has left the work to be done by an inferior hand; but we attach the greatest importance to this letter as a vindication of Cicero's character by Cicero himself, in a matter where that character has been most rudely assailed. We must begin by quoting the very excellent recapitulation of the facts of the case which we find in Mr. Forsyth's pages:—

'The case stood thus. He had always opposed—not so much actively as in spirit and opinion—the union of parties effected by Cæsar, Pompey, and Crassus, and known by the name of the first Triumvirate. He saw that this powerful coalition, in fact, over-rode the constitution, and

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and went far to establish a Dictatorship at Rome resting upon popular violence, ever ready to side with the strongest, so long as the mob was amused by spectacles, and kept in pay by corruption. But he clung to Pompey even then, although always mistrusting him. He really had an affection for him as a man, and he was dazzled by his brilliant reputation as a successful soldier. And, besides, he seems to have believed that he was the only person to whom the State could look to make head against the ambitious designs of Cæsar, and that he would be found on the side of the constitution if Cæsar or any other enemy openly attacked it. From Cæsar he stood aloof, and could not be persuaded to accept any office or honour at his hands. He peremptorily refused to be one of his commissioners for dividing the Campania lands, and he declined, though with hesitation, the offer to be one of his lieutenants—a post which Quintus afterwards accepted. He did not openly oppose Cæsar's bill for dividing the Campania lands, and indeed took credit for supporting it with an amendment, which he carried, for respecting the rights of private individuals.

'But Cæsar was too long-sighted and politic a man to break with Cicero. He continued to flatter him, and lost no opportunity of showing kindness and goodwill to his friends. In the unhappy affair of his exile, Cicero had more reason to complain of Pompey than of Cæsar. Cæsar was at that moment at the head of his legions outside the walls of Rome, and could not by law enter the city. Pompey, however, voluntarily retired to his Alban villa, and when Cicero went there and threw himself at his feet to implore his aid, did not even ask him to rise, and coldly said he could do nothing without Cæsar's approval. And he did nothing. Cicero passed twelve miserable months in banishment, and when at last he was restored, he had to thank Cæsar as well as Pompey for the influence they had exerted in his favour. Cæsar, indeed, was absent in Gaul, but he had an active party in Rome; and we may feel certain that if he had been averse to Cicero's return, there would have been enormous difficulty in effecting it. Clodius also had now declared himself the open enemy of Cæsar as well as of Pompey, so that the ill-feeling engendered in Cicero's mind by the conviction that his most inveterate foe was secretly supported by Cæsar no longer existed. When, therefore, an opportunity occurred for testifying his goodwill towards Cæsar, without compromising his own principles, he gladly availed himself of it. This opportunity arose on the question of prolonging Cæsar's command in Gaul, and he made that admirable speech, in which he nobly vindicated to himself the right to lay aside private enmity on account of wrongs inflicted on himself for the sake of the Republic, whose interests, he believed, required that the Proconsul's career of victory in Gaul should not be checked before he had completed and consolidated his conquests. Moreover, he clearly saw how little he could in future rely upon Pompey in a struggle, and the instinct of self-preservation led him no longer to repel the advances of the powerful general, who did not cease to court him, and whose name was a tower of strength at Rome from his popularity with the masses and

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and his fame as a soldier. Nor must it be forgotten that, as yet, there was nothing in Cæsar's conduct to make it criminal in a patriot to join him. Some writers, indeed, like De Quincey, assert, that even in the agony of civil war, *his* was the patriotic side; but, without stopping to examine that question, this plea cannot possibly avail Cicero; for he was unalterably convinced *then* of the contrary. Now, however, the future lay dark before him; and not the most sagacious politician at Rome could have divined the series of events—blundering weakness on the one side, and unscrupulous ambition on the other—which led to the dictatorship of Cæsar and the overthrow of the constitution.'—Vol. i. p. 289.

The letter in question is addressed in the year B.C. 54 *to* P. Cornelius Lentulus Spinther, the father, at that time passing the third year of his Proconsulate in Cilicia, and who, as Consul, had taken an active part in promoting Cicero's return. He is writing, therefore, it will be observed, to one who was thoroughly conversant with his antecedents, and who was specially and personally acquainted with all that Cæsar and Pompey had both done and left undone when Cicero was under sentence of banishment. He is not, therefore, addressing a Roman mob who might be made to swallow almost anything: he is not speaking under high pressure or for oratorical effect; he is writing with all deliberation to one by whom his letter would with all deliberation be read. And if it should be urged that he was writing to a friend who would judge if with deliberation, still not without partiality, it may be said in reply that we learn from the letter itself that Lentulus was both friend enough and impartial enough to have conceived misgivings as to Cicero's conduct, and to have written to him for an explanation of it. Cicero begins by assurances of affection and of gratitude—feelings which no man was wont to entertain with greater depth and sincerity. He regrets that Lentulus's absence had caused such a long separation between them. Together, he thinks they might have cut a conspicuous figure in the senate and in the administration of the Republic, about which he tells Lentulus he purposes presently to set forth the sentiments he holds, and the kind of position he is taking up (qui sit meus sensus et status). After some further expressions of kindly feeling and of sympathy in a disappointment his friend had experienced, Cicero passes on to the real object of the letter. Lentulus had evidently been informed that Cicero was more or less hand in glove with Cæsar, Appius, and Vatinius, and had written to him to know what it all meant. Cicero says he must begin further back, in order to explain matters in due sort. He says that at the time and by reason of his restoration from exile he felt that he was bound, as to Lentulus in

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in particular, who had taken the initiative in that restoration, so to the Republic generally, by whom it had been confirmed, by ties nearer and dearer than those which had heretofore linked him to public life. To the common bonds of citizenship was thenceforth added a sense of personal obligation. That this was his feeling on the matter was as well known to the Senate, who had heard his speech 'Post reditum,' as to Lentulus personally, who had often heard him talk it over. But even at that early stage, when his feelings of gratitude were thus kindled, there had not been wanting sources of mortification. Smouldering hate on the one hand, and zeal that shunned the light of day on the other hand, had conspired to yield him in very scanty measure that restitution of his rights which in the general wreck of his fortunes he had been justified in expecting. Still, when he saw this—and he must have been blind not to see it—the memory of services rendered outweighed that of services withheld. Accordingly not all the sense of the obligations he might be under to Pompey, obligations which Lentulus himself had insisted on to Pompey's credit, had induced him to swerve from his original sentiments about the Republic. He had told Pompey to his face, when twitted by Vatinius for leaning towards Cæsar as a man whose star was in the ascendant, that he preferred the fate of Bibulus, unhappy as it might be thought, to the triumphs and victories of any other man. And this was not the only occasion on which he had shown a disposition to hold his own. Was it possible for any man to show a more sturdy resistance to the Triumvirate than he had done in the matter of the lands in Campania (*i. e.* the agrarian law)? Was this the conduct of a man cowed by recent exile, or ready to abandon all he had once fought for? The sentiments he had uttered on that occasion had caused a commotion not only in quarters where he might have expected it (*i. e.* the Triumvirate), but also where he should least have looked for it (*i. e.* with the Senatorial party). Cæsar and Pompey in particular had been very much put out by the course he had taken. Pompey had seen Cicero's brother Quintus, and had reminded him of the pledges he had made on Cicero's behalf at the time when efforts were on foot to compass his return from exile. To these pledges Pompey told Quintus he was determined to hold him bound. One of the most important of them had been that Cicero should be induced to refrain from thwarting Cæsar's measures. He also had reminded Quintus that in everything he had himself done for Cicero he had received full sanction from Cæsar. On hearing all this from Quintus, Cicero tells Lentulus that he began to ask himself—and we confess we think the question was a very proper one to put—whether something was not due to gratitude and to his

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his brother's honour, whether the course he had marked out for himself as a good citizen did not run counter to that of an honest man. Besides, he found that the men on whose co-operation he might fairly have reckoned in his opposition to the Triumvirate were actually showering their caresses on his avowed enemy Clodius. These circumstances induced him carefully to review his position, and the result of his reflections he proceeds to lay before his friend. If the Republic were in the hands of men lost to all sense of honour or of shame, no consideration of interest, no dread of consequences, no sentiment of gratitude, would induce him for one moment to espouse their cause. But what were the facts of the case? The foremost man in the Republic was Pompey, a man who had won his present position by deserts of the highest order, a man whom he (Cicero) from his youth upwards had hung to, and whose interests he had more especially promoted during his Prætorship and Consulate, a man, too, who both by his vote and by measures concerted with Lentulus, had helped him out of his troubles, and whose only enemy in the State was the man by whom those troubles had been caused. Was he to be scared by the charge of inconstancy from allowing under these circumstances some of his sentiments to become somewhat modified, and from shaping his course to the wishes of such a man? The same arguments, he reminds Lentulus, would apply to any adhesion he might give to Cæsar, who had made common cause with Pompey. Here, too, his brother's old friendship with Cæsar could not but weigh with him in no small degree; to say nothing of the highminded and generous bearing of the man which he had witnessed himself. The State, too, seemed anxious to avoid provoking a collision with the Triumvirate, regard being had especially to Cæsar's glorious achievements. But, after all, the paramount consideration with him was the pledge which Pompey had given about him to Cæsar, and which his brother had given to Pompey. Cicero then recurs to what had taken place under the consulship of Lentulus, and to the union which then prevailed between all well-thinking men, a union to which Pompey and Cæsar lent their aid, and which ought to have been strong enough therefore to crush the violent designs of any scoundrel who might violate the laws. He then calls the attention of Lentulus to what actually followed—Attende quæro quæ sint consecuta. The very men who had voted for his return screened from punishment the monster who violated the mysteries of Bona Dea, just as he had violated his own sisters, and allowed him to inscribe his own detested name on a monument which recorded Cicero's services. Cicero infers that the support implied in recalling him from exile was but a half-hearted

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hearted support: in thus shielding his avowed and inveterate enemy they had left their work half-finished. They were like doctors, who just keep a man out of his grave, but who take no steps to restore him to rude health. But more has yet to be said before Lentulus can fully understand the state of the case. He assures him that the attitude and feelings of the conservative party are no longer the same as when he left Rome. Those who were then called the Optimates did not disguise the change of sentiment they had undergone; their votes and their verdicts spoke for themselves; there could be no deception in the case. Cicero could only rejoice that, in the altered policy which this change of feeling among his party compelled him to follow, duty and interest coincided. The remainder of this letter has been so ably analyzed and in part translated by Mr. Forsyth, that we gladly quote his own words:—

'Alluding to his appearing as a witness for Vatinius, he said that, as some of the most distinguished men at Rome had chosen to patronize and caress his own enemy—if they had their Clodius, he had a right to have his Vatinius. And he quoted some lines from the Eunuch of Terence, where the Parasite advises the Captain to play off Pamphila against Phœdria, which may be thus rendered:—

> '"If she names Phœdria, do you forthwith
> Begin to speak of Pamphila; and if she says,
> 'Let us invite fair Phœdria to supper,'
> Do you rejoin, 'Let us have Pamphila
> To sing to us.' If she breaks out
> In praise of Phœdria's beauty, you extol
> The face of Pamphila. In short, my friend,
> Take care to pay her back in her own coin,
> And I will warrant that you tease and fret her."

"Aye!" said Cicero, "and gods and men approve my policy."

'As to Crassus, although he had great reason to complain of his conduct, he was not going to gratify the malignity of others by continuing his enmity with him, as though they could never be friends; and both Pompey and Cæsar had urgently entreated him to make up the quarrel. He sums up, as it were, the main points of his defence in the following words:—

'"Pray be assured that if I had been at liberty, and things had remained as they were, I would have pursued the same course. For I should not have thought it right to contend against such powerful influence, not even if it had been possible to destroy the supremacy of the most distinguished men in the state. Nor do I think I ought to adhere obstinately to one opinion when things are altered and the wishes of good men are changed, but we must go with the times. For an inflexible adherence to one opinion has never been approved of by leading politicians; but, as in navigation it is a proof of skill to trim according

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according to the weather, even if you cannot make the port (although when you *can* make it by shifting the sails it is folly to hold on your course with danger rather than by changing it to arrive at the point you wish), so—although all of us who are engaged in the government of the state ought to aim, as I have often said, at dignified repose—we ought always to aim at the same object, but not always say the same thing. Therefore, as I have just observed, if I had been as free as air, I would not have acted otherwise as a politician than I have done. But when to take this course I am both induced by the kindnesses of some and forced by the injuries of others, I find no difficulty in both thinking and saying, on public questions, what I conceive to be most for my interests, as well as the interests of the state." '—Vol. i. p. 291.

We are strongly of opinion that if we had 'Hansard' before us we should have no great difficulty in singling out passages almost identical in tenor with that which Mr. Forsyth has here translated—passages which have been listened to within the Houses of Parliament without a particle of dissent, and which have circulated through the country without a syllable of reprobation. English statesmen there have been within the memory of those now living, and still are—statesmen second to none in the past history of their country, and who are not likely to have their equals in the immediate future—who have rested their defence of a change of policy far more complete, and under circumstances far less perplexing, than in the case of Cicero, upon arguments precisely similar to those which Cicero here employs, and who have met with an approval which to Cicero has been denied. And not merely on the score of the general interests of the commonwealth might Cicero, ignorant of what was to come to pass, seem to himself to be justified in shaping his course by that of the Triumvirate, which at the time he wrote this letter appeared to him to be the only machinery by which the commonwealth could be held together: we further contend that not less valid are the arguments to which he himself attached the greatest weight—gravissimè autem me in hanc mentem impulit—viz. the pledges given on his behalf to Pompey by his brother Quintus. We see nothing whatever in the formal defence of his conduct set forth in this letter at which any candid mind has a right to cavil. In judging of Cicero's conduct as in judging the conduct of our neighbours generally, we are apt to forget the advantages we enjoy over him from our knowledge of the subsequent events, and of the fall of the Republic which he fondly thought to preserve. But it will be said that Cicero is not in unison with himself, that the leaning towards Cæsar which is here shown was succeeded by the most violent antagonism—this is perfectly

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perfectly true. The discord between Cicero writing to Lentulus and the Cicero of a few years later is, we admit, glaring; but above this discord is to be heard a higher, truer harmony—that of an honest, conscientious man striving to think and to do always such things as be right. No doubt, when Cæsar's policy took a more definite aim, when his designs were no longer masked under a pretended alliance with Pompey, Cicero fancied that on Pompey's side lay the safety of that Republic he so dearly cherished, lay the preservation of those institutions he had so courageously defended, lay all hope of freedom for Rome, for Italy, for the world. As we now are enabled to read the history of those times, we can understand that Cicero was quite wrong, and that Cæsar was essentially the man of the time. We can understand that within the city of Rome it was no longer possible for the power of Rome to flourish, starved in such narrow bounds: we can see the necessity of furthering the formation of a middle class, of replacing slave-labour by free-labour, and of all those measures which the genius of Cæsar is believed to have planned. But the question is, What should we have done in Cicero's place? and this is a question to which those who are so forward in declaiming against him have never betrayed the slightest disposition to give a reply. Cicero was doubtless mistaken; he was the dupe of Pompey, and he was unable to see and to foresee the aims of Cæsar; but again we ask, if we had lived in those strangely troublous times where should we have been found? Mr. De Quincey, we may presume, would have amused himself with laughing at the frolics of that playful creature Clodius; and as for Messrs. Drumann and Mommsen, we quite believe that they would have shown nothing of the doubts and misgivings which distracted Cicero's breast: a tyranny tempered by tobacco would have been the highest aspiration of a German professor. If Cicero had not known these doubts and misgivings, if he had made himself a thoroughgoing partisan either of Cæsar or of Pompey, he would have been alike free from obloquy and unknown to fame. But he chose the better part; he dared to be greatly good, and so has come in for that measure of calumny and of misrepresentation which is the lot of those who so elect. As Mr. Forsyth well remarks:—

'If Cicero had consulted only his own ease and safety, he would not have hesitated a moment between the camp of Cæsar and the camp of Pompey. He foresaw that victory would be chained to the eagles of the one, and forsake the standard of the other; but he deliberately chose the losing side, because he believed it to be the side of his country. We may think that he struggled for an object which was not worth preserving, but we cannot impugn his patriotism or the

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purity of his motives. If he had been a less conscientious, he would have been a bolder or at all events a more consistent man.'

There is so much in Mr. Forsyth's second volume to arrest our attention and excite our interest that we are loth to pass it by. For a different purpose we had ourselves some years ago gone carefully over the ground he has here traversed, and are therefore not wholly without the means of judging of the arduous labour, the careful research, the minute sifting of authorities which Mr. Forsyth must have gone through before he was able to turn out, as it were, the very lucid and graphic narrative unfolded in these pages. If it be an art to conceal art, as the Latin adage has it, in nothing is the superiority of Englishmen in general, and of Mr. Forsyth in particular, over a German more conspicuous than in the handling of any subject connected with classical antiquity. In the hands of a German a book on the subjects handled in Mr. Forsyth's 'Hortensius,' for example, would have bristled with notes and excursuses and a whole apparatus of pedantic lore, most useful indeed for the scholar in that closet where scholars from time immemorial have been supposed to dwell, but utterly repugnant to the layman and inaccessible to the public at large. Whereas Mr. Forsyth, with learning not inferior to that of Germany, gives us a book which is quite within the reach of the simple, and not beneath the science of the wise. So, again, if we compare such writers as Mommsen and Merivale—how cramped, how rugged, how *uncombed* and uncouth, to readers of the German work, are those long-winded sentences which seem as if they were never to come to an end, and as if they never ought to have had a beginning; how ungenial the tone of feeling, how hazy the atmosphere of thought! Mr. Merivale's narrative, on the other hand—a work which does honour to the scholarship of the present day—would attract by the charms of its style readers who *à priori* would take no particular interest in the period of which his history treats. And if we pass on from these works to the 'Life of Cicero,' now before us, any one who has looked into Brückner's 'Ciceros Leben' will scarcely fail to come to the conclusion that the German author's principal object must have been to make his book a foil to every other book ever published, and to prevent any of his readers from ever again complaining that a book was dull, so entirely has he exhausted and monopolised everything that could make a dull book. Mr. Forsyth produces, in the brief leisure afforded by a busy professional career, what we venture to say will become one of the classics of English biographical literature, and will be welcomed

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comed by readers of all ages and both sexes, of all professions and of no profession at all.

If to any part of his work these remarks can apply, so especially have they been suggested by those vigorous chapters on the civil war and on the closing years of Cicero's life, which form the greater part of the second volume. The interview with Pompey, the crossing of the Rubicon, the consternation at Rome, the mental conflict of Cicero, his meeting with Cæsar, his quarrel with his own brother, his divorce from his wife, the death of his daughter, the fightings without, the fears within, the assassination of Cæsar, the thunders of the Philippics, the atrocities of proscription, the tragedy of Cicero's murder; all these present a picture which no other period of history can match, and to which full justice has been done by Mr. Forsyth. It is true that the biographer is careful not to allow himself to be effaced by the historian, but the part which Cicero played in the scenes which closed at once the Republic and his own life, is so important that it is impossible adequately to describe it without virtually writing the history of his times. At any rate, the reader will find nothing omitted which is necessary to render the narrative intelligible as a consistent and connected whole. There is a ring of true heroism in Cicero's conduct during the last year of his life of which the echo in the corridors of time is not yet dead, and which ought to drown for ever the petty snarls with which his memory has been assailed. When awed by the genius of Cæsar, which he could not appreciate, and seduced by the plausibilities of Pompey, which he could not unmask, his course was one of sore perplexity, and not uncharacterised by pardonable vacillation. But the intrigues of Antony over Cæsar's grave aroused in Cicero's breast an honest indignation which no considerations of personal safety could appease, and an energy of action which only assassination could arrest. Though years had waxed, his courage had not waned. The orator who attacked Antony was the same man at heart as the consul who had crushed Catiline. The Philippics were as the song of the swan; but the words he then uttered, as Mr. Forsyth well says—

'did more than armies for the liberty of Rome. . . . Amidst declared enemies and lukewarm friends, he stood almost alone in his determined hostility to every proposal for a dishonourable peace. . . . . In the midst of a faint-hearted Senate and fickle populace he had held aloft with his single arm the standard of freedom, sent out armies to combat the enemies of his country, and by his example cheered, encouraged, and animated all. It was no fault of his that treason had eaten into the heart-core of the Commonwealth, and that men were now willing to be slaves.'

Mr. Forsyth, as he relates the manner in which Cicero's trunk-

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less

less head was nailed to the Rostra which his eloquence had made peculiarly his own, might fitly have added these noble lines of a poet, a contemporary of Ovid, who as a child might possibly have witnessed the spectacle he so finely describes, and who, if we may judge from the following fragment, scarcely deserved the damning with faint praise which he meets with at the hands of Quintilian:—

'Oraque magnanimûm spirantia pænè virorûm
In rostris jacuere suis: sed enim abstulit omnes
Tanquam sola foret, rapti Ciceronis imago.
Tunc redeunt animis ingentia consulis acta,
Juratæque manus, deprensaque fœdera noxæ,
Patriciumque nefas extinctum et pœna Cethegi,
Dejectusque redit votis Catilina nefandis.
Quid favor aut cœtus, pleni quid honoribus anni
Profuerunt, sacris et vita quid artibus acta?
Abstulit una dies ævi decus, ictaque luctu
Conticuit Latiæ tristis facundia linguæ.
Unica sollicitis quondam tutela salusque,
Egregium semper patriæ caput, ille senatus
Vindex, ille fori, legum, jurisque togæque
Publica vox sævis æternum obmutuit armis.
Informes vultus, sparsamque cruore nefando
Canitiem, sacrasque manus, operumque ministros
Tantorum, pedibus civis projecta superbis
Proculcavit ovans, nec lubrica fata deosque
Respexit: nullo luet hoc Antonius ævo.
Hæc nec in Emathio mitis victoria Perse,
Nec te, dire Syphax, nec fecit in hoste Philippo;
Inque triumphato ludibria cuncta Jugurtha
Abfuerunt, nostræque cadens ferus Hannibal iræ
Membra tamen Stygias tulit inviolata sub umbras.'

In taking our leave of Mr. Forsyth, we shall conclude with a few words on Cicero's character as a man and on his value as a teacher of philosophy.

Reader! what would you not give to have seen Cicero? We confess we should give a great deal—the more because no genuine statue, bust, or coin has come down to us bearing the likeness of the Roman orator. In none of them do you see that playful twitch of irony for which his mouth, all ancient writers agree, was so remarkable—a twitch which we can easily recall when we read some of his Dialogues, and observe the humorous, good easy way in which he scans an opponent floundering in the quicksand of an unstable argument, or an untenable tenet. Visconti, indeed, and others, have heaped together a number of supposed portraits, but they will none of them bear the test of criticism.

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criticism.* Cicero had a long neck and a skinny face, it is true; but it takes a vast deal more than a long neck and a skinny face to give one any adequate idea of the man. Where in any extant likeness do you find that noble expression and dignified cast of thought which even his enemies could read in his countenance—where that play of feature which indicated in a moment the nature of the passion or the feeling which at the time had sway in his breast? The attitude he was in when he met his death—*i. e.* leaning his head upon his left hand—was one that was familiar to him, we are told, throughout his life. We value that seemingly trifling, but well-authenticated, circumstance far more than a whole museum full of spurious likenesses. Every man has some little trick, as it is called, which gives us a wonderful insight into the character of the individual. We remember reading in some old French poem—we believe it was the 'Romaunt de la Rose'—a description of an allegorical figure of Decision, in which it was said that the head was always straight, and never drooped in meditative reverie. But Cicero leant *his* head upon his left hand: was not indecision his greatest bane? his enemies call it his greatest blot: is it not that indecision which justifies Shakespeare in saying of him, that 'he will never follow anything that other men begin'?

* The bust which is believed to be the least open to suspicion, is one of colossal size, which formerly belonged to the Mattei family, and which afterwards came into the possession of the late Duke of Wellington. In this bust the nose, the upper and under lip, and the chin are restored. The reader will judge what value ought to be attached to a likeness in which such important and characteristic features are avowedly apocryphal. The next best likeness is that at Munich (No. 224 in Kleuze's admirable Catalogue). So at least say the Viscontis and other learned men. But we doubt if such assertions be worth more than the value which old Dr. Butler used to assign to conjectural readings, viz. 'a farthing a cart-load.' With regard to the coin, which is figured in Mr. Forsyth's work, Borghesi and Labus (an editor of Visconti) think that it is intended for Cicero's son, who was Proconsul in Asia. The whole question, however, of Greek and Roman Iconography is one of the most shadowy character, and has given rise to more fanciful and arbitrary assertions than any other department of classical antiquity. The ancients knew nothing of photography, and if they had known it their taste for the higher efforts of art properly so called was too pure, and their sense of individuality too much crushed out beneath the absorbing influences of citizenship, to admit of their flooding posterity with albums of *cartes de visite*. Mr. Samuel Birch, the distinguished Keeper of Antiquities at the British Museum, considers that 'by far the best likeness published' of Cicero, is a gem in Mariette, profile to the right, called 'Teste d'un Romain du Siècle d'Auguste, améthyste,' and which exhibits the same features, trait for trait, as those on the Asiatic coin (Numism. Chron., ii. p. 107 *seq.*). This, as far as any evidence goes, is the best we have seen in reply to Borghesi and Labus. For though a coin may have been struck of Cicero's son as Proconsul, it is not likely that he would have been figured on a gem, unless the gem-cutter was himself led into error. And thus we find ourselves once more floundering in the quicksands of mere guesswork. Certain it is that the bust at Munich, which we have ourselves seen, has no resemblance to the head on the coin.

Again:

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Again: Cicero had a swelling in the leg; and we read that, in order to conceal it, he wore his toga unusually long. To conceal it! Was Cicero vain, then? Alas! his vanity was proverbial. Those few extra inches of toga serve to gauge his character under this particular aspect; he was always either lengthening his toga to hide a defect, or shortening it to show a beauty. It would perhaps be interesting to pick out one or two more of these seemingly unimportant peculiarities, and show that they are undesigned, unconscious manifestations of great and glaring defects. But we forbear; we give in at once; we *admit* all Cicero's faults—we admit that a man who had a good deal of vinegar in his ink might easily fill pages upon pages of foolscap with the most irrefragable arguments that Cicero was tarnished with blemishes of no ordinary character. And yet we feel that we should wind up our catalogue with those words of Erasmus, which we read in the preface to his edition of the Tusculan Disputations—words, we may observe in passing, which have treble the weight as coming from the author of the 'Ciceronianus'—a treatise which was one of the heavy pieces of artillery brought into the field by Erasmus, in the celebrated war of the Ciceronians, which plays so curious a part in the literary feuds of the sixteenth century:—

'I never take up Cicero's works without being struck with the idea that something more than human must have filled a soul from whence productions so noble came forth. Where is that soul now? This is a point on which no man can pronounce a decisive opinion. But I should be inclined to side with those who are persuaded that it is among the Blessed in Heaven.'

And again—

'I can never read the works of Cicero on Old Age, on Friendship, on Duties, or his Tusculan Disputations, without fervently pressing them to my lips, without being penetrated with the profoundest veneration for a mind little short of inspired by God himself: I would rather that Scotus and all that set should perish, than be deprived of the works of Cicero. I feel a better man for reading Cicero; whereas reading the schoolmen is as ice to my soul.'

The foregoing remarks lead us to note one of the great paradoxes about Cicero's character. Expose it, abuse it, photograph it with all its flaws, you certainly may; but love it you as certainly *must*. The fact is, as Mr. Merivale has well observed, that the high standard by which you claim to judge his defects is in itself so full an acknowledgment of his merits, that these, do what you will, force themselves into the foreground, and hide the

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the dark, ugly things which stand behind. After all that has been said against him, there remains something truly noble in his conduct, and loveable in his nature; we feel that in his letters he has subjected himself to an ordeal through which no public, and few private men could pass as little scathed as he does; that however much we may be disposed to quiz him for his vanity, or to despise him for his vacillation—however much he may have hesitated about attaching himself to this party or to that—one cause there was, the cause of Virtue, to which he was constant ever—one law, the law of conscience, to which he remained obedient even unto death.

It may be well to look a little more closely into the secret of this mysterious attraction which Cicero has held over the world. To say that his temperament was more Greek than Roman might be one solution of the secret; but more remains to be told. It has been remarked, we think by Coleridge, that those natures which have held in fee simple, so to speak, the admiration of the good of all ages, have had in their temperament something epicene—something of the qualities of the woman combined with those of the man. So of Cicero, it has been well remarked by a German writer, that his temperament had in it more of the woman than of the man. Womanly was his extreme excitability, his sudden and vehement alternations of joy and sorrow, hope and fear, love and loathing; the violent extremes to which these and all his feelings were carried—his dislike verging upon hate, his liking love, his love idolatry, his grief hot, scalding tears; he wept like a child when he went into exile—wept when he heard that Pompey, during the civil war, was shut up in Brundusium by Cæsar—wept when his property was lost no less than when his daughter died. Happy, very happy moments he may often have had—seldom happy days. Womanly was his timidity in challenging the opinions of the world—his vulnerable, thin-skinned nature when exposed to the light skirmishing of social gossip, his inability to face the heavier artillery of open and deliberate censures; the need he ever felt of pinning himself to some one whom he might look up to and revere; his tendency to give to appearances the precedence over realities—to shut his eyes and unconsciously deceive his judgment on the real motives of his own conduct; his determination always to have the last word, and to mutter half-audible retorts rather than be altogether mute; his curiosity, the interest he took in the tattle of a town, his weakness for indulging in light raillery of others, his insatiable thirst for praise and flattery. Now the object and the upshot of this parallel is, that, just as a woman is and ever will be loveable, not only in spite of, but we had almost said because of

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of her faults, so the paradox in the character of Cicero is to be explained; for the picture has another side: if he had some of the frailties of woman, he had also some of her virtues; for womanly was that warm loving heart, that trusting guileless nature, that instinctive purity and innocence which kept him free from stain in an age teeming with the grossest crimes, and drowned in the beastly sinks of sensuality.

The position occupied by Cicero as a teacher of philosophy coincides with this view of his character and temperament. For here we find no abstruse and speculative system-maker, no *independent* exercise of the reasoning faculties, but rather a man who betook himself to Philosophy as to a haven where the storm-tossed bark of life might rest. It will be seen from Mr. Forsyth's interesting Biography that the period when Cicero was most absorbed in the composition of his moral treatises was when his need was the sorest, and his perplexities at their height. He was not an original thinker; his receptivity, to use a phrase familiar to writers of the history of philosophy, was vast, his spontaneity small. Still his merits are, we think, very considerable. No ancient philosopher has shown so clearly that the world of the sage and of the citizen are one—that not to an Atlantis, or other fabled spot, must a man betake himself to carry out the principles he has learned in his closet: no; it is in the public forum, by the domestic hearth, that a man's philosophy must stand him in good stead. No man again, as we think Mr. Maurice has remarked, has brought out so strongly as Cicero the idea of Duty, of Moral Obligation, as the great central principle round which all his Ethics revolve. But in this, as in all his moral teaching, we observe the influence of the womanly side of his character. To get at these doctrines he does not mount up the ladder, or erect the scaffolding of argument: he sees them with a kind of instinctive intuition, that intuition possessed by a sex whose intellect is more of the heart than of the head. Cicero's philosophical works may be, and have been, shoved aside by those deep writers who make it their business to map the mind of man, and discover some North-West passage through the ice-bound seas of metaphysics. Still we can never forget that they have commanded the unfeigned homage, and taken firm hold on the heart, and moulded for good the principles and the life of such men as an Erasmus, a Bernard, and an Augustine; so that even in our own enlightened day we think we may adopt the language of Quintilian, and affirm that it is no mean advance in goodness to reverence the master of Roman Philosophy.

Art.

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ART. IV.—*Journal of the Discovery of the Source of the Nile.* By John Hanning Speke, Captain H.M. Indian Army, &c. London, 1863.

IN the last July number of the 'Quarterly Review' we hastened to tender our congratulations on the return of the two intrepid travellers who had accomplished the unparalleled feat of crossing the continent of Africa from Zanzibar to Egypt, and to offer our tribute of sympathy in the apparent success of a great undertaking for the purpose of solving the most ancient and interesting of geographical problems. Although Captain Speke did not pretend that he had visited the remote springs of the Nile, or had traced its waters to their fountain-head, he announced that the great lake which he discovered on his first expedition is undoubtedly the chief reservoir and head water from which the mighty river, swollen by a thousand tributary streams in its long passage to the sea, derives its annual floods. The details of this extraordinary journey, which extended over a period of more than three years, have now been published; and although scientific geographers may hesitate to fully accept all the conclusions at which Captain Speke has arrived, his Journal, which records the daily life of a traveller in the centre of Africa, and the residence of months among people who had never before seen a European countenance, cannot but be read with the liveliest interest. It is a simple record of struggles made from day to day to accomplish the object which he had at heart; and if there is a little sameness in these difficulties, it must be remembered that it is to the manner in which they were met that the final success of the enterprise is due. It was only from his own diary that the picture of patient energy and manly resolution could have been so well brought out. If it does not possess literary merit, to which its author probably never aspired, it abounds with very extraordinary incidents; and this graphic narrative affords probably a clearer insight into savage life than any more artistic production could have given. Although Captain Speke did not encounter

> 'The Anthropophagi, and men whose heads
> Do grow beneath their shoulders,'

or other monsters with which the imagination has sometimes peopled the interior of Africa, he found himself in daily contact with forms of savage life almost equally surprising. He encountered in his journey from Zanzibar to Gondokoro phases of society which exhibited the merely animal nature of man in all its revolting hideousness, while others assumed the highest

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highest form of civilized humanity which probably the African can now attain without receiving an impulse from a higher race. It is not our intention to analyse minutely a work which is now being so widely read, but, postponing for the present some remarks upon the important hydrographical questions which will be revived by this publication, we will trace the course of Captain Speke and his gallant companion from Zanzibar across the African Equator until, triumphant over all difficulties, they reached Gondokoro, and were rejoiced by the sight of European countenances, after having dwelt for nearly three years among the black tribes of intertropical Africa without having had any communication whatever with England or indeed with any portion of the civilized world.

The route taken from Zanzibar was, as far as Kazé, the same as that travelled over by Captains Burton and Speke in their joint expedition to the Tanganyika Lake in 1859. Kazé is the seat of an extensive commerce in ivory, and the residence of many wealthy Arab merchants, who traffic with natives in this commodity, and send it from that emporium to the coast. Here Captain Speke met with the same warm hospitality which is the characteristic of the Arab race in every part of the world. At Kazé the interest of the Journal may be said to commence, for we are thenceforward introduced to a succession of entirely new scenes, new countries, and new characters; the native states passed through having never before been visited by Europeans. However great may be the geographical interest of this exploration, attention will probably be quite as much directed to the characteristics of the remarkable races which have been brought for the first time to our notice; for the ethnography of Africa is almost the only subject which, in its present infant civilisation, is capable of exciting much curiosity. The abundance of everything requisite for the animal enjoyment of man in this region of the globe presents a striking contrast to his moral and social condition. He absolutely revels in the prodigality of nature. It is an unquestionable fact, that the physical wants of the uncivilised African are supplied in far greater profusion and with much less toil than those of the Ryot of India. He is better fed and better lodged; and in those districts where the slave-trade has not rendered his liberty precarious, his state may be favourably contrasted with that of the peasantry of the most flourishing countries in Europe. The picture presented to us of the comfort of a peasant in intertropical Africa might almost excite the envy of our toiling and, unhappily, too often suffering millions. He lives upon the almost spontaneous produce of the soil. Grain, vegetables, milk, butter, honey, and fruits form his ordinary fare. He

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He can often indulge in the flesh of bullocks, goats, and sheep. Game in vast quantity lies hid in the thickets or roams over the grassy plains. Herds of fine cattle graze on every green hill. The elephant, the zebra, the antelope, the buffalo, and the hippopotamus, afford a variety of animal food; and a beer made from millet, called 'pombé,' is the common beverage of subjects and kings.

The most remarkable, perhaps, of modern African discoveries is that of the existence from 5° south to 5° north latitude of a surpassingly rich zone of fertility, which diminishes, however, in productiveness as it recedes from the Equator. This region might in time become one of the most prosperous and populous in the world. Its climate is as salubrious as its natural beauty is enchanting. It has an elevation which greatly modifies the influence of a tropical sun; its surface is varied by hills and dales; noble rivers flow through it; it possesses vast lakes resembling inland seas; and several of the mountains which rise from this elevated plateau are among the loftiest in the world. The first necessity of mankind, and the sole condition on which all material blessings can be enjoyed, is, however, unhappily wanting. Its population have never yet been able to constitute for themselves a government founded on any other basis but that of slavery and oppression. Society in Eastern Intertropical Africa, therefore, presents—although a certain kind of civilisation has sprung up spontaneously—an aspect but little removed from a state of nature. Roads—the first indication of the material progress of a people—are unknown. There are no bridges but the trunks of trees felled where small streams are to be crossed. Architecture has not advanced beyond the construction of a simple hut. The circulating medium is composed chiefly of cloth and beads; and the nearest approach made to a metallic currency consists of coils of copper wire and old iron hoes. This backwardness in one of the most important conveniences of life is the more remarkable in a country where trade is a passion, and the desire to possess European commodities is displayed with almost childish eagerness. Although the imposing march of the Eastern caravan is unknown in Equatorial Africa, traders have traversed from time immemorial the regions between the Equator and the eastern coast, but no four-footed animal except the ass can be used as a beast of burden. Camels would be well adapted for the purpose, but the paths are so beset with mimosa and thorns, that these animals—so invaluable in long journeys in other parts of Africa and in the East—could not pass through them. It is this want of roads which makes the work of exploration so tedious and expensive in Eastern Africa.

A traveller

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A traveller must be accompanied by a large body of porters, who carry, either on their head or their shoulders, the whole of the baggage and impedimenta. Slowly winding, in single file, over hill and plain, penetrating thickets of gigantic grass, and often forcing his way painfully through dense jungle, the leader of an expedition in Eastern Africa has even more serious difficulties to encounter than physical obstructions. He has to battle with the constant insubordination of his men by an almost hourly assertion of authority; he has to humour their waywardness and keep watch on their dishonesty, and he is liable to be suddenly brought to a stop by open mutiny. Desertions daily try his temper and firmness. Valuable property, and still more valuable time, are irretrievably lost. Of the seventy-five porters with which Captain Speke started from Zanzibar, it appears from a return given in the Appendix to his book, that thirty-seven deserted during the journey and fourteen were discharged as unfit for further service. It is not only the caprices and disloyalty of his attendants that he has to encounter; he is subjected to numberless forced detentions on the route by the chiefs of the countries through which he has to pass. The hongo, or transit-tax—or blackmail—which is imposed by these despots on every traveller is a cause of endless annoyance and delay. No sooner does any one of these petty chiefs become aware of the approach of a travelling party than he forthwith considers how much he can make out of such an opportunity for plunder. Nor is it possible to evade this constantly-recurring tax. If a travelling party should betray an intention to pass by instead of through the territory of some black king, its leader speedily receives an invitation, which is to be interpreted as a command, to the palace; and if he should venture to decline the proffered attention, his porters and escort would speedily be assailed by a flight of arrows from some well-arranged ambush, and he would find his further progress barred by a body of armed men.

Captain Speke was deprived by the exactions of these petty potentates of so large a portion of the presents destined for the great kings of Equatorial Africa before he reached the kingdom of Uganda that the object of his journey was almost defeated, and but for a fresh and opportune supply of goods which reached him at Kazé, he could not have proceeded. His contests with these rapacious chiefs, and his devices to evade their extortionate demands, form some of the most entertaining passages of the Journal. In Unyamuezi, for example, the demands of the king having been apparently satisfied, he sent his prime minister early on the following morning to say that his sisters and other members of his family had been crying and tormenting him all night because

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because they had got nothing—an appeal which resulted in a few additional presents to gratify the clamorous court.

The arrogance and insolence of some of these chiefs exceeded all bounds. The King of Uzinza demanded as his due a royal salute from the escort, which was accordingly drawn up in line to fire a volley in his honour. 'I never felt so degraded,' says Captain Speke, 'as when I complied, and gave the word of command as he approached my tent.' The King was by no means struck with awe by this novel military display (the first he had ever witnessed), but made some critical and by no means complimentary remarks on the want of precision in the fire and of steadiness on the part of the men. The attendants of this prince adored him as a superior being, and snapped their fingers whenever he sneezed. From him, however, Captain Speke obtained the first authentic geographical information respecting the existence of the Baringa Lake, supposed to be connected with the Victoria Nyanza. There were, the King assured him, two lakes; for on going from Usaga to the Masai country he crossed over a broad strait which connected the big Nyanza * with another at its north-eastern corner. This young chief gazed at the picture-books with intense delight. Turning to the animals, he roared over each one in turn as he examined them, and called out their names. The bull's-eye lantern he coveted so much that Captain Speke had to pretend exceeding anger to stop his further importunities. He begged hard for lucifer-matches to aid him in his magical rites, but was quieted by the gift of a pair of slippers, into which he had unceremoniously thrust his feet.

After having passed through several countries in all of which he was more or less plundered by the chiefs, who refused to order their drums to 'beat the satisfaction' and release him from his virtual imprisonment until they had not only exhausted his patience, but provoked an attitude of defiance, a remarkable contrast presented itself to the conduct to which he had been previously subjected. It was as great a change as could well be imagined. Captain Speke, to his utter astonishment, now reached a country conspicuous for the humanity, hospitality, and what may be justly termed good breeding of both its sovereign and people. The territory of the King of Karagué is situated in an elevated region two degrees south of the Equator, to the west of the Victoria Nyanza, but separated from it by a small intervening kingdom. This prince, hearing of the approach of white travellers, sent officers with maces, the in-

* Nyanza is the general native term either for a lake or large river.

signia

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signia of authority which commanded universal respect, to welcome the strangers to his kingdom, and to escort them with all honour to his palace. As they advanced into the interior of the country their astonishment increased; the people were everywhere respectful, and the village chiefs attentive. We are now introduced to King Rumanika, the courteous barbarian—a model of good manners and good taste, and, in the truest sense of the word, a gentleman, ruling his people with justice, mingled, perhaps, with a little African severity. The description of this African chief and of his court forms one of the most singular and attractive chapters in Captain Speke's Journal. The first reception is thus described:—

'Here as we entered the State reception room, we saw sitting cross-legged on the ground, Rumanika, the King, and his brother, Nnanaji, both of them men of noble appearance and size. The King was plainly dressed in an Arab's black choga, and wore for ornament dress stockings of rich coloured beads and neatly-worked wristlets of copper. Nnanaji, being a doctor of very high pretensions, in addition to a check cloth wrapped round him, was covered with charms. At their sides lay huge pipes of black clay. In their rear, squatting quiet as mice, were all the King's sons, some six or seven lads, who wore leather middle coverings and little dream charms tied under their chins. The first greetings of the King, delivered in good Kisŭahili, were warm and affecting, and in an instant we both felt and saw we were in the company of men who were as unlike as they could be to the common order of the natives of the surrounding districts. They had fine oval faces, large eyes, and high noses, denoting the best blood of Abyssinia. Having shaken hands in true English style, which is the peculiar custom of the men of this country, the ever smiling Rumanika begged us to be seated on the ground opposite to him, and at once wished to know what we thought of Karagué, for it had struck him his mountains were the finest in the world; and the lake, too, did we not admire it? Then laughing, he inquired—for he knew all the story—what we thought of Suwarora, and the reception we had met with in Usui. When this was explained to him, I showed him that it was for the interest of his own kingdom to keep a check on Suwarora, whose exorbitant taxations prevented the Arabs from coming to see him and bringing things from all parts of the world. He made inquiries for the purpose of knowing how we found our way all over the world. This of course led to a long story, describing the world, the proportions of land and water, and the power of ships which conveyed even elephants and rhinoceros—in fact all the animals in the world—to fill our menageries at home, &c., &c., as well as the strange announcement that we lived to the northward, and had only come this way because his friend Mŭsa had assured me without doubt that he would give us the road on through Uganda. Time flew like magic, the King's mind was so quick and inquiring, but as the day was wasting

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wasting away, he generously gave us our option to choose a place for our residence in or out of his palace, and allowed us time to select one. We found the view overlooking the lake to be so charming that we preferred camping outside, and set our men at once to work cutting sticks and long grass to erect themselves sheds.

'One of the young princes, for the King ordered them all to be constantly in attendance on us, happening to see me sit on an iron chair, rushed back to his father and told him about it. This set all the royals in the palace in a state of high wonder, and ended by my getting a summons to show off the white man sitting on his throne, for of course I could only be as all of them called me a King of great dignity to indulge in such state. Rather reluctantly I did as I was bid, and allowed myself once more to be dragged into Court. Rumanika, as gentle as ever, then burst into a fresh fit of merriment, and after making sundry enlightened remarks of inquiry, which, of course, were responded to with the greatest satisfaction, finished by saying, with a very expressive shake of the head, "Oh, these Wazungŭ, these Wazungŭ! * they know and do everything."'

The good taste of this chief in not asking for any of the rare articles which were displayed before him, both surprised and delighted his visitor. His sons were as polite in their manners as a thorough-bred Englishman. All were pleased at the presents which were given to them, but asked for no more. The king sent to say that the 'Raglan coat' was a marvel, and the scarlet broad cloth the finest thing he had ever seen. The minister, a keen sportsman, having hinted that the present of a gun to himself would be highly appreciated, received a severe rebuke from the king for his want of delicacy, and nearly lost his head for the offence.

Rumanika, like all the African kings, possesses a taste for music, and sent the state band to entertain his guest. The art must have made some progress in Karagué, for we observe in the wood-cut representations of instruments which bear a considerable resemblance to clarionets, oboes, pan's-pipes, and harps: there are also harmonicons composed of bars of metal forming scales, and struck with a piece of iron, and drums of different sizes and forms. The effect of the whole is described as much resembling that produced by the regimental Turkish bands. Great intelligence was displayed by this polished chief in his inquiries relating to the European world and its wonders; but the childishness of the African character was characteristically shown in an eagerness for toys. The king was transported with delight at a 'jumping jack,' which Captain Grant had made for the amusement of his children, appropriated it himself, and wished one made as large

* White men.

as

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as life; but he begged, above all things, that he might be supplied from England with an American clock in the form of a man, made to wind up behind and with eyes rolling at every beat of the pendulum, a 'jack in the box,' a china milk-pot in the form of a cow, carriages and horses, and—a railway. The king, having avowed that he had no idea of a God or a future state, was pressed to state what advantage he expected from sacrificing a cow yearly at his father's grave. He laughingly replied that he did not know, but hoped to be favoured with better crops if he did so. He also placed pombé and grain, he said, before a large stone on the hill side, although it could not eat or make any use of it. No one in Africa, as far as he knew, doubted the power of magic and spells.

We are next introduced to the powerful King of Uganda, whose territory forms the most important state in the once great but now divided kingdom of Kittara. Some particulars respecting this country, but derived chiefly from oral sources, were obtained by Captain Burton, on his visit to Kazé in 1858, and were briefly noticed in a former number of this Review.* Captain Speke gives us his experiences of a long residence at the court of this African potentate, whose territory extends for a great distance along the western shore of the Victoria Nyanza. It was considered of the greatest importance to acquire the favour of this prince. From no other country could Captain Speke hope so easily to explore the great lake and determine the problem in the hope of solving which the expedition had been sent out. In his despair, in consequence of his numerous disasters, of being able to reach that kingdom, he had formed the bold resolution of striking off to the north from Kazé, and arriving by his former route at the southern extremity of the lake, there constructing a raft, and embarking on a voyage of discovery in search of a northern outlet. From the necessity of so hazardous an enterprise he was happily relieved, and he was enabled to resume his route to Uganda. On approaching the kingdom, he crossed the river Kitangulé, which, as he had heard in 1858, flows into the Victoria Nyanza. He describes it as a noble stream eighty yards broad, and running in a deep channel below the surface of the country with a velocity of from three to four miles an hour. It flows from the Mfumbiro Mountain, ten thousand feet high, one of the Mountains of the Moon, which may give birth, it has been conjectured, both to the Congo and the Nile. The whole country is described as surpassingly rich, and 'a

* No. 218. The army of Uganda, Captain Burton heard, amounted to 300,000 men.

perfect

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perfect paradise for negroes,' whose gardens are kept in excellent order. The palace of the King of Uganda consists of a collection of gigantic huts, such as Captain Speke had never before seen in Africa. On the day following his entrance into the capital, the king held a levee for the reception of his English visitor. Courtiers of high dignity, and dressed with scrupulous care, stepped forward to greet him. The royal band played in the adjoining court, as was customary on state occasions. The dress of the courtiers and people of Uganda is regulated with a strict regard to propriety, and any, even an accidental, deviation from decorum in the presence of the king is punished with instant death. Captain Speke calls the people of Uganda the French of Africa, from the polish and refinement of their manners. It was intimated to him that he would be expected to comply with the usual custom of prostration on presentation; but following the example of Lord Amherst at the Court of Pekin, he declined to be received unless in a manner conformable to the usages of his own country, and the point of etiquette was graciously waived. The young king's character is described as a mixture of childish frivolity and uncontrollable passion. It is a singular illustration of the state of society in this portion of Africa, that no regular provision was made by the king for the maintenance of his visitors; they were not even allowed to purchase provisions for their daily wants, but were told to help themselves from whatever Uganda contained. The leader of the expedition was thus placed under the painful alternative either of starving or of sanctioning acts which appeared to him like the plunder of a helpless population. The politeness of this young barbarian king was often exhibited in striking contrast to his ferocity. He even showed himself capable of friendship, and appears to have treated his guest with generosity and even affection. Captain Speke taught him to shoot, and under his guidance he became a skilful sportsman: taking his first lessons on cows in the palace enclosure, he was able at length to bring down vultures on the wing. The possession of fire-arms seems to have almost deprived him of reason. At one of his levees he loaded a carbine with his own hands, and giving it to a page, told him to go out and shoot a man in the outer court, which was no sooner done than the boy returned to announce his success, 'with a smile of glee such as might be reflected in the face of a boy who had just robbed a bird's nest or caught a trout.' On sending a bullet from a Whitworth rifle through sixteen of the country shields, arranged behind each other, a great idea was suddenly generated in the barbarian mind: 'I shall not go to war again,' he said, addressing his attendants, 'with bows and arrows; I must have guns.'

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Savage life has probably never been seen in all its fantastic phases and terrible realities more completely than during the compulsory residence of Captain Speke at the Court of the young King of Uganda. In the midst of revelry, and while apparently at the height of enjoyment, he would, in a fit of sudden caprice, order a young and beautiful wife for instant execution. Captain Speke interceded for the life of one, and saved her; but he could not venture to interfere in domestic affairs a second time. It must have required no small amount of tact to evade the consequences of the occasional sallies of anger on the part of this wayward and impetuous young king. One day more than thirty wives were being driven to the slaughter, when the King observing his visitor's distress at the shocking spectacle, laughingly asked whether he would like any of them for himself. Captain Speke would assuredly have gladly rescued the whole from their impending fate, but as it did not enter into his plans to form a harem in Uganda, he could only select one, whom he handed over to the commander of his escort.

Music, in which the King was a considerable proficient, had certainly not tamed his savage breast, or imparted gentleness to his character. He was frequently found by his guest playing the flute or clarionet in concert with his numerous brothers; and the royal musician sometimes condescended himself to lead the drums of the household band. One of the most extraordinary customs of this extraordinary country is the immolation of all the brothers of the reigning king, on the occasion of his coronation, with the exception of one or two, who are spared in order to prevent a failure of the royal line. Captain Speke happily did not witness this event, but it was to take place shortly after he left Uganda. On the occasion of the solemnity, the thirty brothers, with whom the King lived on terms of apparent affection, and whom he constantly associated in his musical recreations, were to be publicly burned to death. They looked forward to their fate with indifference as inevitable by the constitution of Uganda. The cause of this horrible custom is the existence of polygamy, which, giving rise to a large family of half-brothers, produces numerous pretenders to the throne. One of the first requests which even the humane and gentle Rumanika made to Captain Speke, was for some powerful charm which would put an end at once to a brother and to the war in which he was then engaged.

It required considerable address on the part of Captain Speke to extricate himself from the hospitable captivity in which he was held by the King of Uganda. He might even now have been an honoured officer at his Court, and, perhaps, raised to the dignity of Master-General of the Ordnance, if his store of ammunition

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ammunition had not been limited. To the assurance that as soon as a road was opened from the Nile to his dominions the King would receive inexhaustible supplies of powder and shot, our traveller is probably indebted for his safe return to England.

Notwithstanding Captain Speke's long residence at the Court of Uganda he was not permitted to avail himself of his close proximity to the Victoria Nyanza to explore it thoroughly, and thus obtain an accurate knowledge of its shores. With the exception of the Kitangulé, which he crossed on his route to Uganda, and which he describes as equal in dimension to the Nile, he saw no considerable river which flows into the Victoria Nyanza, nor did he hear of any. The Luajerri, which he represents as a huge rush-drain, three miles broad, and fordable when he crossed it to within a short distance of the right bank, is however said to issue from the lake, and to fall into the Nile. If it possesses a current and should really unite with the river which flows over the Ripon Falls, it may be questioned whether it has not the best title to be considered the principal effluent of the lake. He had before passed another 'rush-drain,' which he calls Mworango River, three hundred yards in span, and in which he found a large volume of water flowing north. He expressed himself at the time as delighted at this 'very surprising fact,' feeling that he was really on the northern slope of the continent, and had apparently found one of the branches of the Nile's exit from the Nyanza.* If this river carries off—as Captain Speke says it does—a portion of the surplus waters of the lake, the Luajerri with a much larger channel may do so too. But we reserve the discussion of this and some other hydrographical questions until we have followed Captain Speke to the end of his adventurous journey.

The social state of Uganda appears to be one of great material prosperity and happiness, the effects of royal caprice being probably confined to the Court and its precincts. Order seems to be established throughout the kingdom; food is abundant; and cheerfulness and good humour prevail. The population, as well as that of the contiguous kingdom of Karagué, is doubtless susceptible of a much higher civilisation; but the dark and debasing superstitions of these members of the great African family are, and must long be, great obstacles to their further progress. The religion of Uganda and of Karagué consists, not in the adoration of a supreme and beneficent Being, but in the propitiation of malignant powers ever desirous of inflicting evil. Rulers and people are alike slaves to the most childish fears. The former

* P. 279.

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pass hours over horns filled with magic power, in the hope of divining the future. Magic is the science of savage life, and in these kingdoms it is held in universal esteem. Policy is regulated by omens, and kings tremble at the cries of animals and the inauspicious flight of birds. The chief of Karagué, the most intelligent and enlightened of these African princes, told Captain Speke that if on marching to battle he heard the bark of a fox, he would immediately order his army to retreat. The art has its regular professors, who are in alliance with the State; private sorcery is forbidden, and those discovered practising it are condemned to death and their property is confiscated.

The ethnology of the races dwelling near the African Equator is a subject of great interest. Captain Speke is of opinion that the people collectively called Wahŭma, who occupy a large portion of this part of the African continent, are an offshoot from the Abyssinian stock. They differ in feature and in character from the simple negro type, although there has been a considerable intermixture of races. The pure negro type is exceptional in Africa. 'A large portion,' says Mr. Brace, in his admirable work, 'The Races of the Old World,' * 'of the brown and black tribes of Northern and Eastern Africa belong to the same family as that which first originated commerce, invented the alphabet, produced the sublime Hebrew poetry and Arabian science, and which was through many ages in one of its branches the especial medium chosen by Providence for transmitting the most elevated religious inspirations to mankind, and in which the Divine manifestation of Jesus Christ was made. Another group of people brown and black—many fully black—are descendants of that family which erected the ancient empires on the Euphrates, and which, unknown centuries ago, built the Pyramid-tombs on the Nile, and founded the gloomy art, the artificial civilisation, and the science of Egypt. The families of Central Africa have not, indeed, all been classified, and no absolute proof can be presented of their identity of origin with the rest of the human race, but their languages show no radically different features. The laws of human speech apply to them, as to all other tongues; they are founded on the same principles, they are sometimes conspicuous for their richness and flexibility, and a great scholar of Germany (Pott) has ranked many of them among the noble tongues of more cultivated races.' The African languages, however, Captain Speke found to possess radical differences north and south of the Equator.

The great object of Captain Speke before leaving Uganda was

* London, 1863.

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to obtain the permission of the King to explore the Victoria Nyanza, and particularly to visit the spot from which, according to native information, a great river issued, and which he felt certain must be the Nile. The 'admiral' of the lake, however, put his veto upon this plan, on the pretext that dangerous shallows impeded the navigation. The only course which then remained was to proceed by land to the banks of the supposed river, and then ascend it to its point of departure from the lake. On the 21st of July, 1863, he accordingly stood, he says, on the brink of the magnificent stream from six hundred to seven hundred yards wide, which flowed between high grassy banks, with noble trees and plantain-groves in the distance. Proceeding southwards by the left bank, his guides led him to the Ripon Falls, but the lake itself was there shut out from view by hills and by the high ground about the Falls. With respect to the distance of the Ripon Falls from the lake, Captain Speke's Journal does not afford any information.

It is to be regretted that Captain Speke was prevented from proceeding to the north-eastern side of the Victoria Nyanza, to ascertain whether there exists any connexion between the great lake and another lake from which a considerable river is said to flow also northwards. It would also have been a most important addition to our geographical knowledge to have obtained some accurate information respecting the Asua River, which Captain Speke considers a great tributary of the Nile, entering its channel at about 4° North latitude. It would have been the more interesting since the Asua has been thought by many to be the largest branch of the Nile; and he had himself suggested that Mr. Petherick should ascend it, in order to ascertain whether it possessed any connexion with the Victoria Nyanza. It is a striking fact in connexion with this river that the Hindoos, who certainly had some kind of intercourse both with the northern and southern shores of the Victoria Nyanza, should have called the source of the Nile 'Amara'—the name of a territory bordering on the lake to the north-east.* Dr. Krapf, moreover, heard from natives that beyond the Asua River, in the Galla country, there was another lake, navigated by very large vessels, and that somewhere in the same neighbourhood there was an exceedingly high mountain. Dr. Krapf says he made the acquaintance of a merchant from Umbo, a country two days' journey from the river Dana; who told him that at the foot of the snow-capped mountain Kenia, from which the Dana and the Tamburi rivers flow into the Indian Ocean, another river, the Nsaraddi, takes its course towards a

* See 'Asiatic Researches,' vol. iii.

lake

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lake called Baringa, the end of which could not be reached under a hundred days; 'and now,' adds Dr. Krapf, 'we know almost for certain where the sources of the Nile are to be looked for, viz., in the lake Udurkenia, from which flows the Nsaraddi; this, again, flowing through the Baringa.' The King of the Bari also told the officers of the Egyptian Expedition that the Nile came from the south-east, its source being a distance of one month's journey.

Captain Speke thus sums up the result of his discoveries:—

'From this southern point, round by the west, to where the great Nile stream issues, there is only one feeder of any importance, and that is the Kitangülé River; whilst from the southernmost point, round by the east to the Strait, there are no rivers at all of any importance, for the travelled Arabs one and all aver that from the west of the snow-clad Kilimandjaro to the lake, where it is cut by the second degree, and also the first degree of south latitude, there are salt lakes and salt plains, and the country is hilly and so scantily watered that they had to make long marches in order to find water. Dr. Krapf, when he obtained a sight of the Kenia Mountain, heard from the natives there that there was a salt lake to its northward, and he also heard that a river ran from Kenia towards the Nile. If his information was true on this latter point, then without doubt there must exist some connexion between his river and the salt lake I have heard of, and this in all probability would also establish a connexion between my Salt Lake and his Salt Lake, which he heard was called Baringa.* In no view that can be taken of it, however, does this unsettled matter touch the established fact that the head of the Nile is in 3° south latitude, where in the year 1858 I discovered the head of the Victoria Nyanza to be.'

It may be quite true that no river flows into the Victoria Nyanza from Kilimandjaro, but it is by no means certain that a great stream does not flow into it, or possibly into the Baringa Lake, from the slopes of Kenia. The western shore of the Victoria Nyanza is not more than 150 miles from the snow-capped Kenia;† and both the Nyanza and the Baringa may be partially fed by rivers which have their sources on that mountain. An exploration of the watershed of this country, together with a measurement of the quantity of water annually carried down by any river which flows from the northern flank of Kenia, is necessary in order to complete our hydrographical knowledge of the basin of the Nile.

Retracing his steps from the Ripon Falls down the left bank

* It is not to be supposed that the water of this lake is salt, but that deposits of salt exist on its shores.

† Sir R. Murchison's Address to the Royal Geographical Society in 1859.

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of the river, Captain Speke crossed twelve considerable streams, —the largest of which, the Luajerri, he had before seen, and which he reasserts issues from the Nyanza,—and proceeded down the river in boats to visit the capital of the King of Unyoro. The territory of this potentate is the largest in this quarter of intertropical Africa, but it is only a fragment of the great kingdom of Kittara, which has been subjected to some political convulsion which has shattered it into several independent or tributary states. A sort of rude balance of power is maintained among these African kingdoms, but the sovereign of Unyoro is suspected by the minor potentates of entertaining ambitious designs, and of desiring a rectification of his frontiers by a re-arrangement of the map of Eastern Intertropical Africa. The western boundary of this kingdom is formed by the Little Luta Nzigé Lake. It is supposed to constitute a very important feature in the hydrography of the basin of the Nile. Captain Speke conjectures it to be a great backwater to the river, and that, after being surcharged with the tropical floods, it pours its overflow into the Nile. The exact position and function of this lake have not, however, been ascertained. The King of Unyoro is represented as an importunate beggar and an extortioner. The first reception of Captain Speke and his companion by Kamrasi, and the appearance of the King, are thus described :—

'Sitting on a low wooden stool, placed upon a double matting of skins—cows' below and leopards' above—on an elevated platform of grass, was the great King Kamrasi, looking enshrouded in his mbŭgŭ dress like a Pope in state, calm and actionless. One bracelet of fine twisted brass wire adorned his left wrist, and his hair, half an inch long, was worked up into small peppercorn-like knobs, by rubbing the hand circularly over the crown of the head. His eyes were long, face narrow, and nose prominent, after the true fashion of his breed, and though a finely made man, considerably above six feet high, he was not so large as Rŭmanika. A cow-skin stretched out and fastened to the roof acted as a canopy to prevent dust falling, and a curtain of mbŭgŭ concealed the lower parts of the hut, in front of which, on both sides of the King, sat about a dozen head men.

'We entered and took seats on our own iron stools, whilst all the presents were placed upon the ground before the throne. As no greetings were exchanged, and all at first remained as silent as death, I commenced, after asking about his health, by saying that I had journeyed six long years (by the African computation of five months in the year) for the pleasure of this meeting. The purpose of my coming was to ascertain whether His Majesty would like to trade with our country, exchanging ivory for articles of European manufacture, as should he do so, merchants would come here in the same way as they went from Zanzibar to Karagŭé.

'Kamrasi,

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'Kamrasi, in a very quiet, mild manner, instead of answering the question, told us of the absurd stories which he had heard from the Waganda, said he did not believe them, else his rivers deprived of their fountains would have run dry, and he thought if we did eat hills and the tender parts of mankind, we should have had enough to satisfy our appetites before we reached Unyoro. Now, however, he was glad to see that although our hair was straight, and our faces white, we still possessed hands and feet like other men.'

The most serious loss which Captain Speke sustained during his detention by this barbarian was his only remaining chronometer, which the King insisted must be a magical instrument of irresistible power. On its being opened in the presence of the Court, the attendants averted their faces with terror on the first glance at the mysterious mechanism. Kamrasi is represented as of a mild disposition compared with King Mtésa, whom he always alludes to when ordering his subjects to be flogged, reminding them that if they were in Uganda their heads would suffer instead of their backs.

Escaping from the King of Unyoro, who would not suffer any of his subjects to see his white guests, Captain Speke and his companion worked their way slowly through the Chopi territory. At Koki, a short distance from Kamrasi's palace, the river bent considerably to the west, taking a wide sweep and narrowed to only 200 yards, with an average depth of from two to three fathoms. Continuing his course due north, and leaving the river on his left, he came at length again in view of the Nile and also of the river Asua. The bed of the Asua appeared, he says, in the distance 'very large.' When he next struck the Nile, it was running 'like a fine Highland stream' between gneiss and mica-schist hills in Kuku. Again it trended to the west. The Asua, a deep but at that season not very broad stream, was then forded. This great river, as we have before remarked, has been considered by many to be the main branch of the Nile. Where it comes from is as yet a mystery; it probably rises on the Kenia mountain range, and its course being deflected too far to the north to reach the Victoria Nyanza, it falls into the supposed Nile at about 3° 42′ N. lat.

Captain Speke's description of the appearance of the Bahr el Ghazal at its junction with the Nile differs essentially from that given by the officers of the Egyptian Expedition and by the Baroness van Capellan and the other adventurous Dutch ladies who entered it in their small steamer and are now engaged in exploring it. The commander of the Egyptian Expedition would have decided without hesitation in favour of the Bahr el Ghazal as the true Nile and would have proceeded up it with his flotilla, had not his orders been

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been imperative to direct his explorations to the south.* Captain Speke says he found the Bahr el Ghazal 'only a small piece of water, resembling a duck pond, buried in a sea of rushes.' There is so important a difference between this statement and that of the other persons who have entered this great mere, that further evidence is necessary before any positive conclusion can be arrived at with respect to its hydrographical importance. The Giraffe and the Sobat, although considerable and even imposing streams, are pronounced unworthy of being brought for a moment in comparison with the Nile; and the pretensions of the Bahr el Azrek to be considered the principal stream have long since been disposed of. Captain Speke strenuously contends that the river which issues from the Victoria Nyanza above the Ripon Falls is the true and parent Nile; 'having viewed,' he says, 'all its great tributaries in the dry season, which is the best time for estimating their relative perennial values.'

We have now followed Captain Speke through his long and adventurous journey. It remains to consider how far his alleged solution of the great geographical problem can be accepted as final and complete.

In an attempt to discover the source of any river, it is, in the first place, necessary to define its basin. The basin of a river, we need not inform our readers, consists of those declivities, considered collectively, from which flow all the streams and rivulets which discharge themselves into one particular river, and are therefore called its hydrographical region or basin. It frequently happens that the basins of two rivers almost touch, as is probably the case with those of the Congo and the Nile. The basin of a river being determined, we have next to ascertain the principal arms which unite to form the main stream: we must, therefore, trace to their heads the several smaller branches which form those arms; and when we have done this, we shall then, but not before, be competent to decide which of all those numerous ramifications possesses the fairest claim to be regarded as the fountain-head. The possible sources of the Nile are, therefore, as Dr. Beke has very clearly shown,† all the streams which rise upon the extreme limits of the basin of that river. It is important, moreover, to note with accuracy the hydrographical masses or groups of mountains which surround any important stream. Lakes which receive and discharge streams of water constitute the basins of those streams. They possess, as a general rule, only one outlet, which generally takes its name from that of

* See 'Quarterly Review,' No. 227, p. 279.
† 'The Sources of the Nile.' By Dr. Beke.

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the principal river which flows into it, although it cannot be said with strict propriety that a river traverses a lake, since its waters, after entering it, necessarily mingle with and form a portion of its mass.

Taking these geographical axioms for our guide, we must consider whether the problem which Captain Speke took in hand has been yet completely solved. He discovered in 1858 a vast lake, possessing, he now informs us, three outlets, all eventually uniting in one stream. Which, in the first place, is the principal effluent of the lake? Captain Speke did not see any part of the course of the Nile above the Ripon Falls, nor does he state their distance from the Napoleon Channel or from the lake. A considerable river, or more than one, it is clear, issues from the Victoria Nyanza; but can the conclusion yet be received with unhesitating acquiescence that this river, or any one of them, is the Nile? To put the question beyond all further controversy, a measurement or approximative estimate should, we conceive, be made of the annual flow of water from the Bahr el Ghazal, the Asua, the Sobat, and perhaps other great rivers, and their effect upon the periodical rise of the Lower Nile; and the proper time for ascertaining the relative real magnitude and importance of these rivers is not, as Captain Speke assumes, in the dry season, when their streams are feeble and low, but during the period of their fulness and strength. Now, the Bahr el Ghazal is most assuredly a very important agent in the hydrography of the Lower Nile; for, although it presents at times the appearance of a motionless lake, it was found by Mr. Petherick, who entered it in 1858, to possess a channel 20 feet deep, with a perceptible current of a quarter of a mile an hour. But the Nile in several parts of its course very much resembles the Bahr el Ghazal. Captain Speke describes it as presenting in one place the appearance of a huge mill-pond, sullen and dark,* and at another as a long lake, varying from 200 to 1000 yards broad;† and it is undeniable that it forms in the dry season, for hundreds of miles, a series of stagnant pools, and is as he himself describes it, for a great portion of its course, more like a long pond than a river.‡ Nor, in estimating the hydrographical importance of the Bahr el Ghazal, ought the statement of Herodotus to be overlooked. He says that he was informed that the Nile flowed 'from the west and from the setting sun;' and several modern explorers have described the Bahr el Ghazal as a magnificent stream, possessing at times a considerable current. Nor can the pretensions of the Sobat be reasonably overlooked. Captain Speke has himself admitted

* P. 464. † P. 560. ‡ Appendix, p. 623.

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the probability that its two arms form one great river higher up its course: and Dr. Krapf has stated that at the point where it joins the Baro, in 9° N. latitude, it is 400 feet broad, with higher banks and a current greater than the Nile. There has certainly been a tradition that the Nile had its origin in a lake, or chain of lakes, at or near the Equator; but, bearing in mind Seneca's description of the sources of the great river—'magnus solitudines pervagatus, et in paludes diffusus, gentibus sparsus'—it may be that not one but many lakes contribute their overflow to swell the main stream of the Nile; and we are still in total ignorance with respect to one extensive and probably immense division of its basin, viz. the whole of that portion of it which lies to the west. It may be considered as established that the Victoria Nyanza supplies the Nile with a considerable portion of its water; but whether the true and primary source may not yet be found among the high regions which flank the river on both sides of its upper course is still open for geographical inquiry.

The region of the Equator is undoubtedly the source of those abundant rains which supply not only the Nile, but many other rivers of Africa, with their periodical floods. It is, as Captain Speke justly says, the centre of atmospheric motion, and there are only two months during the year, in which no rain, or very little, falls. There is, however, a remarkable difference in the phenomena which rivers present under the influence of the periodical rains. If a river flows in a direction parallel to the Equator, its waters spread themselves with a certain degree of equality over the whole extent of its banks, as in the Orinoco, the Senegal, and the Niger; if it flows perpendicularly to the Equator, the effect of the tropical rains is very unequal in different parts of the river's course, for the flood is carried almost entirely towards the lower region of the stream. This is exactly what happens in the inundation of the Nile. No river beyond the torrid zone is subject, like the Nile, to regular periodical swellings. The overflow, which occurs in the temperate zones, arises almost wholly from the melting of snow, and from rain which has fallen among the mountains. In rivers which flow perpendicularly to the Equator, as the swell requires time to travel, it occurs at regular but different periods in various parts of the same river. 'The height,' Mrs. Somerville says, 'to which the water rises in the annual floods depends upon the nature of the country, but is wonderfully constant in each individual river where the course is long, for the inequalities in the quantity of rain in a district drained by any of its affluents are imperceptible in the general flood; and

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and thus the quantity of water carried down is a measure of the mean humidity of the whole country comprised in its basin from year to year. By the admirable arrangement of these periodical inundations, the fresh soil of the mountains, borne down by the water, enriches countries far remote from their source. The Mountains of the Moon and of Abyssinia have thus fertilised the banks of the Nile through a distance of 2500 miles for thousands of years.'*

Captain Speke states his belief that the Victoria Nyanza was once much larger than it now is. Undoubtedly a mass of water lying so near to the Equator must be exposed to enormous evaporation; and the more a body of water loses in depth, the more it evaporates, for the evaporation of water is, as is well known, in the direct ratio of its surface, and in the inverse ratio of its depth. There are, in all mountainous and marshy countries, numerous traces of small lakes, which have thus been dried up: we might therefore conclude that the same phenomena have occurred upon a much larger scale in Eastern Equatorial Africa. The Victoria Nyanza, like all lakes, is moreover subject to two agencies which must operate in the course of ages in gradually diminishing its area. The largest deposits of fresh water on the globe, the American lakes, are slowly contracting their dimensions under the joint influence of the enlargement of their barriers by erosion and the accumulation of detritus carried into them by their affluents. It has been generally supposed that no lake can have more than one outlet; but if Captain Speke's observations are correct, the Victoria Nyanza presents the peculiarity of at least three outlets at distances respectively of from thirty to forty miles from each other, thus forming, as it were, a reversed delta. It has been assumed that the perpetual wearing away of the banks of an outlet prevents the formation of others. Instances, however, have been recently adduced proving that the Victoria Nyanza is not singular in possessing two or more outlets. The Lake of St. John, in Lower Canada, discharges itself, it is said, by three outlets into the River Saguenay, first by two branches called the 'Grande Décharge,' and next by a chain of alternate rivers and lakes which join the main stream after a course of fifty miles. An example on a small scale has also been adduced of a Scotch loch possessing two natural outlets.† There appears, therefore, to be nothing inconsistent with hydrographical experience in the fact of two or more rivers issuing from the Victoria

* 'Physical Geography,' vol. ii.

† See 'Athenæum' for July 18, Nov. 28, and Dec. 19, 1863.

Nyanza.

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Nyanza. The tendency, however, of vast and shallow lakes, swollen by periodical rains, is to subside during the dry season into temporary marshes, and the surface of the Victoria Nyanza must be subject to considerable annual oscillations; it would therefore be both interesting and important to ascertain the effect of those oscillations upon the stream of the effluent which descends the Ripon Falls.

We possess, however, incontrovertible proof that the periodical rains of Upper Ethiopia have not varied for at least 5000 years. Sirius, the dog star, was worshipped by the Egyptians from its supposed influence on the rising of the Nile. According to Champollion, their calendar commenced when the heliacal rising of the star coincided with the summer solstice, the time at which the Nile began to swell at Cairo. 'Now, this coincidence,' Mrs. Somerville says, 'makes, with the nearest approach to accuracy, 3291 years before the Christian era; and as the rising of the river still takes place precisely at the same time, and in the same manner, it follows that the quantity of rain which falls in the basin of the Nile has not varied for 5000 years.' This basin occupies, it has been estimated, an area of at least 500,000 square miles. The cause of the retardation of the inundation is not yet accurately known, but the inundation itself can be satisfactorily explained, as has been frequently pointed out, by the annual overflow of a vast interior watery plateau, the exact configuration and limits of which yet remain to be ascertained. Many large, and doubtless innumerable smaller, streams pour their tributary floods into the Nile. Many of these streams are probably feeders of the Victoria Nyanza; but as almost the whole of that lake lies south of the Equator, it must be subjected to conditions with respect to rainfall different from those of the country to the north, from which the principal supplies of the Nile are in all probability derived.

The rains commence at Kazé, 5° S. lat., about the 15th of November, and end on the 15th of May, during which period they fall almost continuously. About 2½° farther north, at the southern end of the Victoria Nyanza, the rainy season commences somewhat later. At Karagué, upon the western shore of the lake, the rainy season lasts from October to June, when the dry season sets in. The altitude of the Nyanza, and the argillaceous colour and the sweetness of its waters, suggest the inference, Captain Burton says, that it may be one of the feeders of the Nile; and it may be right to quote his reasons for thinking that it is not the chief source of the annual inundation, and therefore not of the Nile itself. 'About the summer solstice,' he says, 'when the rains cease in the regions south of and upon the Equator, the

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White Nile begins to flood. From March to the autumnal equinox (September) it continues to overflow its banks till it attains its greatest magnitude, and from that time it shrinks through the winter solstice (December) till March. The Nile is therefore full during the dry season, and low during the rainy season south of, and immediately upon, the Equator. The inundation is synchronous with the great falls of the Northern Equatorial Regions, which extend from July to September, and is dependent solely on tropical rains. It is therefore probable that the true sources of the "Holy River" will be found to be a network of runnels and rivulets of scanty dimensions, filled by monsoon torrents, and perhaps a little swollen by melted snow on the northern parting line of the Eastern Lunar Mountains.'* 'In the map appended to M. Brun Rollet's volume,' Captain Burton adds, 'the large water to the west of the Padongo tribe, which clearly represents the Nyanza, is made to drain northwards into the Filtri Lake, and eventually to swell the main stream of the White River. The detail supplied by the Egyptian Expedition, which about twenty years ago ascended the White River to 3° 22′ N. lat. and 31° 30′ E. long., and gave the general bearing of the river from that point to its source as south-east, with a distance of one month's journey or from 300 to 350 miles, would place the actual sources 2° S. lat. and 35° E. long. or in 2° eastward of the southern creek of the Nyanza Lake. This position would occupy the northern slope of the Lunar Mountains, the upper watershed of the high region whose culminating apices are Kilimandjaro, Kenia, and Daemgo Engai, the first supposed to be at least 21,000 feet above the level of the sea, and consequently 3000 or 4000 feet above the line of perpetual congelation, and would admirably explain the two most ancient theories concerning the source of the White River; namely, that it rises in a snowy region, but its inundation is the result of tropical rains.'

We have little or no exact information as to the amount and duration of the rainfall in the region of the Victoria Nyanza, but Captain Speke incidentally supplies a fact which may be thought to strongly corroborate the hypothesis of his former companion, in reference to the flooding of the Nile. The great rush-drains or rivers which Captain Speke crossed on his route to Mtesa's palace were, he was told by the natives, at certain seasons so flooded that they could not be forded, but, from some unaccountable cause, they were always lowest when most rain fell in Uganda†;—a conclusive proof, we think, that the Victoria

* 'Lake Regions of Central Africa,' vol. ii. p. 218.

† p. 277.

Nyanza

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Nyanza must receive its chief supply of water from the regions far to the south of the Equator, and is consequently fullest at a time when very little rain falls in the regions to the north from which the Nile necessarily derives the largest portion of its flood.

The periodical rise of the Nile is certainly not, in any considerable degree, owing to the melting of the snow on those mountains which have now been ascertained to exist at no great distance from the Equator in Eastern Intertropical Africa; for the power of the sun is there so nearly equable throughout the year that it must operate in supplying the streams which descend from those mountains with nearly the same amount of water at all seasons. There has been a constant tradition that the mountains in the vicinity of the head waters of the Nile are covered with perpetual snow. Ptolemy repeatedly alludes to the fact. Philostratus says that 'he does not mean to gainsay the snows of the Ethiopians on the hills of the Catadupi.'* Bruce often heard of the snowy regions in the vicinity of the Equator. The missionaries Rebmann and Krapf were the first Europeans who saw these stupendous mountains, and their existence has since been indisputably established by the partial ascent of the great Kilimandjaro by the Baron von Decken. The pertinacity with which the fact of mountains in Eastern Equatorial Africa being crowned with perpetual snow has been denied is unaccountable. Unless it is now intended to impugn the veracity, or to question the powers of scientific observation, of a Hanoverian nobleman and officer of high attainments, the question must be considered as settled, for there cannot remain a scintilla of doubt in any unprejudiced mind on this most interesting subject. Why there should have been any is not easy to understand, for the limit of perpetual snow is not a mere function of geographical latitude nor of mean annual temperature. In the Andes of Quito, directly under the Equator, the limit is 15,790 feet above the sea. On the southern declivities of the Himalaya the snow limit is found at an elevation of 12,180 feet, and on the northern declivity at 15,000 feet. Neither the tropics, nor even the Equator itself, is the situation, as was long believed and taught, where the snow limit attains its highest elevation. 'The phenomenon,' says Humboldt, 'is an extremely complicated one, and depends generally on various relations of temperature, moisture, and mountain configuration. While the snow line in South America reaches a height under the Equator which equals that of the summit of Mont Blanc, and

* See Rawlinson's 'Herodotus,' vol. ii. p. 27.

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in the high lands of Mexico, near the northern tropics, in latitude 19° north, descends from that by a quantity equal to about 960 feet, it rises in the Southern tropical zone (latitude 14½° to 18° south), and in the western or Chilian Andes, 2500 feet higher than under the Equator, at Chimborazo and Antisana, not far from Quito.'*

Kilimandjaro, as seen by Dr. Krapf, had a dome-like summit; but the summit of Kenia, which lies farther to the north, presents the form of a lofty roof, over which two peaks arise like pillars or horns. These peaks, he says he has no doubt, are seen by the inhabitants of countries bordering on the northern latitudes of the Equator; and he thinks there can be no doubt that the waters which Kenia throws off to the north run towards the basin of the Nile. Baron von Decken has recently ascended Kilimandjaro to the height of nearly 14,000 feet, and ascertained by trigonometrical measurement that the principal peak attains an altitude of 20,065 feet, and the other upwards of 17,000 feet. The altitude thus determined being greatly above the limit of perpetual congelation, fully accounts for the existence of perpetual snow; and thus has been conclusively established the existence of a new and grand phenomenon in the physical geography of Africa. The meteorological observations made by Baron von Decken are important. The rainy season in Eastern Africa was found to commence in the month of June, and to extend through July, August, and September, but near Kilimandjaro it extended over ten months of the year. Whatever may be the importance of these stupendous equatorial snow-covered mountains, that of Kenia especially, in the hydrography of the Nile, their discovery forms one of the geographical triumphs of the age. Rising in rival majesty not from arid plains or desolate sierras, but from a country clothed with the most exuberant tropical vegetation, they must give to the scenery of that part of Africa a character of surpassing magnificence.

The physical characteristics of the countries through which the two greatest rivers of Africa run, present as marked a contrast to each other as the populations which cluster on their banks. The Niger, equal in magnitude to the Nile, flows through a country rich in the most splendid tropical vegetation, and abounding with everything that can conduce to the well-being of man, but that country has never yet been occupied except by savage tribes, which have remained for ages in a condition of brutal degradation. The cause of this contrast between the two great rivers of Africa was simply the direction of their

* Humboldt's 'Cosmos,' vol. i. p. 363.

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respective courses. The one flows into a sea long the centre of commerce and civilization; the other into a great and, for ages, a lonely and unknown ocean.

A spontaneous civilization has arisen in several parts of Eastern Intertropical Africa, of which not the least interesting are those native kingdoms which have been discovered by Captain Speke and his gallant companion. There agriculture has made respectable progress; some rude essays have been attempted in the arts; and even manners have acquired a certain refinement. It is a melancholy consideration that the only intercourse which these primitive nations have yet had with the civilized world has tended rather to depress than to raise them in the scale of existence. There, as on the Atlantic coast, civilized man has introduced the scourge of the African race. In the west of Africa it is the European who has brought slavery in his train; in the East it is the Arab who has still further debased and degraded the indigenous native of the soil. There, as in the West, the stimulus imparted to native wars, by conferring a money value on man, has opened a vast slave market, of which the frequenters and best customers are the subjects of civilized states. This infamous 'institution' has, in Eastern Africa as elsewhere, enslaved not only the body, but the soul. It has subverted the very foundation of human character by destroying even the consciousness of natural independence; for, with a touching but perverted sense of justice, the slave considers that he would be acting dishonestly, after having been bought, if he should run away from his master, because he would thus bring on him pecuniary loss.* This humble acquiescence in the greatest wrong which man has ever inflicted on man is a proof how completely slavery has benumbed the moral faculties and darkened the reason of its victims in Eastern Africa; for in physical strength, as in numbers, they are so superior to their masters that, should they resolve to rebel, they might scatter them as chaff before the wind and sweep them from the face of the earth.

It will be inferred from the foregoing remarks that we still entertain a doubt whether the great geographical enigma of ages has yet been satisfactorily resolved. On the return of Captains Speke and Grant to their native land, there was a general and perhaps too hasty a disposition to accept all the conclusions at which they had themselves arrived. There are, as we have shown, several important geographical and hydrographical questions to be determined before an unhesitating acquiescence can be accorded to the statement of Captain Speke that in 1858 he

* Introduction to the 'Journal of the Discovery of the Nile.'

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found 'the top head of the Nile at the southern end of the Victoria Nyanza,'* or before we can accept as an established geographical fact that the river which issues from it is indeed the great stream whose sources have baffled the curiosity of mankind from the remotest period of history.

The personal adventures of Captain Speke necessarily constitute the prominent features of his Journal, and they may seem perhaps to throw the services of his coadjutor and companion somewhat into the shade; but we have every reason to believe that he fully recognises the assistance which he derived from his companion whenever illness did not deprive him of his services. Captain Grant contributed, as may be seen, largely to the illustrations which adorn the Journal; and he has not only enriched the science of botany by his researches, but the Museum of Kew by a large collection of previously unknown plants; and he may be assured that his countrymen recognise no less in himself than in his companion those great and sterling qualities which make the British officer an impersonation of all that is daring and devoted in the service either of science or of the State.

The services which the explorer renders to mankind are not, however, confined to the world of science. In bringing to the knowledge of civilized nations communities the very existence of which was previously undreamed of, he makes them objects of interest, and they become the subjects of benevolent exertion. By bringing to light the resources of vast and hitherto unknown countries, he tempts commerce—the sure harbinger of civilization—into regions which would otherwise remain permanently shrouded in darkness; he communicates an impulse never to be arrested until it has accomplished the work to which it is unconsciously set, and thus becomes the secondary instrument for imparting the blessings of purer morals and a purer faith to millions of the human race. The countries recently visited, it may be almost said discovered, by Captain Speke and his companion, are even now attracting the attention of the Power most interested in their future. His Highness the Viceroy of Egypt has already despatched a considerable military force to Khartum, as a reinforcement to the troops now stationed there; and he has announced his determination not only firmly to establish his authority in those remote districts which border on the Upper Nile, but to suppress the slave trade, in which even his own officers, removed from the surveillance of their government, are suspected of being largely engaged. For this

* P. 467.

purpose

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purpose he is about to establish a river police, provided with swift and well-armed galleys, which will patrol the Nile as far as it may be found navigable, for the purpose of boarding suspicious vessels, and of liberating any slaves which may be found in them. A railway, and the telegraph wire, to be extended to Khartum, will speedily follow; and we may expect that even Gondokoro will at no distant day be thus connected with the capital of Egypt. Facilities for approaching the great fertile regions of Equatorial Africa will then have been so greatly increased, that many years cannot elapse before their valuable products will be accessible to commerce, and the countries to which Captain Speke has introduced us will be regularly supplied with European manufactures. Their rulers, enlightened by communication with Europe, will in time discard their savage vices and superstitions, and engraft on the native stock of an imperfect civilization the humanities and perhaps the religion of Europe. The novel and surprising articles which have been presented to them have inspired them with an intense desire for trade, and for a regular intercourse with England. It is far from unlikely that, together with the commodities of Uganda and Karagué, we may some day receive a consignment of black princes for the purpose of being instructed in the wisdom of the illustrious visitors, by whose immeasurable superiority their fathers had been so deeply impressed.* The great achievement of Captain Speke and his companion will thus have accomplished a far more important object than the solution of a geographical problem, however interesting; and whatever may be the scientific results of future explorations in the basin of the Nile, they cannot deprive them of the fame of having been the first Europeans to penetrate those mysterious regions, and of having successfully forced their way through savage tribes and the obstructions often opposed to their progress by barbarian kings, with that true British courage and perseverance to which no travellers who have ever faced the perils of African discovery can more justly and honourably lay claim.

* This wish was expressed both by the Kings of Uganda and Karagué.

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ART. V.—1. *Report from the Select Committee on Ordnance, together with the Proceedings of the Committee, Minutes of Evidence, Appendix, and Index.* Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed July 25, 1862: pp. 335.

2. *Report from the Select Committee on Ordnance, together with the Proceedings of the Committee, Minutes of Evidence, Appendix, and Index.* Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed July 23, 1863: pp. 728.

WITHIN the last few years the art of war has in this country advanced with great rapidity. At Sebastopol our guns consisted mainly of 18-pounders and 32-pounders. There were but seven 68-pounders used at the siege, and two of these were borrowed by the French. The comparative failure of such guns excited the inventive faculty of the nation and inaugurated a new era in the history of artillery. Schemes of offence and counter-schemes of defence have ever since followed each other in quick succession.

The general substitution of the rifle in European armies for the erratic and short-ranged old musket, first rendered compulsory the adoption of rifled artillery, in order that the latter might with respect to small arms maintain the same relative superiority as heretofore. In the field it is obvious that if the small exceed the large weapon in precision and range, artillery in the majority of cases would be useless, as the gunners would inevitably be destroyed by the bullets of riflemen fired at distances beyond the reach of round shot. In siege and naval operations rifled guns have also become a necessity, partly for the same reason, but chiefly in consequence of the inherent advantages of rifled artillery.

Accuracy of fire and long range coupled with efficiency—qualities characteristic of rifled guns—are so manifestly important in artillery, that no argument is needed to enforce this proposition. But these advantages cannot be secured without involving a sacrifice of simplicity in the construction of the gun, and at the same time necessitating greater manipulative skill on the part of the gunner. Whatever the nature of the rifle, whether muzzle or breech-loading, this must be conceded. Moreover, a rifled gun has to endure a much greater strain, and must, consequently, be made much stronger than a smooth-bore; and an increase of strength entails an increase in the cost of production. The rifled gun discharges elongated shot of variable length, which must be set in rapid rotation before leaving the muzzle, and this cannot be effected without increased friction and a corresponding expenditure of force;

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force ; whereas the smooth-bore delivers only spherical projectiles unaccompanied with any sensible amount of friction. The initial velocity of the shot of the rifled gun fired with the usual and smaller charges of powder is about 1200 feet per second, while that of the smooth-bore is about 1600 feet per second; but the velocity of the former decreases in a much inferior ratio to that of the latter, which is accordingly speedily distanced by the rifled shot. Moreover, the line of flight, or, as it is technically termed, the trajectory, of a rifled gun is much less curved than that of a smooth-bore, and this is a point of importance, inasmuch as the efficiency of a shot depends greatly upon the directness of its course. The initial velocity of the rifled shot with its smaller proportionate charge of powder being, as we have said, less than that of the spherical shot, it has been assumed that even with equal charges the round shot would have the advantage in velocity owing to the facility of its exit from the smooth-bore barrel. The superior *vis viva* of the round shot is still frequently urged. This assumption is, however, erroneous. Fired with charges in the same proportion relatively to the shot, the rifled gun projects its shot with at least equal initial velocity, as conclusively demonstrated by experiments at Woolwich and Shoeburyness. While in the smooth-bore there is considerable windage, or in other words, much gas escapes round the loose-fitting shot; in the rifled gun the windage is in a greater or less degree suppressed, and *pro tanto* the force of the powder is more completely utilized. Hence it appears that rifled artillery has not only vastly the advantage over smooth-bores at long ranges, but that even at close quarters it may be easily rendered equally effective. It is extremely important that the mistaken notions which prevail in the public mind on this subject should be corrected—notions which have been sedulously propagated by those whose experience has been restricted to smooth-bores.

Every civilized nation has adopted rifled ordnance for the field, but none has as yet committed itself exclusively to rifled heavy guns. This fact would furnish a formidable argument against the superiority claimed for heavy rifled ordnance, were it not reasonable to suppose that it may have arisen from want of ability to construct large rifled guns of sufficient strength and endurance. The great question in heavy rifled ordnance is how to produce guns possessing these essential qualities, and to this the particular method of rifling and of loading is altogether subordinate. We ought, therefore, in the first place to consider the various modes of construction which have been of late proposed with a view to the solution of this great problem.

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We may remind our readers that the most ancient guns were made exclusively of wrought-iron, on what is termed the 'built-up' system. They were composed of longitudinal bars fitted together and firmly braced with external rings or hoops of iron. In those days wrought-iron could not have been employed in any other manner, as machinery suitable for large forgings did not then exist. The most familiar example of a gun of this description is the famous Mons Meg, now at Edinburgh. The legendary history of this gun is curious. It is said to have been made by a blacksmith called McKin, out of bars of iron contributed by the people of Kirkcudbright, during the siege by James II., in 1455, of Threave Castle, the last stronghold of the Douglas family. Mr. Mallet,* quoting 'The Statistical Account of Scotland,' informs us that 'its weight was 6½ tons, and its calibre 19½ inches; the charge of powder was a peck; and in a short time the garrison surrendered.' We are further told that the name 'Meg' was derived from McKin's wife, 'whose voice was said to rival that of her namesake.' Mons Meg was a gun of a calibre far exceeding any known in our own day. So also the Kemerlicks of the Dardanelles reached the enormous calibre of 28 inches. These ancient guns were, in fact, specially designed of this great capacity in order that they might carry rough masses of stone, slowly projected by inefficient charges of feeble powder. No sooner was the quality of the powder improved, and the use of cast-iron shot established, than these wrought-iron guns were found no longer safe; and by the end of the fifteenth century, according to Mr. Mallet, they fell wholly into disuse.

Next in order came cast guns, composed of the alloy of copper and tin called gun-metal—a variety of bronze now commonly but erroneously designated brass. Bronze guns speedily became general. The reduction in the calibre and size of guns increased the facilities for using that metal, the casting of which dates from remote antiquity. Its toughness and tenacity rendered it in every way suitable for the requirements of that day; and, indeed, at the present time the field artillery of Europe is for the most part composed of this alloy. It was used in the construction of the largest guns; for the cost of wrought iron, and the difficulty of its manufacture, were then much greater than at present. The history of cast-iron ordnance is involved in some obscurity, but the first English guns of this material are stated to have been founded in Sussex, in the sixteenth century.† It is, however, doubtful whether the art was not

* 'On the Construction of Artillery.' London, 1856, p. 183. The current belief in Scotland is, that the gun came from Mons in Belgium.

† Lower's 'Contributions to Literature.' London, 1854, p. 104.

imported

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imported from the Continent. The cast-iron of early times, smelted with charcoal, was far more suitable for artillery than much of the cast-iron now smelted with coke. There is no metal which is subject to greater variation, both in its chemical composition and its mechanical properties, than cast-iron. As an illustration of this fact we may refer to the mortars captured at Bomarsund, the iron of which was smelted by the Russians with charcoal, and to our own mortars which so strikingly failed at Sweaborg. Under all circumstances cast-iron is essentially a brittle material; and it is hardly conceivable that any persons practically acquainted with its properties and those of wrought-iron would recommend it as a material for cannon, if they could construct solid and durable guns of the latter metal, and were able to bear the additional expense therein involved. We remember to have seen a cast-iron high-pressure steam-boiler, but who now would dream of such an application of that untrustworthy metal, which Captain Jerningham, in his evidence before the Committee on Ordnance, has so naïvely compared to crockery? Guns of cast-iron burst without warning, scattering huge angular fragments of metal far and wide; whereas guns of wrought-iron generally give timely notice of their approaching failure, and, when they do burst, are comparatively harmless. However carefully the founding of cast-iron may be conducted, flaws in the interior will occasionally exist, which we have no means of detecting; whilst in a wrought-iron gun, built up piecemeal, we can be sure of the soundness of the metal at every step. We do not pretend that cast-iron guns have not rendered most efficient service, and given evidence of great powers of endurance, but we do maintain that there is no comparison between these varieties of iron with respect to their suitableness for artillery, especially in the case of rifled cannon, which, as we have stated, are subjected to a much greater strain than smooth-bores.

But this conclusion in favour of wrought-iron guns rests upon the assumption that they can be manufactured with the requisite soundness and solidity. Such guns have been manufactured on two principles, viz., by forging in one piece, and by building up in several pieces. The most effective forged guns have been made at the Mersey Steel Company's Works, under the able superintendence of Mr. W. Clay, than whom no one has attained greater skill in the art. Such guns may be constructed out of either a solid or out of a hollow forging. The 'Horsfall gun' was made on the first system, and the 'Prince Alfred gun' on the other; but, notwithstanding our present facilities for working huge masses of iron under the hammer, great difficulties have to be encountered. The

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The metal must be repeatedly exposed to a high temperature, a condition favourable to the development of a largely crystalline structure in the interior; and it may be shown that such a structure is injurious to the tenacity of the metal, for, *cæteris paribus*, in proportion to the size of the surfaces of the crystals will be the facility of fracture. Although hammering may tend in great measure to counteract this defect by disturbing the action of the crystalline forces, yet in the case of large masses the interior must remain for a much longer time at a much higher temperature than the exterior, and, when the latter has cooled down to a certain degree, it would be rendered more or less hard and brittle by continued hammering. This it is which constitutes the essential and inherent difficulty in manipulating large thick masses of iron under the hammer. Moreover, it is impossible to ensure absolute soundness of weld in every part. In hollow forgings there will be probably less difficulty from these causes, for the obvious reasons that there will not be the same difference in temperature in different parts of the mass; that the interposed cinder, which wherever it occurs will occasion unsoundness of weld, may be more perfectly extruded; and that the blows of the hammer will operate more uniformly throughout.

Of late we have heard much of the applicability of steel to artillery. This metal, being fusible at temperatures attainable in our furnaces, may be founded like cast-iron, and accordingly guns of cast-steel have recently been produced, especially by Krupp, of Essen. Steel, in a chemical point of view, approximates to cast-iron, and has been actually classified as such by Karsten, the great German metallurgist. But steel castings, in order to acquire the necessary degree of tenacity, must in every case be subjected to the process of hammering; and then in large castings the same difficulties arise, though in a less degree, as in the case of wrought-iron, with the exception that there is no cinder to be expelled. As steel, after hammering, is greatly superior in tenacity to wrought-iron, it has been recommended as especially adapted for ordnance. It should, however, be borne in mind that tenacity—that is, the power of resisting rupture—is always determined experimentally by the *gradual* application of the rupturing force. It by no means follows that the tenacity of steel will be the same when the rupturing force is suddenly applied, as in the case of the explosion of gunpowder. This is a point which can only be satisfactorily determined by experiments upon steel guns themselves. The casting of steel in large blocks, free from cavities, is attended with great difficulty, which as yet few, if any manufacturers, have been able successfully and uniformly to overcome, and, as in the case of cast-iron, we have

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no means of discovering internal flaws. If cavities exist, they may be, indeed, apparently obliterated under the hammer, but never without leaving the parts in which they occur unsound, as the contiguous surfaces of these cavities cannot be welded together except at a temperature too high for working the metal in large masses under the hammer. Steel may be properly termed a capricious material, and workers in that metal of the largest experience cannot always ensure uniformity in its quality, even when treated under seemingly identical conditions. We must be careful not to be misled by the successful performances of a few steel guns; we should act wisely in refusing to place implicit faith in such guns until we have the assurance that they can be produced with much more equality in the metal than at present appears to be possible. It is true that Krupp has produced a few steel guns of large dimensions. One of these, a 9-inch gun, has been lately tested by the Russian Government, and exhibited some endurance before the discovery of a flaw. A similar gun, however, supplied more recently by the same firm to the same Government, burst upon trial into a thousand pieces; nor did the closest examination of its fragments afford any explanation of the failure, which must be attributed solely to the intrinsic uncertainty of this capricious and costly metal.

It will be observed that the preceding remarks with regard to cast-iron, wrought-iron, and steel, are intended to apply only to guns entirely composed of one or other of these materials used in mass. We have yet to consider what results have been attained by the employment of the same materials when built up piecemeal, and used in combination in the construction of ordnance. In order to meet the increased requirements of rifled artillery, it has been attempted to employ wrought-iron in combination with cast-iron; that is to say, to strengthen cast-iron barrels with rings of wrought-iron. This plan recommends itself by the facility with which it may be effected, and as affording a ready and cheap means of utilizing existing cast-iron ordnance. The French, the Spanish, and the American Governments, have all adopted the plan. It has also been extensively tried in this country. From the Report of the Committee on Ordnance we learn, that late in 1859 the War Department, at the request of the Admiralty, ordered not fewer than three hundred cast-iron guns to be thus strengthened, and that they were induced to take this step from the receipt of confidential information that the French were engaged in arming their ships with similar guns. It was soon found that no advantage was to be gained by this plan. The comparative experiments with hooped and unhooped guns showed that in some instances the unhooped

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unhooped guns resisted the severest tests, while in others the cast-iron barrels broke up without injury to their external casings of wrought-iron. In spite of these conclusive results certain guns, which appear to have been manufactured on precisely the same system on behalf of Captain Blakely, have been forced upon the attention of the public. Captain Blakely, however, maintains that the guns designated by his name, although they are, like those already mentioned, nothing more than hooped cast-iron guns, are hooped upon a principle which he professes to have discovered, and which he has made the subject of a patent. The principle is that the hoops are put on with 'tension.' To the word 'tension' we are unable to attach any other meaning than the common English expression 'in a tight state.' It is difficult to conceive how a hoop could be of the least use in artillery, or for any other purpose, except when tight. The longitudinal bars of ancient guns were only kept together by the tightness of their hoops. It is incomprehensible why Captain Blakely should have disclaimed that part of his patent relating to the use of hoops, and yet have reserved to himself the exclusive right of applying hoops in the only way in which a hoop can be of the least service. If Captain Blakely had employed the simple word 'tight' instead of 'tension,' he would probably have undeceived himself as to the true nature of his supposed discovery. Although Captain Blakely's earlier guns were of cast-iron tightly hooped with wrought-iron, his last guns are of cast-iron tightly hooped with steel. Four 20-ton guns recently tried at the Woolwich proof-butt were of this construction. Three of them fired two rounds each with shot averaging 532½ lbs. in weight, and charges of 52½ lbs. of powder in cartridges so elongated as to reduce greatly the strain on the guns, as shown by the low initial velocity attained, namely, 900 feet per second. Nor did the shot take the rifling, whereby the strain was still further lessened. Nevertheless, the fourth gun yielded to the first round with the same charge, and split its steel casing. The change in the material of the hoops does not, therefore, seem to produce any striking result. Captain Blakely has an exalted notion of the value of his alleged discovery. In a published letter, which he addressed to the late Lord Herbert, then Secretary for War, he concludes by saying, 'It remains for you, Sir, to decide what the country shall do for me; I can thank my God that He has enabled me to do my duty to it.'* We are, however, not likely to hear much more of Captain Blakely; for he has recently expressed himself as follows:

* A Letter from Captain Blakely, &c. London. Ridgway, 1859, p. 16.

'Since

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'Since 1861 my sentiments have changed. I have been well-treated abroad, ill-treated here; and in future any skill I may possess shall be at the service of those who have acted fairly by me, in preference to this Government, *which has forfeited all claim to my consideration*'! *

Mr. Whitworth has endeavoured to use wrought-iron and steel in combination, his experience of cast-iron having been most unfavourable to that metal as applicable to the construction of guns rifled on the polygonal system. His first three heavy guns were of cast-iron, and burst early in trial, and Mr. Whitworth in his evidence before the Committee on Ordnance stated 'that cast-iron was an improper material.' † Mr. Whitworth's third heavy gun was an 80-pounder breech-loader, produced towards the end of 1859. It was composed of a barrel of 'mild' steel—sometimes called homogeneous metal—strengthened with hoops of wrought-iron. The barrel, however, of this gun split in 1861 after an endurance of between 60 and 70 rounds with moderate charges. So also the steel barrel of Mr. Whitworth's next heavy gun, a 70-pounder, which had been similarly strengthened with wrought-iron hoops, split under its casing at proof. The only other gun—a 70-pounder—of this construction produced by Mr. Whitworth has endured 271 rounds with moderate charges without failure, but has never been fired against iron-plated targets. Mr. Whitworth now disapproves of this method of construction, and he informed the Committee on Ordnance that he was making guns at his works at Manchester composed of a taper steel tube, cased with steel rings, forced over it, but not laterally welded together. Successive layers of rings are superimposed until the necessary thickness of metal is attained, and the breech of the gun is then closed by a powerful screw, which screws at the same time into the barrel and into the contiguous rings of steel. Mr. Whitworth states that he has made about fifteen 5½-inch guns on this system, but he has nowhere given information as to the results of the trials of any of them. In January last three such guns were ordered of him by the Government, but none have as yet been delivered. We have therefore no experimental evidence whatever to guide us in forming an opinion as to the value of the system advocated by Mr. Whitworth.

It now remains to consider the system of construction of Sir William Armstrong. This system essentially consists not in the use of isolated rings shrunk or forced upon an inner barrel, but

* 'The Standard,' Friday, December 11th, 1863.
† Second Report, p. 110.

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in the employment for the construction of the whole gun of tubes or pipes of iron, formed by coiling long bars of iron in a spiral, so that the coils may be in close contact, and then welding the contiguous surfaces together. By this means great longitudinal as well as circumferential strength is secured, and there is obviously a wide and important distinction between what we may term the single-ring method and cylinders thus composed. The system is precisely that which has long been employed in barrels of small arms, and all that Sir W. Armstrong claims to have done with respect to these tubes is to have applied it in the construction of ordnance. On this point we will quote his own words in his evidence before the Committee on Ordnance:—

'The Committee will see, therefore, that in the very outset I contemplated a special mode of construction, to render the gun susceptible of rifling. I proceed, in this Report [referring to a Report dated July 14th, 1855], to give the relative strength of steel and other materials, and then I go on to say, "There is also much uncertainty in the lateral strength of wrought iron or steel, because the flaws or imperfections of welding, which exist in all thick masses of those materials, almost invariably run in the direction of the length, and in general, therefore, only detract from the strength in the transverse direction. It is for these reasons that the barrels of muskets and sporting guns are formed by twisting long slips of iron into spiral tubes, and then welding together the edges, by which means the longitudinal strength of the slips becomes opposed to the explosive force of the powder, and the weldings being transverse with the bore have no important influence in lessening the strength of the barrel." I quote this as showing the original fundamental idea of my system, which was, to form a gun upon the principle of a fowling-piece.' *

Speaking of his first gun, commenced in December, 1854, and completed in March, 1855, Sir W. Armstrong stated on the same occasion:—

'It was a gun with a steel tube, surrounded with coiled cylinders, similar in every respect to the tubes of gun barrels. Now, the peculiarity of that gun was not its being merely a built-up gun, because built-up guns are of very ancient date. In fact, I have no doubt that the original construction of all guns was by building up. It was not merely a hooped gun, that is to say, a gun strengthened by rings, because rings give only circumferential strength, and no longitudinal strength; but that gun was peculiar in being mainly composed of tubes, or pipes, or cylinders, formed by coiling spirally long bars of iron into tubes, and welding them upon the edges, as is done in gun barrels. Now, whether any one had conceived that idea before, is beyond my power to say, but I feel assured that no gun up to that time had been actually made upon that principle. The whole diffi-

* Second Report, p. 133.

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culty lay in the making. It is very easy now, with all our knowledge and experience, to define how such coils are to be made; but at that period it was a very difficult matter to accomplish, and it was not until I had made very many unsuccessful attempts that I succeeded in satisfactorily carrying it out.' *

The Armstrong system of construction is, it will be perceived, of universal application, and is not limited to any particular description of gun. As the original gun was a breech-loader, the notion has been entertained that breech-loading was inherent in the system in question. This, however, is an entire mistake; for this system in no way involves minor details of arrangement. It is equally adapted to smooth-bore and rifled guns, to breech-loaders and muzzle-loaders, and to every method of rifling whatsoever. It is a system capable, so to speak, of indefinite expansion; and no limit can at present be assigned to the magnitude of guns which may result from its application. It is free from the difficulties attending the manufacture of large forged guns, and we are not acquainted with any other system of constructing ordnance which appears to comprise the advantages of strength, solidity, uniformity of quality, security, and power of extension in anything like the same degree. To this the Committee on Ordnance unanimously agreed. They state in their Report, 'Your Committee have had no practical evidence before them that, even at this moment, any other method of constructing rifled ordnance exists which can be compared to that of Sir W. Armstrong.' †

We now take up what we have stated to be the subordinate question of rifling. The object of rifling is to substitute elongated for spherical projectiles, whereby for a given weight of metal less atmospheric resistance is encountered, and, as a consequence, greater range is attained; and this object is secured by causing the projectile to rotate on its axis with sufficient rapidity to give it steadiness during flight. The only method by which rotation has been successfully accomplished is by causing the shot to describe a spiral course in its passage through the barrel. To this end the inner surface of the barrel must be rifled, that is, provided with spiral parallel equidistant grooves. These grooves may be numerous and shallow, or few and comparatively deep. The polygroove rifle is an example of the former method, the two-groove rifle an example of the latter. The oval bore of Mr. Lancaster is virtually a two-grooved rifle, and the hexagonal method adopted by Mr. Whitworth is virtually a six-grooved method. In the case of the last two rifles, the external form of

* Second Report, p. 133.

† Ordnance Report, p. 4.

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the projectile corresponds exactly to the internal form of the barrel. Hence these modes of rifling are on the principle of what is termed mechanical fit. In the polygroove system it would be impossible to fashion the shot so as to fit the barrel exactly, and therefore it must either be wholly composed of a soft metal like lead, capable under the propelling force of the powder of adapting itself to the form of the interior, or it must consist of a combination of soft and hard metal, whereby the same result may be attained. Such methods of rifling are on the principle of what is termed fit by expansion. In the other methods of rifling, in which the grooves occupy only a limited portion of the surface of the barrel, the shot is fitted with ribs or studs of metal, so placed as to correspond with the grooves; and it is obvious that these ribs or studs should be made of metal as much softer than that of the barrel as is compatible with the due performance of their function. As to the shot, so long as it receives sufficient rotary motion, it matters little what method of rifling is employed; the best mode would, of course, *cæteris paribus*, be that which involved the least departure in the form of both the barrel and the shot from the cylindrical—that is the strongest and most capacious form. It is with reference to the gun especially that the choice of a method of rifling becomes important. In small arms the early and most general method of rifling adopted was that upon the principle of fit by expansion, nor was any inconvenience felt in forcing leaden bullets down a grooved barrel from the muzzle; but when this principle of rifling was extended to cannon, it was thought desirable to load the projectile from the breech, and thus the Armstrong guns rifled upon this principle are breech-loaders. On the other hand, the mechanically fitting system of rifling was especially suitable for muzzle-loading cannon, and avoided the necessity of applying any coating of foreign material to the body of the shot. Hence it has been widely advocated. But the wear and tear of steel and cast-iron shot fitting mechanically upon wrought-iron and bronze barrels has proved, as will be hereafter shown, very serious in its effect upon guns of those materials; and thus the system of rifling guns with a few grooves, into which the comparatively soft metal studs or ribs of the projectile fit, is now more generally preferred. There is no mystery about the art of rifling, nor is it within the power of any special method to give peculiar efficacy to the shot either in range, accuracy, velocity, or penetration. Upon this point Mr. Whitworth expressed himself as follows in his evidence before the Committee:—

'"There are many forms of rifling which, if the gun is kept clean, will

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will shoot well, if it be accurately made; and those who have a knowledge of accuracy of measurement and of true surfaces, may make rifle-guns shoot well with various forms of rifling. I much prefer the polygonal system; others, the polygroove-rifling, or the gun rifled on the French system, which fires projectiles with projections on them. As far as shooting alone is concerned, all these different systems may shoot well if the guns are properly made; but," he adds, "there are other practical considerations of great importance which have to be taken into account—above all, *simplicity, durability, and economy* must be considered."' *

Hence, on Mr. Whitworth's own authority, the particular method of rifling is, as we have previously stated, of inferior moment.

One of the most important considerations in reference to rifled artillery is that of the diameter of the shot to be used with the gun, and, consequently, of the calibre of the gun itself. Owing principally to modern improvements in the means of defence, and especially to the use of iron as armour-plating for ships, projectiles, and consequently guns, are required to perform a greater diversity of functions than heretofore. It is clear, however, that the best gun is that which for a given amount of powder produces the greatest effect; but what the relative dimensions of the barrel should be, in order to the fulfilment of this condition, is still a disputed point amongst some artillerists.

The relative advantages of muzzle-loading and breech-loading for rifled guns have been very keenly discussed. Each system has inherent advantages and disadvantages, and these apply with greater or less force according to the size of the gun and the conditions under which it is employed. The advantages of breech-loading are chiefly manifested in siege and naval guns, which, if loaded upon this system, may be worked from narrower embrasures and portholes than in the case of muzzle-loaders, and with less exposure to the men. Breech-loading guns have not to be run back, like muzzle-loaders, before they can be loaded. They can, therefore, be used in a more limited space; that is, in smaller casemates and in ships of narrower beam. For the same reason they can be fired as lee-guns in a seaway. In breech-loading guns more complete access is given to the barrel, and this in rifled barrels is a special benefit, because by this means the barrel may be far more easily examined and cleaned. The insertion of projectiles at the breech is also a considerable advantage; first, because the shot can be firmly secured in its proper seat, and the risk of its shifting forward, which has proved fatal to so many guns, is obviated; secondly,

* Second Report, p. 106.

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because the shot thus placed in the gun thrusts forward any ignited matter which may be left in the barrel after the previous discharge, and which in muzzle-loading guns has been a frequent source of fatal accident; thirdly, because a shot of a diameter slightly exceeding that of the barrel may be loaded from the breech, and if coated with soft metal absolute accuracy of fit is thus simply and safely secured, and all windage completely suppressed. On the other hand, muzzle-loading guns are of necessity more simple in construction than breech-loading rifled guns. It remains to be seen whether in action this advantage may not be more than counterbalanced by the liability of the shot to jam, when loaded from the muzzle of a rifled barrel—an accident which has not unfrequently occurred, which it is difficult to remedy, and which in all cases temporarily disables the gun. According, however, to Sir W. Armstrong, 'breech-loading guns of any given power would be heavier than muzzle-loading guns; and now that we are so limited for weight in order to get the necessary power to produce the required effect upon armour plates, this increase of weight becomes a very formidable objection.'*

The adoption of rifled guns entails the necessity of great modifications in the construction both of the hollow projectiles and of the fuses employed. Sir W. Armstrong assures us that he has encountered far greater difficulty with respect to ammunition than in the production of the gun itself. He also informs us that having the conviction that in future warfare shells would play the chief part, his attention from the first has been in large measure directed to those missiles. Even under conditions so dissimilar as field service, breaching operations, and attacks on iron-clad ships, it is believed that the shell will be mainly relied on. In order that shells should be in the highest degree effective, it is essential that they should have sufficient capacity to contain large bursting charges of powder; and this is the fundamental principle which has guided Sir W. Armstrong in the construction of his shells. Upon this subject we will quote his observations made in February, 1860, at the Institution of Civil Engineers:—

'Referring to heavy artillery, it was necessary to commence, as before, by considering what effects were required to be produced, and what species of projectile would best answer the purpose. For destroying ships, stone and brick forts, earthworks, and buildings, as well as for operating against hostile troops, it must be admitted that the shell was the most effective projectile. In fact, with the excep-

* Second Report, p. 138.

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tion of iron-plated ships and granite batteries, there was nothing that could not be more effectually attacked by shell than by shot. This must be evident, when it was considered that a shell, arranged to act concussively, always penetrated before it burst. It therefore produced the effect of a shot, before it acted as a shell, and its explosive effect was superadded to that of a shot. Moreover, for high angle firing, the shell was the only projectile to be considered. But the power of a shell depended upon the magnitude of its bursting charge, and a large bursting charge involved a large diameter. It was in vain to say that increase of length would compensate for smallness of diameter. If a shell for a small bore could be lengthened, so could a shell for a large bore. Length for length, or weight for weight, the large diameter must necessarily accommodate a larger bursting charge than the small diameter.' *

The fuses for rifled projectiles are, as has been said, necessarily novel. This necessity arises from the special conditions to which the rifled projectile is subjected in its course through the barrel —conditions so incapable of being experimentally investigated, and involving difficulties of construction so complex, as hardly yet to have been surmounted in this country, and scarcely to have been grappled with elsewhere. Sir W. Armstrong maintains that 'even to this day the perfecting of a time fuse for rifled artillery is unquestionably the most difficult problem before artillerists.'† Indeed, he considers that the method of rifling should be selected with especial reference to the solution of this problem, and the employment of the most efficient ammunition. 'You cannot ascertain,' he observed, 'the best method of rifling unless you take into calculation what sort of projectile and what kind of fuse is compatible with that mode of rifling.' ‡

The foregoing considerations as to the material, the construction, the method of rifling, the relative dimensions, the mode of loading, and the ammunition of rifled artillery are such as have been suggested by the experience which we have acquired of that artillery up to the present day. We have now to consider how far the Armstrong rifled artillery, adopted in 1858, has supplied the exigency which we have shown to exist—what practical demonstration we have had of its value—and whether there is reason to believe that any rival system which has been proposed would have proved equal or superior in efficiency. There are, it is true, bitter opponents of the Armstrong system, who, first denying its originality and then its advantages, dogmatically condemn it as a failure. Amongst these opponents rival and disappointed inventors occupy the foremost place. We do not attach the slightest importance to mere opinions on such

* 'Proceedings of Institution of Civil Engineers,' Session 1859-60.
† Second Report, p. 147. ‡ Ibid., p. 146.

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a subject; and we shall accordingly ignore them altogether. What the public at large desires is trustworthy information founded on facts; and such information we shall endeavour to present.

The Armstrong field-guns are the 6-pounder, the 9-pounder, and the 12-pounder, weighing respectively 3·3 cwt., 6 cwt., and 8½ cwt., which have replaced the old 3-pounder, 6-pounder, and 9-pounder gun-metal smooth bores, weighing respectively 3¼ cwt., 6 cwt., and 13 cwt. Up to August, 1863, 397 12-pounders, 157 9-pounders, and 63 6-pounders had been issued. Many of these guns being at depôts have not been in use; but from the official returns of the number of rounds fired from some of the guns we extract the following details:—

Calibre.	No. of Guns used.	No. of Rounds fired.
12-pounder land service	175	42,245
9-pounder	41	7,493
6-pounder	7	550
Total	223	50,288

No returns have been received from India, nor from several of the English batteries; and there are no returns since August 1st, 1863, so that the total above given is considerably below the truth. It is also, we believe, exclusive of the 3800 rounds fired from the 12-pounders in the Chinese campaign. We may observe that at the battle of the Alma the whole number of rounds fired from English artillery was 880, and at Balaklava 840. A total of 50,000 rounds from field-guns represents therefore no small experience of the system. As examples of the endurance of individual guns, we may mention that five of the 12-pounder guns of early manufacture have fired an average of 1957 rounds each, and five others an average of 1035 rounds each. One gun has fired 3263 rounds, and all the above-mentioned guns remain perfectly sound and serviceable. Of the field-guns, thirteen have been returned to Woolwich and examined by the Inspector of Artillery. Nine of them are reported 'repairable,' and four 'unserviceable.' These defective guns were all made in the Royal Arsenal during the first eight months of manufacture, and we shall presently inquire into the causes of their failure.

The satisfactory results of the field-gun in China, where two hastily equipped batteries were sent immediately upon its adoption and before the design of the gun was finally settled, may be illustrated

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illustrated by a single anecdote related to the Committee on Ordnance, on the authority of Captain Richard Harrison, of the Royal Engineers. Captain Harrison states that he saw every shot fired from these guns against forts during the campaign.

'In an action near Pekin, a body of about 500 Tartar cavalry halted at a distance of about 1500 yards from some of our guns, where they imagined themselves to be safe. Sir Hope Grant proposed to try the effect of one shot at them, and he accordingly ordered one gun to be fired. The projectile, which was the ordinary segment shell, containing the usual concussion fuse, touched the ground a few yards in front of the Tartars, and burst in the usual manner. The Tartars immediately fled, and left on the ground thirteen dead men and three disabled horses, all destroyed by that one shell, which was the only one fired.' *

Nearly four thousand rounds were fired from the twelve guns employed in China without any misadventure except the blowing out of two vent pieces. No casualty of any kind occurred in working them, nor was any one of them ever disabled or withdrawn during action. It is certain that one of the principal officers in command of these guns, who before leaving England earnestly requested that he might be allowed to exchange his guns for the old smooth bore 9-pounder, is now one of the stanchest believers in the Armstrong field-gun. Six of the guns are still in China, and are reported to be in good order and to be rendering effective service under trying conditions, as appears from the following War-Office minute, submitted to the Committee on Ordnance :—

'War-Office. Minute 18 September, 1862, forwards for Committee's information an extract of a report (received through Horse Guards) furnished by Major Govan, Royal Artillery, relative to the Armstrong guns employed in the operations against the Taeping rebels at Tsin-poo, Najow, and Tsolin, during the month of May, 1862. The guns are said to have been very efficient in their fire against the crenulated walls of brick of the above Chinese towns, and have, without injury, stood a great amount of rough usage in the constant embarking and disembarking in and out of small boats. Two guns were upset into a creek at Najow, when being brought back to their boats in the dark, and the only damage sustained was, the sights of one gun were broken off; the repair was executed next morning.' †

In New Zealand also the experience of the field-gun in action has been most favourable, as shown in the official reports printed in the Appendix of the Ordnance Blue-book, 1863.‡ Colonel Bingham, the Deputy Adjutant-General of Artillery, assured the Committee on Ordnance that from his own official knowledge of the reports received from artillery officers of all classes, 'the

* Second Report, p. 144. † Ibid., pp. 144, 145. ‡ Ibid., p. 463.

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general opinion is that the Armstrong field-gun is the best rifled gun that there is anywhere, in England or abroad.' * The Duke of Cambridge also, on being asked by the same Committee whether he considered 'that our ordnance would bear a favourable comparison with that of any other army,' replied, 'My conviction is that we are ahead of any other country.'† Against the foregoing conclusive evidence in favour of the Armstrong field-artillery—evidence derived from the severe and very extended trials of these guns and from the experience of their use in actual war—we have to oppose the mere opinions and impressions of individuals, of whom many are personally interested in the success of rival guns. We leave it with confidence to our readers to balance between substantial facts on the one hand and preconceived notions on the other.

We have heard much of the possibility of dangerous accidents from the blowing out of the vent-piece and the stripping of the lead from the projectile. But here again we have to oppose the decisive negative evidence that no accidents from these causes have yet occurred, with the exception that in New Zealand a sailor lost an eye from the blowing out of the vent-piece of a naval 12-pounder, and that through carelessness. No other accident attended with injury to life or limb has, so far as we are aware, occurred with any description of Armstrong artillery. Nevertheless rumours have of late been industriously circulated to the effect that the Armstrong field-artillery has proved radically defective, that it is in a moribund state, and that even Sir W. Armstrong himself admits the signal failure of his system. The only foundation for these rumours which we have been able to discover lies in the failure of five 12-pounder guns during practice at Shorncliffe, which guns form part of the thirteen guns examined and reported on as above mentioned by the Inspector of Artillery. These guns and many other similar guns were manufactured at the Royal Gun Factories, under the immediate supervision of Mr. John Anderson, the Assistant-Superintendent, who gave the following evidence respecting them before the Committee on Ordnance. In reply to Mr. Laird, Mr. Anderson stated:—

'*Q.* 688. When those guns came from Shorncliffe to be repaired, a minute paper was sent to me, requesting me to see if we could not put those guns right in the screw, and apply to them all the recent improvements. That was about a fortnight before Sir William Armstrong resigned. I kept the paper back, with the idea of waiting until I could see Sir William Armstrong, to talk it over, because I knew it would be a disagreeable matter to write about those guns; but before I had met Sir William Armstrong, he had resigned; and

* Second Report, p. 20. † Ibid., p. 53.

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then I had no alternative but just to write and state what I considered the defects of those guns to be, and I mentioned five reasons why they were defective, which reasons I will give you. I may observe that guns resemble locomotive engines—they were very inferior in 1829 to what they are in 1863, so the guns of 1859 are inferior to those of the present time. The first point is, that I do not think there is sufficient screw in this gun; it is but five inches, while in the 1861 gun it is seven inches. Now five inches is often breaking, seven inches never breaks. Secondly, I do not like the way in which the breech-piece was made—by taking two thin shells and welding them together, and laying them face to face, with a V, into the joint, so that the iron from so much heating is not in perfectly good condition. Latterly, the breech-pieces have been made out of a solid piece, so that we get greater strength. Thirdly, I rather think that the muzzle is too long for the strength of the gun, in the vicinity of the trunnion. Then, in the fourth place, this strengthening coil which is put on in front of the trunnion is too short. Fifthly, I think a solid forging, or steel lining, is better for the interior of the gun than the coil, though Sir William Armstrong does not agree with me upon that point.

'689. Does Sir William Armstrong differ from you generally about those five points?—From the circumstance that Sir William Armstrong made a second gun with all those points remedied, I should think he was of the same opinion.

'690. This report of yours only applies to the guns of 1859?—Yes.'*

It is to be regretted that Mr. Anderson should have expressed himself in such ambiguous terms. His evidence at first sight would lead to the conclusion that the field-gun is of defective design, and that in fact a complete reconstruction of the gun would be needed to make it thoroughly efficient. An examination of the general evidence adduced before the Committee on this subject will render Mr. Anderson's real meaning more intelligible. It appears that the five defective guns returned from Shorncliffe, which, as has been stated, were of Woolwich manufacture, and to which Mr. Anderson above refers, had previously to his giving evidence formed the subject of a serious inquiry by a Committee of Artillery officers appointed by the Commander-in-Chief. The opinion of this Committee, as communicated to the Committee on Ordnance by Colonel Bingham, was 'that the whole of those accidents [*i. e.* to the five Shorncliffe guns] were attributable to bad manufacture, and were in no way the fault of the gun;'† or, as the Artillery Committee state in their Report, to 'bad and irregular manufacture of supply.'‡ Upon

* Second Report, p. 26. † Ibid., p. 15. ‡ Ibid., p. 331.

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being questioned as to these guns, Mr. Anderson appears to have impugned the correctness of the decision of the Artillery Committee, and pointed out that the guns in question, having been made during the first eight months of manufacture, had not had the benefit of all the recent improvements. These improvements he then enumerates. The first he says is want of sufficient screw. The thread of the screw of the early 12-pounder guns seems to have been extended less far than that of those made in 1861, from an unnecessary fear of the consequence of its exposure to dust and dirt. As no inconvenience whatever is reported to have been occasioned by this cause, we are at a loss to conceive why Mr. Anderson should give such prominence to so trivial a circumstance, or set it foremost in his array of defects. Moreover if it be a defect it is one which can be remedied with the greatest facility, as it is only necessary to continue the thread over the two inches of metal now left bare. Mr. Anderson's second defect is still more incomprehensible. He states that the breech-piece of these early guns was not forged quite in the same manner at first as after a little further experience. The breech-piece must not be confounded with the vent-piece: it is a piece of solid wrought-iron, forming part of the breech of the gun, and in the 12-pounder is comparatively small. Although we do not doubt that the later method of forging the breech-pieces is an improvement on the earlier mode, there is nothing whatever to show that the 12-pounder guns have in any way suffered from the want of experience in forging, of which Mr. Anderson now accuses the gun factories. The third defect in the enumeration is that Mr. Anderson 'rather thinks' the gun too long. The simple truth upon this point is, that when the *naval* 12-pounder was designed it was, for the convenience of use as a boat-gun, made shorter in the muzzle by one foot than the field 12-pounder. On trial it was found that for all practical purposes the short 12-pounder possessed sufficient range and accuracy; and it is a question for artillery officers to decide whether they will not sacrifice something in range for the sake of getting a shorter and therefore handier gun. As to the fourth defect, viz. the necessity for an increase of length in the coil beyond the trunnion, that increase is rendered necessary in the shorter guns simply to give them the same weight and preponderance as they had before being shortened. The longer trunnion-coil is adopted from the 40-pounder pattern, and is also used in the 9-pounder and other guns. Mr. Anderson, in the fifth place, thinks a steel lining or solid forging better for the barrel than coil. His statement that Sir W. Armstrong does not agree with him upon that point is apparently

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apparently a slip, for later on he informed the Committee 'Sir William Armstrong preferred steel before he began with the coil for the inner barrel, but was afraid to risk it, owing to the brittleness of the steel; it is only of late that we seem to be getting over that brittleness, and getting toughness as well as its other good qualities.'

It appears, then, that all these improvements, which Mr. Anderson is of opinion are so necessary, had been successively introduced by Sir W. Armstrong himself long anterior to the date of Mr. Anderson's evidence; and, therefore, that Mr. Anderson is only entitled to the merit of recommending, for certain 12-pounder guns, the adoption of improvements which in the course of experience had naturally suggested themselves, and had been applied to other 12-pounder and 9-pounder guns, and to all the large Armstrong ordnance. The plain fact is, that the guns early produced at the Royal Gun Factories were badly manufactured; and that, in the hope of remedying the defects of these guns, the expedients of 'lining' and 'patching' were resorted to. Five of these guns, after continued firing, failed at Shorncliffe. The Artillery Committee, on inquiry, attributed the failure to the system of patching, and found that nearly half of the Royal Gun Factories' 12-pounder guns had been so patched. They consequently recommended that all patched-up guns should be gradually recalled for substantial alteration in the Royal Arsenal. The alteration of these guns affords a fit occasion for applying to them the recent improvements before alluded to; and this is accordingly being done. Such is the story of the pretended reconstruction of the Armstrong system of artillery, which does not yet appear to be *in articulo mortis*. With regard to the statement that Sir W. Armstrong has been obliged reluctantly to repudiate his invention, all we can say is, that we shall utterly disbelieve it until Sir W. Armstrong himself vouches for its correctness.

In addition to the field artillery, the following Armstrong guns — all breech-loaders — have been introduced into the service:—

Calibre.	Length.	Weight.	Calibre.	Charge.	Bursting Charge of Shell.
	feet.	cwts.	inches.	lbs. ozs.	
12-pounder sea service ..	6	8·5	3	1 8	14 drms.
25-pounder sea service ..	5·5	12·5	3·75	3 2	1 lb.
25-pounder land service ..	8	16·25	3·75	3 2	1 lb.
40-pounder	10	30·75	4·75	5 0	2 lbs. 8 ozs.
110-pounder	10	81·35	7	12 0	8 lbs.

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The sea-service 12-pounder and 25-pounder, of 8½ cwts. and 12½ cwts. respectively, replace the gun-metal naval 12-pounder and 24-pounder howitzers, of 6½ cwts. and 13 cwts. respectively. The 40-pounder replaces the old 18-pounder of 38 cwts. as a gun of position, and the 32-pounders (of which there are thirteen descriptions), varying in weight from 50 cwts. to 58 cwts., as siege and naval guns. The 110-pounder is introduced into the service as a long-range gun for throwing shells of great capacity. The number of these guns already issued for service is—sea-service 12-pounders, 178; 25-pounders, 257; 40-pounders, 641; and 110-pounders, 799. Up to and inclusive of the 40-pounders, they are generally approved of by military and naval authorities. The 40-pounder appears to be a special favourite; and it is a matter of no small moment that we should have secured a sufficient supply of rifled guns of such an entirely novel description, and of such formidable power and range, without the occurrence of any mischance, or the discovery in extended practice of any serious defect. As to the 110-pounder, there is considerable diversity of opinion. It will be observed that this gun is in calibre and size greatly in advance of the 40-pounder, its immediate predecessor on the list; and it is to be regretted that no gun of an intermediate size should have been tested in service before the introduction in considerable numbers of the larger gun. There can be no doubt that the breech-loading arrangement, which has proved successful with the guns up to, and inclusive of, the 40-pounder, is far less satisfactory in the 110-pounder, in which gun the vent-piece is too heavy for ready handling in the heat of action. Moreover, the 110-pounder vent-piece is too weak, and is therefore liable to crack; and though this accident is not a dangerous one to the crew, it is undoubtedly a serious disadvantage to the gun. Sir W. Armstrong acknowledged before the Committee on Ordnance the existence of these defects in the 110-pounder. Being asked, 'Have you yourself ever been satisfied with the vent-pieces of the 110-pounder guns?' he states, 'No; I have been satisfied with everything but the vent-pieces.'* It is to be especially remembered that these guns are almost exclusively employed as naval guns, and that it is very questionable whether, as our ships are at present manned, sailors can be found of sufficient aptitude and steadiness to work *any* heavy breech-loading broadside-gun in close action. Upon this point Captain Jerningham expressed himself, with the frank and good old British sailor-like quaintness, in the following terms:—

* Second Report, p. 163.

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'3648. *Chairman:* Are you not afraid of the complication of the Armstrong breech-loader for actual warfare; do you consider that there would be no risk in relying entirely on the breech-loader for a broadside gun?—So long as a seaman is required to work aloft in all weathers, day and night, fine or foul, to shift a sail in a dark night in heavy weather or stow a flying jib in a breeze, to work a gun on board ship, in a boat, or in a field-battery ashore, to row a boat, take the helm and lead, to act with troops brigaded on shore with the Enfield rifle, to handle a spade and pickaxe, to land guns and throw up a battery, things cannot be too simple, if we are to have the fleet manned by bounty men at 10*l.* a head.' *

The recent action off Kagosima ought to have furnished us before now with some decisive information on this head. The 110-pounder was employed by Admiral Kuper's squadron at close quarters, and in a very heavy sea, which are undoubtedly the least favourable conditions for the development of the peculiar excellences of rifled ordnance, and for the handling of breech-loading guns. From the official despatches we learn that the performances of these guns in the flag-ship, the 'Euryalus,' met with general approval. The only unfavourable incident to any gun in the squadron was the jamming of a vent-piece, which is stated to have occurred on board the 'Racehorse,' commanded by the brother of Colonel Boxer, R.A. The accuracy and efficiency of the percussion-shells are especially praised; but on board the 'Euryalus' seven vent-pieces are reported to have been cracked. No interruption of the firing, however, resulted, as the damaged vent-pieces were immediately replaced by fresh ones, each gun on service being provided with at least three vent-pieces. No casualty to the gunners is reported. Although the 110-pounder in its present form is not generally approved of as a broadside-gun, yet some officers of the largest experience with it express the highest confidence in it. Captain Hewlett, of the 'Excellent,' stated to the Committee on Ordnance, 'I feel as safe with them as I do sitting in this chair.' † And again, 'Our men and officers have the most perfect confidence in them; it is only to know the gun to be perfectly satisfied of its safety.' ‡ As a chase and pivot-gun, and for bombarding purposes, its value seems to be universally recognised and admitted. Every naval witness who had had any experience whatever of the action of this gun at sea spoke without hesitation to this effect before the Committee on Ordnance.

Hitherto we have considered only the rifled guns already introduced

* Second Report, p. 170. † Ibid., p. 153. ‡ Ibid., p. 157.

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troduced into the service, which have been intended to meet the usual and well-known exigencies of war. The extension of the use of iron for defensive purposes constitutes a new phase in the art of war, and has imposed upon artillerists special and novel problems for solution. As, however, no definite limits to the application of iron in this respect can at present be prescribed, the artillerist must be in considerable uncertainty as to what he may be required to accomplish. A gun, for example, which suffices for the requirements of to-day may to-morrow become comparatively obsolete. Hence, for the present, no monster guns have been issued for service, and all large ordnance must as yet be regarded as experimental. This is the real difficulty with which all Governments have to contend in deciding as to the strength and power of the guns which they should adopt. There is ample reason, however, for believing that no nation has entered upon the consideration of this important question with greater vigour, perseverance, and success than our own.

Colonel Paixhans, whose name is so well known in connection with his shell gun, seems to have first suggested, about 1823, the protection of wooden ships by an external casing of thick iron plates, or, as they are now termed, armour plates; and the present Emperor of the French is the first to have carried that suggestion into actual practice. Towards the close of the Crimean War, three armour-plated floating batteries were successfully employed by the French in the allied attack upon Kinburn; and, although they were exposed to a heavy fire, at a distance of 700 yards, during about three hours, unsupported by the fleet, yet they were practically uninjured. The necessity of iron armour for ships, whether of wood or iron, is now universally admitted. It is certain that our boasted wooden walls would offer no effectual resistance against modern artillery, and that in action a wooden ship would be speedily sunk or burnt. Somewhat more than a year ago the old wooden 'Hussar' frigate was moored off Shoeburyness, and fired at with Armstrong concussion shells, every one of which set her on fire, and she burnt to the water's edge. Nothing is more startling than to witness the extraordinary rapidity with which ignition is thus produced. Moreover, as it is easy to send shells through wood, even of great thickness, our sailors, however valorous, would soon assuredly be either disabled or disorganized by the explosion of these destructive missiles. We have heard some of our bravest and most experienced sailors express themselves to this effect—'We care not for round shot, but, for God's sake, keep out shells.' The bursting of a shell is bad enough in the open, but what must it be in such a confined and

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and crowded space as between decks in a man-of-war, where neither escape nor protection is possible? We can only feebly imagine the scene after the explosion under these circumstances of a few Armstrong segment shells scattering deadly fragments of iron thick on every side. Our old wooden three-deckers have been not inappropriately designated 'floating charnel-houses,' and such they would inevitably become in a few minutes after the commencement of an action with our modern appliances for the destruction of human life. No sane or unprejudiced person, we suppose, would trust the honour of the nation to those picturesque and fine old ships, which, heretofore, have been our salvation and our glory.

In speaking of the Armstrong system of construction, we have said that it appears to be one which is capable of indefinite expansion, and consequently of being adapted to the largest requirements as to strength and power. Hence all the guns with the exception of the Horsfall gun which have in this country successfully competed with iron plated targets have been constructed upon this system. These guns and their performances we proceed succinctly to describe. Before doing so we should remark that much confusion has prevailed and still prevails respecting the nomenclature of rifled guns. As the length of the shot is variable, so also is its weight. A gun of the same calibre can discharge shot widely differing in weight. A rifled gun ought therefore to be designated according to its calibre, and not according to the weight of its projectile, and it is desirable that the weight of the gun should also in every case be specified.

The Armstrong guns employed against iron-plated targets have been for the most part muzzle-loading guns rifled on what is termed the 'shunt' method of rifling. The object of this method is to enable the shot to enter easily at the muzzle of the gun, and to come out tight. This is effected by rifling the gun with several grooves, which are shallower at one side than the other, and wider at the muzzle than towards the breech. The shot is provided with studs, which in loading enter the muzzle freely at the broader and deeper portions of the grooves, 'shunt' off into the narrower portions of the grooves nearer the breech, and in coming out bind against the shallower edges of the grooves, in which they are compressed sufficiently to ensure the perfect steadiness of the shot before it issues from the barrel. It is, however, difficult to give an intelligible notion of this ingenious and novel arrangement without the aid of a diagram. The most important shunt guns which have been made are the 120-pounder, the 300-pounder, and the 600-pounder, of the respective

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spective calibres of 7 inches, 10·5 inches, and 13·3 inches; weighing 5 tons, 12 tons, and 22 tons respectively, and carrying service charges of 18 lbs., 45 lbs., and 70 lbs. of powder respectively. These shunt guns are used with spherical shot as well as rifled shot, whereby the same gun performs two important functions. Guns on the Armstrong system have, however, been specially designed as smooth bores, of which the 100-pounder of 9·25 inches calibre and 6½ tons weight, designed for a charge of 33 lbs., is an example. With this gun it may be remarked *en passant*, steel round shot have been fired through 5-inch rolled plates and the side of the ship supporting them. There are also 12-ton guns of 10½ calibre throwing 150 lb. round shot, which it is intended ultimately to rifle and convert into 300 pounders. The first signal advantage gained by artillerists over thick iron plates was obtained with one of these smooth bore 12-ton guns, on the 20th May, 1862, against Mr. Samuda's target, consisting of Messrs. Brown's rolled armour plates 5 inches thick, attached to a 1-inch skin, and with longitudinal ribs 2½ inches thick, covering the junction of the plates. A 150 lb. round cast-iron shot, fired with a charge of 50 lbs. of powder, at a range of 200 yards, struck upon one of these junctions, and made a hole 12×15 inches through the armour-plate, and 2½ feet in diameter through the skin. The shot passed through in a shower of splinters, driving the armour plate before it, and burying it 2 feet 8 inches in a bank of earth to the rear. On May 23, 1862, three similar shot, and one wrought iron round shot weighing 162½ lbs., were fired from the same gun with the same charges at the same range against Mr. Scott Russell's target, which consisted of 4⅜-inch plates attached to two plates of 1 inch thickness each, and an iron skin of two plates ⅜ of an inch thick: the total thickness of iron being 8⅛ inches. All these shots passed through the entire target, breaking away the iron skin, the ribs and all. Subsequently five cast-iron shot were fired against the 'Warrior' target at the same range, the first two with 40 lbs. and the others with 50 lbs. charges. Two of them passed right through the target, smashing in 3 feet 2 inches of the plate, breaking two ribs, and making a large irregular hole in the skin through which portions of the shot and backing were completely driven. These shot, however, struck the target close to one another. The other three passed through the iron plates, and penetrated the backing to the depth of 11 inches, 13 inches, and 15 inches respectively, but none of these did more than bulge and crack the skin. On July 7, 1862, the same gun fired three similar shot at the same range and with the same charge against the 'Minotaur' target, composed of 5½-inch plates, backed with 9 inches

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9 inches of teak, and with the same iron skin and ribs as in the 'Warrior' target. The first shot penetrated the plates and the backing, cracked two ribs, and bulged in the skin. The other two completely penetrated the target, making holes through it of 1 foot 6 inches × 1 foot 2 inches in the front, and of 1 foot 4 inches × 2 feet 6 inches in the rear of the target. At the fourth round from this gun, with the same charge the end of the solid forging forming the breech piece was fractured evenly across, and was blown away to the rear. The most careful inspection of the fractured surfaces failed to reveal any indication of unsoundness in the metal, which was everywhere remarkably equable in grain. It should be mentioned that this gun had been tested with the extraordinary charges of 90 lbs., 80 lbs., 70 lbs., and 60 lbs., in addition to about 25 rounds of 50 lbs. of powder. The employment of such excessive charges would appear to be a sufficient explanation of the ultimate failure of the breech piece, but it is maintained by Sir W. Armstrong that its failure was wholly due to a slight but important manufacturing error. A vent hole designed to carry off any accumulation of condensed liquid resulting from the explosion of the charge, and liable to settle between the breech plug and the breech piece, was found not to have been drilled home. Thus the means of liberating this liquid had not been provided, and the consequence was that the larger area of the breech piece becoming exposed to the explosive action of the charge, its fracture was the result. This is the solitary instance of the bursting of any Armstrong gun. We may here take occasion to question the wisdom of proving our ordnance with charges of powder so greatly in excess of those intended to be used in actual service, since guns may thereby sustain injuries which render them less capable of enduring the service charges. The 12-ton gun in question seems, however, to have been speedily repaired, and in order to this the coils were detached after heating them in molten iron. Upon being fired again with the same charges as before, the outer coil after several rounds with 50 lbs. charges cracked. This second accident is ascribed to the injury which the coil sustained in the process of reheating and twice shrinking on.

The rifled 12-ton 300-pounder gun was first used with steel shell against iron plates on March 17, 1863. The shell employed on this occasion by Sir W. Armstrong was of an entirely new description. In place of being solid-headed for convenience of penetration, and hollow-ended for the reception of the bursting-charge, as in the case of all preceding shells, it was hollow-headed and solid-ended. The wide open mouth in front of

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of the shell received an unusually large bursting-charge, and was thinly covered by a cast-iron cap or nozzle, which, on the impact of the projectile, was crushed in amongst the charge and ignited it. In this shell, therefore, the whole explosion took effect forward, and the shell became, in fact, a short powerful cannon which first penetrated the armour-plate and then fired its charge into the backing. The first of these shells weighed 288 lbs., and contained 11 lbs. of bursting-powder. It was fired at an improved 'Warrior' target, consisting of 5½-inch rolled plates of Messrs. Brown and Co.'s manufacture, backed with 9 inches of teak and a skin of 1-inch iron, with the usual iron ribs, &c. The shell passed through the 5½-inch plate and burst in the backing, breaking one of the iron ribs and destroying the iron skin over an area of 3 feet. The teak backing took fire, and had to be extinguished with water. From the same or a similar gun a solid steel shot of 301 lbs. weight was fired May 4, 1863, with a 45 lbs. charge and at 200 yards' range against Mr. Chalmers's target, the strongest for its weight as yet produced. This target was faced with 3¾-inch plates, backed with alternate longitudinal layers of teak and iron 10 inches deep, behind which came a second armour-plate 1¼ inch thick, backed with 3¾ inches of teak and a skin ⅜ of an inch thick, supported by the usual iron ribs. The shot completely penetrated the target and drove fragments of the plates through it to the rear, smashing one of the ribs in its course. Two cast-iron round shot of 150 lbs. weight, fired from the same rifled gun with 50 lb. charges, passed through both armour-plates and rent and bulged the inner skin with their fragments. No target yet tried seems to have furnished the same degree of support to the outer plates as Mr. Chalmers's target, as was demonstrated, wherever the plates were struck by the shot, by the longitudinal furrows at the back of the plates, corresponding to the contiguous longitudinal layers of iron, and where otherwise much greater bulging, if not fracture, would certainly have occurred. On July 7 and 18, 1863, a further trial of 12-ton guns took place, when two of them were fired at Mr. Clark's target, which was very complicated in construction, and varied in details in different parts. It weighed complete 414 lbs. per superficial foot, whereas the Chalmers target weighed 371 lbs., the 'Warrior' target 341 lbs., and the 'Bellerophon' target 389 lbs. per square foot. A steel shell of 301 lbs., containing 13 lbs. of powder, and fired at 200 yards' range, with the reduced charge of 35 lbs., blew a hole right through this target measuring 2¼ feet × 2½ feet. A steel round shot from another 12-ton gun, fired at the same range with a 50 lb. charge, passed easily through the target and went

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went out to sea. The hole made by it measured 1½ foot × 1 foot in front and 1¾ foot × 1 foot behind. The general damage done by this shot was very great, and the iron fragments of ribs, knees, plate, &c., thrown far to the rear of the target were very numerous.

Although at this stage of the great conflict between guns and plates the possibility of supplying our navy with an armament which not the strongest ironclad afloat could resist was clearly demonstrated, yet it was necessary for artillerists to go further and to produce guns for our forts capable of sinking the plated ships of an enemy at great distances. This requirement Sir W. Armstrong undertook to satisfy by the construction of a gun twice as large as any previously made on his system, designed to carry at the highest velocity and with the heaviest charges 600 lbs. shells, powerful enough to destroy the 'Warrior' at 2000 yards' range. Accordingly the 600-pounder was constructed at the Elswick Works, and delivered in May, 1863, to the authorities.

The 600-pounder was first tried at Shoeburyness on the 19th November last to test its range and accuracy, when 12 rifled and 1 round shot were fired from it with charges of 70 lbs., and 3 rifled shells with charges of 60 lbs. of powder. It was found from this experiment that the monster gun was as accurate and as far shooting as the most accurate and long-ranged 12-pounder. At 2½ miles a target 18 feet wide would have received the three shots fired at that range, while at the nearer ranges of 771 yards, 1164 yards, and 2349 yards, targets 4 feet, 5 feet, and 13 feet wide respectively would have sufficed for the same purpose. The average range at only 10 degrees of elevation was 4148 yards. The average velocity of the rifled shot at 40 yards from the gun was 1265 feet per second, and the velocity of the round shot at the same distance was 1565 feet per second—that is to say, greater than that of the 68-pounder.

On December 11th the 600-pounder was fired at a floating 'Warrior' target moored at a distance of 1000 yards from the gun. A steel shell, weighing 610 lbs., and containing a bursting charge of 24 lbs. of powder, fired with a charge of 70 lbs., struck the target full in the centre, broke a hole through the outer plate measuring 2 feet × 1 foot 8 inches in front, and, bursting in the backing, so completely destroyed the target as to render it useless for any further experiments. The upper armour-plate, 12 feet in length, although untouched by the shell, was buckled forward by the concussion 14 inches, and would have dropped off a vessel in motion—every bolt in it except one having been broken. The massive beams behind were fractured or blown out of place, and upon the ebbing of the tide fragments of iron and steel were found

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found dispersed over a considerable area beyond the target. The gun has since been most carefully examined, and presents not the slightest trace of injury, fully twenty rounds in all having been fired from it; yet it has been recklessly announced that it has received serious damage. The public cannot be too much on their guard against the mischievous and unfounded statements from time to time put forth on the subject of our artillery.

One of the most formidable guns as yet brought to bear against thick iron plates is the solid-forged wrought-iron smooth-bore Horsfall gun, to which we have previously adverted. This gun is 13 inches in calibre, weighs 25 tons, and carries a cast-iron shot of about 280 lbs. in weight, with a charge of 74 lbs. It has been used with an 80 lbs. charge. On the 16th September, 1862, although slightly fissured within at the breech, it was fired at the 'Warrior' target at 200 yards' range with a 74½ lbs. charge and a 279½ lbs. cast-iron shot, which passed through the target, driving out three square feet of the inner skin. On the 25th September this gun was again fired at a range of 800 yards at the same target with four cast-iron 284-lb. shot and the same charges as before. Two of the shot missed. Of the other two, one grazed before hitting the target, passed through the plates, and buried itself in the target, bulging, but not cracking, the iron skin. The other struck the left top corner of the target and broke off a piece of the plate, but did not pass through the target. The fissure in the interior of this gun had excited apprehension, which happily proved to be groundless. The Horsfall gun was gratuitously presented to the nation by its proprietors, whose conduct contrasts most favourably with that of too many inventors who pertinaciously and clamorously obtrude their patented schemes upon the public attention, never dreaming of incurring the smallest expense on their own account, and leaving it to the Royal Arsenal to carry into practice their undigested ideas. Nor have the praises of the Horsfall gun, notwithstanding its highly successful performance, been thrust down the throats of the public *usque ad nauseam* as in the case of certain other guns, which have been be-puffed after the manner of quack pills and elixirs.

In September and November of 1862, Mr. Whitworth first obtained his notable achievements in gunnery by the use of steel shot and shell. The guns with which these results were accomplished were a 70-pounder and a 120-pounder, of 5-inch and 7-inch calibre respectively, weighing 3 tons 16½ cwts. and 7 tons 8¾ cwts. respectively, and made in the Royal Gun Factories upon precisely the method of construction employed there in the manufacture of the Armstrong guns. They were, in fact, nothing

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nothing more than heavy muzzle-loading Armstrong guns with hexagonal bores. On September 16th, 1862, the 70-pounder, at a range of 200 yards, sent a steel shell of 68½ lbs., containing 2 lbs. 6 oz. of powder, with a charge of 12 lbs., through a 4-inch plated target, backed by 9 inches of oak, unsupported by any iron skin or ribs. On September 25th, 1862, the 120-pounder, at a range of 600 yards, sent a steel shot of 129 lbs., with a 23 lbs. charge, into the 'Warrior' target, where it stuck in a rib. A steel shell, containing 3½ lbs. of powder, fired at the same range, with the same charge, passed through the 4½-inch plate and backing, and burst against the iron skin, sending 14 splinters through, but not scattering them. On November 13th and 14th, 1862, three 130 lbs. steel shells, containing 5 lbs. charges, and one 130 lbs. steel solid shot, were fired from the same gun at the same target, with 27 lbs. charges, and at 800 yards range. The shells passed through the armour and backing and burst as before against the iron skin, blowing a hole through the skin, but not dispersing many splinters. In no case was the backing set on fire. It has been officially reported that the damage done was not very great; the holes could be easily plugged, and the effect of the shells inboard was inconsiderable. Heavier guns, the Report adds, capable of being used with much larger charges of powder, must be adopted before horizontal shell-firing can be looked upon as very destructive to a ship of the 'Warrior' class.* The 7¾ ton gun, with which the above results were attained, was proved August 23rd, 1862, with two rounds of 25 lbs. charges and 150 lbs. shot. It has only fired seventeen rounds since, and is already longitudinally fissured in the interior. The 70-pounder, or 3¾ ton gun above-mentioned, was proved in April, 1861, with five rounds of 12 lbs. charges and two rounds of 18 lbs. charges. It has only fired five rounds since. These are the only guns which Mr. Whitworth has ever made use of against the Shoeburyness targets. It is true, however, that in June, 1860, he had fired four steel flat-headed shot from his 80-pounder breech-loader against the old 4-inch plates on the 'Trusty;' and that in October, 1858, he had fired a flat-headed wrought-iron shot from a cast-iron gun against a 4-inch plate of 'common iron' at Portsmouth.† Both these guns, however, had only a short life, the one bursting at the seventh and the other at the sixty-fourth round. Although Mr. Whitworth was the first to use steel shell, he was not the first to use steel shot. Sir W.

* This was before the 12-ton Armstrong gun had been fired with steel shell.

† By 'common' iron we suppose an inferior description of iron-plate is meant, inasmuch as repeated attempts have been made at Portsmouth to produce armour-plates, which to this day have completely failed.

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Armstrong preceded him by a year and a half, having fired 14 steel shot on January 6th, 1859, against the 'Trusty;' whereas Mr. Whitworth's first steel shot were the four above-named 80-lb. shot fired in June, 1860.

In discussing the causes of relative success with the use of steel missiles, three elements must be taken into consideration: First, the shape of the shot; secondly, the material of the shot; and thirdly, the velocity of the shot. The Whitworth shot, or rather bolt, is long, narrow, and flat-headed. For mere penetration, a long and narrow bolt, for a given weight of metal, obviously has the advantage, inasmuch as the work of the shot is concentrated on a smaller area. This Sir W. Armstrong pointed out in February, 1860, at a meeting of the Institution of Civil Engineers, before, as it would appear, Mr. Whitworth had used any steel missiles: 'A small bore was,' he said, 'obviously the right thing for piercing thick iron plates, provided shot of steel or homogeneous iron were used; but it remained to be seen whether the expense of such projectiles would not almost prohibit their use.'* Mr. Whitworth lays great stress upon the flat head of his bolt, by which, as he maintains, a punching effect is produced. This view has not been confirmed by the experiments of the Iron Plate Committee, who have ascertained that the conical head, under similar conditions, is equally effective. But in order that steel shot, of whatever relative dimensions, should penetrate thick iron plates, it is essential that they should have a certain velocity. That velocity may be obtained with a dozen other forms of rifled guns as easily as with the hexagonal gun employed by Mr. Whitworth. Our readers need hardly be reminded that high charges of powder are essential to high velocities; and, as high charges of powder necessitate great strength in the gun, it is simply to the use of a strong gun of proper calibre, fired with high charges and suitable steel missiles, that the remarkable results of late attained by our artillerists are to be ascribed.

If it were true that by virtue of the hexagonal method of rifling, or of the comparatively small calibre and high twist, or of any other peculiarity, Mr. Whitworth had succeeded in giving superior velocity to the projectiles fired by him, then there would clearly be something in his system. But it has been over and over again shown, by experiments with Navez's electro-ballistic apparatus, that the superiority in velocity lies with the Armstrong service-gun; that when the calibre is the same in both cases and other conditions are similar, the Armstrong shot has the highest

* 'Proceedings of Institution of Civil Engineers,' Session 1859-60.

velocity,

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velocity, in consequence, it is supposed, of the entire suppression of windage; and that where the guns differ only in calibre, the large-bore Armstrong has still the superiority in consequence, as it is supposed, of the powder having a greater surface of projectile upon which to act. On this subject the Committee on Ordnance questioned General St. George, then President of the Ordnance Select Committee, and now Director of Ordnance, in the following terms:—

'2732. *Chairman* [Mr. Monsell]: Prefacing what I ask you by observing that I am too ignorant of both inventions to be a partisan of either, let me ask you the question which has been put into my hands: are not the initial velocities obtained from the Whitworth 12-pounder, with a charge of powder one-third of the weight of the shot, greater than were ever before obtained?—The initial velocity of Mr. Whitworth's shot of one calibre long, with a charge of more than one-third the weight of the shot, was, I believe, 2210 feet per second; we had also tried an Armstrong gun, and after having seen the result, I directed that the Armstrong shot should be cut down as much as possible, but instead of one calibre in length with 3½ lbs. weight, it was only reduced to about 5½ lbs. weight; when we had that shot fired with a proportionate charge of powder, the initial velocity obtained was very little inferior to that of Mr. Whitworth. [It was 2170 feet per second; but the Whitworth 12-pounder was 1 foot 8 inches longer than the Armstrong gun.] The Select Committee have made a report, and the conclusion which they arrived at is this: that under strictly comparable conditions, that is to say, equal weight of shot, equal charge, and equal length of gun, the Whitworth 12-pounder will give an initial velocity below that of the Armstrong gun; this is probably due to the retardation experienced by the Armstrong shot in passing through the contracted part of the bore immediately in front of it, which is instantly followed by a decrease of friction, and also to the rapid twist of the Whitworth. In the Armstrong system, the angle of rifling is 4 degrees, 44 minutes, and in the Whitworth 8 degrees, 55 minutes. By reducing his shot in length, Mr. Whitworth is able to obtain very high velocities, but this does not seem to be peculiar to polygonal rifling. The same result has been obtained by reducing the Armstrong shot, the only difference being that the form of the latter does not permit so great a reduction in weight as is made in the Whitworth shot of one calibre.' *

As Mr. Whitworth's name in connexion with rifled guns has been, during the last few years, kept so steadily before the public, we doubt not that they will learn with surprise how small is the experience which we have of his cannon. Unfortunately, with the exception of those made in the Royal Arsenal on the Armstrong system, the guns submitted by him have been speedily

* First Report, p. 134.

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disabled. This is equally the case in small and large ordnance. From his early gun-metal field guns 453 rounds have been fired. His cast-iron guns came to an untimely end, all bursting within seven rounds. His 9¾ cwts. steel breech-loading 12-pounder has fired 144 rounds; but this gun he disclaims so far as the method of breech-loading is concerned, and he has not yet supplied it with shells or fuses to match. In 1861, Lord Palmerston, without, we believe, consulting the War Department, assumed the responsibility of ordering of Mr. Whitworth two batteries of 12-pounder field-guns. This, it must be admitted, was a most unusual course for a Prime Minister; but, as political compromises seem to be the order of the day, a delicate compliment to Manchester may possibly have been intended. Only four of these twelve guns have been supplied, and they were of the old-fashioned gun-metal. After 200 rounds they manifested such unmistakeable signs of dissolution that they were returned to store and condemned, with the white cross painted over their muzzles. It is just to add that one gun of Mr. Whitworth survives—a 70-pounder—the barrel of which was supplied by Mr. Whitworth, although the surrounding coils and the trunnion were derived from the Royal Gun Factory at Woolwich. This is the gun which, having been further strengthened after proof at Woolwich, endured 271 rounds, but it has never been fired except over blank ranges.

From the reports of the Committee on Ordnance, it appears that, with reference to small arms and cannon, not fewer than ten Committees have been at one time or other appointed in connexion with Mr. Whitworth. It has been represented that proposals of Mr. Whitworth in connexion with artillery have not received that consideration from the Government which they intrinsically deserved: but after a most careful examination of the voluminous evidence which has been published on this subject, we have arrived at the conclusion that, if there be ground for complaint, it is on the part of the Government against Mr. Whitworth, and not on the part of Mr. Whitworth against the Government. The Duke of Cambridge expressed very similar views in his evidence before the Committee on Ordnance. He was questioned upon the subject of the Armstrong and Whitworth guns in the following terms:—

'1240. Do you think that their different merits have been sufficiently tested to enable us to draw a fair comparison between the two? and replied: "I think, considering the facilities given by Sir William Armstrong, and the difficulties thrown in the way by Mr. Whitworth, that everything has been done that Mr. Whitworth could possibly have expected, but I do not think that there has been so much testing of Mr. Whitworth's gun as of Sir William Armstrong's

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strong's gun, because Sir William Armstrong has never made any difficulty about any test, and I think Mr. Whitworth very often has.'"*

It is satisfactory to learn from Mr. Whitworth's evidence that at length a Committee, called the Armstrong and Whitworth Committee, is appointed, against which he has no objection to urge, either in respect of its constitution, or of the course which it has determined to adopt in the competitive trials:—

'3064. *Mr. Dodson:* Some of your newly-made guns are about to be tried by the Government, are they not?—Yes.

'3065. Have you any arrangement with the Government with respect to the conditions under which they are to be tried?—Yes.

'3066. And have you come to a satisfactory understanding with respect to the conditions under which your gun is to be experimented upon?—There is a programme submitted.

'3067. With which you are contented?—I leave it entirely to the Committee.

'3068. Are you contented or not: do you consider that your gun is now about to receive a fair trial?—I think so.

'3069. *Mr. Baring:* Are you sure about that?—I have no doubt of it.'†

But Mr. Whitworth has not yet provided the Committee with the six guns—three 12-pounders and three 70-pounders—ordered of him in January last, and required by the Committee before they can commence their proceedings. The 12-pounders have been delivered, but the ammunition for them is not yet ready. The 70-pounders have not been supplied.

The only official and authoritative statements yet published concerning the comparative merits of range and accuracy of Armstrong and Whitworth guns are contained in the following Summary of the Report of the Ordnance Select Committee, dated April, 1861. The trials upon which the summary is founded were made exclusively with Mr. Whitworth's 12-pounder breech-loading gun, and a 12-pounder Armstrong service gun.

'SUMMARY.

'The general average of range is as 2658 to 2394 in favour of the Whitworth gun.

'The general average of accuracy is as 647 to 495 in favour of the Armstrong gun.

'The Whitworth 12-pounder is heavier than the Armstrong 12-pounder in the proportion of 1092 to 963, and 20 *inches longer.*

'(Signed) J. H. LEFROY.'

It should be observed that the longer and heavier Whitworth

* Second Report, p. 53. † Ibid., p. 128.

12-pounder

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12-pounder was designed to consume a service-charge of 1¾ lb. whereas the shorter and lighter Armstrong 12-pounder is intended to be fired with only 1½ lb. In the trials in question the guns were fired with each other's charges as well as their own proper charges. But though the Whitworth gun was as well able to consume effectively a charge of 1½ lb. as the Armstrong gun, the Armstrong gun was not able to consume nearly as effectively a charge of 1¾ lb. as the Whitworth gun.

The name of Lynall Thomas in connexion with artillery has acquired some degree of notoriety, rather, as it would seem, on account of the magnitude of the gun called by his name, than from any manifestations of superiority in its performances. Mr. Thomas entertains certain theoretical notions with regard to the relative dimensions of guns, to which he attaches a high degree of importance. These notions do not appear to have been satisfactorily confirmed, so far as we may judge from the results he has obtained. Again have the Royal Gun Factories been laid under requisition, and the large gun of Mr. Thomas has been manufactured at that establishment at the national expense, on the Armstrong system of construction. The gun weighs 16 tons, and its calibre is 9 inches; but we are not aware of a single result from it, either with respect to range or efficiency against iron plates, worthy of being recorded. We should be glad to learn how it is that any inventor can so far prevail with the War Office as to induce them to order the manufacture of such a costly gun without any recommendation from the Committee which they have themselves appointed for the consideration of new projects—a Committee whose members we are bound to suppose they have selected on the ground of eminent qualifications. It would be well if some Member of the Legislature would rise in his place and put a definite question to the Secretary-for-War as to the cost which has been incurred in the manufacture and trial of Mr. Thomas's gun, and further, as to the reasons which induced him to deal with Mr. Thomas in so exceptional a manner. It is high time that the War Office should cease to exhibit indecision and vacillation on the great subject of Artillery.

Every country possessing a navy is now busy with the construction of armour-plated ships; and, happily, in this respect we are not behind any other Power, not even France, who inaugurated the system, and who has made such ceaseless efforts for its development. The subject of armour-plating in all its details has been experimentally investigated in Great Britain to a much greater extent than the public is probably aware, notwithstanding the occasional notices in the press of some of the larger and

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and more showy trials against targets at Shoeburyness. Much has been done in the way of quiet experiment and otherwise which has not been published. The quality of iron best adapted to resist shot and shell; the modes of manufacturing plates by rolling or hammering, or by a combination of both processes; the requisite thicknesses of plates to resist various projectiles at various velocities; the methods of adjusting the plates, and of attaching them to the sides of the ship; and many other points, which, although apparently insignificant, are yet of great importance, have been carefully examined and practically tested. Nevertheless many points yet remain for investigation.

Only two or three years ago the problem of keeping out shells was regarded as satisfactorily solved. The most formidable gun then in the service was the much-vaunted cast-iron 68-pounder, smooth bore; and it had been found that an iron plate 4½ inches thick sufficed to resist the cast-iron shot fired from that gun at 200 yards range, with the service charge of 16 lbs. of powder. Steel shot, as will have been seen, were not at that time seriously thought of, as it was supposed that their costliness would preclude the possibility of their use. A plate of the thickness above mentioned was far more than a match for the most powerful shell in the service; and our sailors congratulated themselves that ships might at least be rendered absolutely shell-proof. The illusion, alas! was soon dispelled. The deadly contest between guns and iron plates arose, and ever since has raged with doubtful issue. One day plates claimed the victory, and the next day guns. The recent introduction of steel shot and shell constitutes a new element, which, without doubt, is destined to play a part of prime importance. No sooner was the thickness of our plates increased, than new and more powerful guns appeared. But if the 600-pounder gun of Sir W. Armstrong should prove capable of sufficient endurance to justify its introduction into the service, and of being carried and worked in ships—as some naval officers of great experience maintain—then the close of this great contest is probably at hand. No iron-plated ship or target yet constructed could resist that monster gun, of which the shot would not only perforate, but from its magnitude smash in, the plates of the strongest ship afloat. But, what is far more to be dreaded, it would with ease send a steel shell, containing the enormous bursting charge of 29 lbs. of powder, into any of these ships; and what result would follow the explosion of such an amount of powder it is not difficult to predict.

Owing to the great weight of iron, as compared with wood, it is obvious that in ships of very large dimensions the extreme limit of thickness in armour-plates must soon be reached; whereas,

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whereas, so far as is at present known, there is no such limitation in the case of guns. The larger the ship the greater the weight of iron armour which it will carry; but, without exposing ourselves to the charge of dogmatism, we may safely assert that, at least for a considerable time to come, ships of war much larger than the largest afloat are not likely to be produced. Until we have everywhere docks capable of accommodating ships like the 'Great Eastern,' it is not probable that the Admiralty would propose to construct vessels of such enormous size, even if that giant of the ocean had fulfilled a tithe of the bright predictions uttered at the period of its conception. But there is another consideration of great importance, which should never be forgotten: we allude to the application of the proverb as to the folly of carrying all your eggs in the same basket.

With regard to guns, the case is, as we have stated, very different. Naval officers of experience declare that they apprehend no difficulty whatever, deserving the name in nautical ears, in designing ships to carry 20-ton guns, or even still heavier guns. It is true that it would be necessary to reduce the number of guns, in order not to overweight the ship; but, we may reasonably ask, would it not be far preferable to have half-a-dozen 20-*ton* guns of such tremendous power as the 600-pounder, than an armament composed of a much greater number of 68-pounders, or 110-pounder Armstrong guns? With the latter guns you might batter away against ships cased with 5-inch plates for a long time without doing much damage; but a single shot, or by preference steel shell, from the 600-pounder, might suffice to end an action. The qualities which seem to be indicated for the majority of our ships of war are, the maximum thickness of armour-plating that can be combined with speed and safety, the minimum extent of surface for exposure to the enemy, with an armament of guns capable of projecting shells filled with a large bursting charge, at great as well as close ranges, through the thickest plates, supported by the strongest backing that can be applied. It is high time that we should know truth in these matters. All men are liable to be prejudiced, and to become wedded to opinions founded on their own experience; and sailors are but men, and partake of all the infirmities of human nature. The public must resolutely inquire for themselves, and not be blindly guided by the dogmatic opinion of Captain This or Captain That. We have only to refer to the Reports of the Committee on Ordnance, for proof of the fact that naval officers widely dissent with respect to points on which disagreement might be least expected. One declares himself a stanch believer in muzzle-loading, another in breech-loading; one worships the good old smooth bore,

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bore, so simple, so easy to handle, and so effective at short ranges; another swears by the rifled gun, and despises the smooth bore; some effect a sort of compromise, and believe that both systems of artillery are not only expedient, but essential; one hates your built-up guns, and pins his faith on cast-iron; another compares cast-iron guns to crockery, and believes only in wrought-iron guns. The opinions, then, of the navy are far from unanimous, even on the subject of guns alone; and on many other points, especially as to cupolas and iron-plated ships, they are, if possible, still more discordant. But, if the statements which we have advanced concerning the power of our largest guns be true, and if those guns should give satisfactory proof of durability, then we may dispense with professional opinions, and trust to the exercise of our own common sense. We need only to receive the assurance that monster guns may be carried and efficiently worked in ships, to enable us to arrive at the right conclusion as to our future naval armaments. It would be about as reasonable to attack a rhinoceros with a cricket-ball, as to fire at a 5-inch or 6-inch solid iron-clad frigate with the 68-pounder.

The substitution of steel for cast-iron in the case of shot to be fired against thick iron plates is a matter not only of importance, but of absolute necessity. No matter what the cost, this must be done; and, indeed, it may lead to economy in the end. To fire soft grey foundry-iron against iron plates is a wasteful expenditure both of time and money. The shot easily breaks up on impact, leaving in a more or less conical form only a fraction of its original mass. A large proportion of the *work* of the shot is thus uselessly expended in its own disintegration, instead of being devoted to the plate. With steel shot, suitable in quality and temper, the result is quite different, for then the whole force of the shot is effectively delivered upon the plate. If any further argument for the adoption of steel shot were necessary, we have only to state the fact that the Russian Government has recently entered into a contract with a firm in this country for a large supply of such shot.

Iron armour, as at present applied, hangs as a dead weight upon the sides of the vessel, contributing nothing to its strength. Proposals have, therefore, been made so to construct ships that the armour might form an integral part of the structure, and communicate strength. With this view, it has been recommended to employ superimposed thin plates of iron securely bolted together; and large targets have been expressly made to test the efficacy of the system. Mr. Hawkshaw, the well-known civil engineer, devised two such targets, one 10 and the other 6 inches in thickness, made up of plates varying in thickness from 2 inches

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2 inches to ⅛ of an inch, and firmly united by rivets. They were tried at Shoeburyness, and the results were unfavourable. A cast-iron shot from the 110-pounder Armstrong gun easily passed through the 6-inch target, whereas the same shot would have been effectually stopped by a 4½-inch solid plate. Laminated plates have, accordingly, been condemned in this country. We have, however, been recently informed by the American press in its usual style of self-adulation that the system in question, which it appears they have largely adopted, is correct, and that our conclusion respecting it is quite erroneous. We are not anxious to dispel their illusion. But that they have some misgiving on the subject may be inferred from the fact, that American orders have been received in England for 4½-inch solid armour-plates. We happen to know that a year or two ago the Americans purchased largely 2-inch plates of British manufacture, which, in respect of the quality of the metal employed, had been previously found unsuitable in experiments at Shoeburyness.

The Americans have also loudly boasted that they are far ahead of us in large ordnance, wherewith they could with ease either smash or sink our ships of the 'Warrior' class. We need have no apprehensions on this point at present; for it is certain that these ships might be exposed with comparative impunity to American projectiles, huge as they are represented to be, fired from cast-iron guns with small charges of powder. There seems still to be in America a pretty general belief in the efficacy of momentum of which the chief element is weight; or, in other words, in heavy shot at a low velocity. We, on the other hand, have abundant reason for placing our faith in shot of high velocity. There is always a class of Englishmen who are disposed to exalt everything American, and to depreciate everything at home; and persons of this class, true to their unpatriotic instincts, have not hesitated to decry British artillery. We happily know what the Americans have done, or rather what they have failed to do, with their artillery; and we may entertain the comfortable assurance that the superiority claimed for the Americans, in this matter, is as groundless as their boasted superiority over us in many other respects. We willingly acknowledge American excellence wherever we find it; but we have as yet discovered no proof of any surpassing excellence in American ordnance. Monster cast-iron guns may be very imposing objects in appearance, but unless they can be rifled and project heavy missiles at a high velocity, they would be no match for our armour-plated ships. In large ordnance there is another element of the first consequence, at least in all nations where a high value is set on human life, namely, safety for the gunners. But who has yet seen

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seen large rifled cast-iron really efficient guns which could be pronounced safe? We venture to assert that such guns do not exist; and, from reflection on the nature of cast iron, we more than doubt whether such guns will ever be produced. The cast-iron gun may be cheap, but it is at the same time a treacherous weapon; and like many other cheap things, it may be found enormously dear in the end, compared with substantial wrought-iron guns, notwithstanding the higher price of the latter in the first instance. We trust that the authorities in this country will never be misled by the specious pretext of cheapness, and adopt the American system of monster cast-iron ordnance, at all events not before they have something like evidence to justify such a course.

With regard to the application of iron for defensive purposes on land much may be urged. Here we have no limit as to weight, but only as to cost. Whatever doubt may exist as to the possibility of applying armour of sufficient strength to ships, to compete with success against the 600-pounder, there is none on the ground of weight as to the use of iron in forts. Major-General Ford, R.E., in 1827, first proposed the use of wrought-iron for protecting the face of masonry on forts; and with this object he recommended the employment of iron in the form of bars. The following experiment was accordingly made to test the value of this method. A block of Dundee stone was cased with two layers of small bars placed at right angles over each other, and fired at with a 24-pounder at a distance of 634 yards. The result, it is officially stated, was not encouraging. Of late years various trials have been made with respect to the application of blocks of cast-iron, and bars and plates of wrought-iron, in the construction of forts; and the subject is still being actively investigated. Cast-iron, unless faced with plates of wrought-iron, has been found so fragile as to render it doubtful whether it would prove an advantageous substitute for granite. Good results were at first obtained with the tongue-and-grooved Thorneycroft ten-inch wrought-iron bars, fired at by the 68-pounder and 110-pounder; but they have been no match for the heavier ordnance which we have described. It is, however, probable that bars of greater resisting power might be produced with an increased experience in their manufacture. Captain Inglis's embrasure, consisting of three layers of 'planks' of iron of different thicknesses, and having a total thickness of 15 inches, has given excellent results. Various other important experiments with reference to the use of iron in forts are, we understand, in contemplation. Great difficulties will probably have to be encountered in the modes of fastening bars and plates of iron

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iron, and in combining them solidly with masonry. The employment of iron in forts is yet in its infancy, but will doubtless be greatly extended. In regard to the facility and cheapness of producing iron, we possess at the present time advantages greater than those of any other nation. The extraordinary and rapid progress in our manufacture of armour-plates is as remarkable as it ought to be satisfactory. Gigantic rolling-mills have been erected expressly for this branch of the trade; and whereas but a few years ago there was only one mill in the kingdom where large armour-plates could be rolled, there are now several in active competition.

The merit of the Armstrong system of artillery having been denied, it was only reasonable to expect that the authorities, who were responsible for its introduction, would be assailed in consequence. It has been clearly demonstrated that rifled artillery became an imperious necessity, and that when the system of Armstrong was first proposed, there was in reality no other deserving the name. Supposing that some other system had been suggested and adopted, there can be no doubt that it also would have been equally denounced. Opposition is happily a stimulus to further success; and this appears to have been well exemplified in the case of the Armstrong artillery.

We may congratulate ourselves that, if we have not the best artillery in the world, no other nation has better. In these days of rapid and facile intercommunication it is impossible that any nation should long be able to practise concealment with respect to its artillery. We know pretty accurately what other nations have done and are doing; and where there is the most affectation of mystery in this matter, there will be found the least reason for boasting of superiority. We will go further, and assert that we are ahead of all other nations in respect of artillery; and we base this assertion on a careful comparison of well-ascertained and substantial facts. We must hold our position at whatever cost. We may hate war—and those who practically know most about it always hate it most—we may deplore it as the greatest evil and the greatest crime of humanity, yet, so long as man is what he is, we must not beat our swords into ploughshares, nor our spears into pruning-hooks. Preparation for war will prove the best security for peace.

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ART. VI.—1. *On the Perpendicular Ascent of Eels: Philosophical Transactions.* Vol. 44, No. 482, 1746, pp. 395-396.

2. *The Complete Angler of* Isaac Walton *and* Charles Cotton; *Observations on the Eel and other Fish without Scales, &c., with Notes.* By Sir John Hawkins. 1826.

3. *Salmonia.* By Sir Humphry Davy. Pp. 227-235. 2nd Edition. London, 1829.

4. Yarrell *on the Reproduction of the Eel: Report of the British Association for the Advancement of Science,* 1833. Pp. 446-447.

5. Yarrell's *British Fishes; Family Muræenidæ.* 1841.

6. Hohnbaum-Hornschuch, *Dissertatio Inauguralis de Anguillarum Sexu et Generatione.* 1842.

7. *Prose Halieutics; or, Ancient and Modern Fish Tattle.* By Dr. Badham. Pp. 368-409. London, 1854.

8. *The Angler and His Friend.* By John Davy, M.D., F.R.S. London, 1855.

9. Kaup, *Uebersicht der Aale, in Archiv für Naturgeschichte,* 1856. P. 41.

10. *London Labour and the London Poor; The Street-Sellers of Pea Soup and Hot Eels.* Vol. I. pp. 160-163. 1861.

11. *Fish Culture.* By Francis Francis. P. 119. 1863.

12. *The Angler-Naturalist: a Popular History of Fresh-Water Fish, &c.* By H. Cholmondeley Pennell. Pp. 376-401. 1863.

'THERE are few animals,' says a celebrated French naturalist, 'whose image one must retrace with as much pleasure as the common eel. . . . We have seen superior instinct in the enormous and terrible shark, but then it was the minister of an insatiable voracity, a sanguinary cruelty, a devastating strength; we have found in electrical fish a power which we may almost call magical, but beauty did not fall to their share. We have had to represent remarkable forms, but nearly always their colours were dull and dark. Glittering shades have struck our view; rarely have they been united with pleasing proportions, more rarely still have they served to adorn a creature of elevated instinct. And this kind of intelligence, this mixture of the glitter of metals, of the colours of the rainbow, this rare conformation of all the parts which form one whole joined in happy agreement, when have we seen all these bestowed where the habits are, so to speak, social, the affections gentle, and the enjoyments in some sort sentimental? It is this interesting union, however, which we are going to show in the common eel; and when we shall have comprised into one point of view its slender form,

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form, its delicate proportions, its elegant colours, its gracious flexions, its easy gyrations, its rapid springs, its superior swimming, its serpent-like movements, its industry, its instinct, its affection for its mate, its sociability, and the advantages which man is ever deriving from it, we shall not be surprised to find that some of the Greek and Roman ladies most famous for their charms have given its form to one of their most *recherchés* ornaments.' * What rodomontade! our readers will doubtless exclaim; who but a Frenchman could have written thus of a slimy, slippery, slush-loving eel? Well, we allow that the language 'verges on the poetical,' but yet we must ourselves confess a partiality for eels, and own that there is a great deal of truth in what the French naturalist has said. But then we must think of the eel as a free and unmolested inhabitant of the water, and not as a writhing victim on the fishing-line of some disciple of Walton, when he certainly is a troublesome fellow, and when we may fairly say of him, 'Nihil tetigit quod non *fœdavit*.' The eel, however, has long enjoyed, and still deservedly enjoys, a wide celebrity. 'It is agreed,' says honest Izaak Walton, 'that the eel is a most dainty dish; the Romans have esteemed her the *Helena* of their feasts, and some the queen of palate-pleasure.' There are a few exceptions, however, to this general rule. The Jews—excellent cooks and judges of what is good—refuse to eat the eel at this very day, though they are perfectly aware that it has scales.† Amongst the Scotch there is a great antipathy to eels; whence derived we cannot say, unless from

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* 'Œuvres du Comte de Lacépède,' vi. p. 457.

† It is an error to suppose that the Jews are unacquainted with the fact that eels have scales. According to the popular belief, the celebrated Leuwenhoek was the first to record the existence of scales in the integument of the eel. To this observant naturalist probably belongs the merit of having first published the fact to the scientific world of modern Europe; but that the Jews were long before aware of it is evident from a certain narrative in the Talmud (*Abada Sara*, fol. 39, a.), which relates that when Rabbi Aschi came to Tamdoria, some one placed before him an eel-like fish (עלוכוחא, which Rashi explains by אנגיליא, 'anguille'); and that, on his holding it to the light, he noticed some very fine scales, and thereupon did not scruple to partake of its flesh. That the Hebrew word denotes an eel is further evident from the following quotation from the old work *Aruch*—'עלובוחא (ב instead of ם), a fish unclean amongst the Jews, thin, round, and like a serpent, which on account of its slipperiness can only be retained in the hand by being covered with sand or dust.' According to the *Aruch*, the eel bears the same name in Arabic, though a more usual Arabic designation is انكليس or انقليس which is evidently the Greek ἔγχελυς. The modern Jews, doubtless, still object to the eel on account of its snake-like form. See Buxtorf's *Lex. Talm. et Rabbin.* p. 1910; Lewysohn's *Zoologie des Talmuds*, p. 264.

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an objection to their snake-like form.* We have known Englishmen make this objection. To a question in 'Notes and Queries' (Sept. 26, 1863), as to whether the Scotch have any definite reason for their dislike of this fish, the following reply is given:—'It would appear from Partington's "British Cyclopædia," that the Scottish objection to eels as an article of food, is mainly due to their supposed *unwholesomeness*. In the northern part of Britain, in Scotland especially, the prejudice of the people runs very strong, not only against the form of the eel, but against the *quality of its flesh* as an article of food.' And again, 'Eels are held in small estimation in the North; and, even discounting their serpent-form, they are regarded as far from wholesome.' We shall refer by and bye to the supposed unwholesomeness of this fish. We have been told of a Scotch lady who once tasted eel inadvertently, and thought it excellent; but on finding out what it was would eat no more, and has never tasted it since.

To the naturalist the eel is a subject of particular interest, chiefly on account of the difficulty which has hitherto attended the study of its history; and although it is certain that eels are produced after the manner of fish generally, *i. e.*, from deposited ova, much yet remains in obscurity. To this point we must revert again. The difficulty of holding an eel has given rise to many proverbs. 'Every one knows who may have tried the experiment,' happily observes Dr. Badham, whose book we shall have occasion now and then to refer to—'Every one knows that to hold an eel with the naked hand, is as abortive an attempt as detaining a pig by the tail, after it has been well soaped; or, in morals, to hold a knave to his word. Hence the apophthegm,† "Anguilla est, elabitur," "He's an eel, and is off;" but both rogue and eel may be held tight if we set about it in the right way.' The ancient method of retaining an eel was by seizing it with some rough leaf in the hand. The fig-leaf was usually employed: hence the proverb, τῷ θρίῳ τὴν ἔγχελυν, 'an eel with a fig-leaf.' ‡ Alciati has the following epigram upon a captured rogue:—

'Jamdudum

* Hence the Latin *anguilla*, from *anguis*, 'a snake.' Comp. Juvenal, Sat. v. 103. 'Vos anguilla manet longæ cognata colubræ.' Similarly the French, Italian, Spanish words; also the English 'snig' (snake), sometimes used to denote the middle-nosed eel, but often, in a general sense, any eel. '*Eel*,' German and Dutch *aal*, according to Wedgwood, is from the Finnish *iljä*, *iljakka*, 'slimy,' or the Esthonian *illa*, 'slime.'

† Plautus Pseud. II. 4. 57.

‡ According to the 'Hieroglyphica, sive de Sacris Ægyptiorum Commentarii,' of J. P. Valerian Bolzani, Basil, 1755, lib. xxix. De Anguillâ, the fig-leaf was used for this purpose by the ancient Egyptians; for when they wished to denote 'certainty with regard to an uncertain object,' *spes certa re super ambiguâ*, they depicted

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'Jamdudum quocunque fugis te persequor, at nunc
Cassibus in nostris denique captus ades.
Amplius haud poteris vires eludere nostras,
Ficulno anguillam strinximus in folio.'—*Emb.* ed. 1540.

Modern fishermen know how to retain an eel in the naked hand without any extraneous help. There is, however, but one successful mode, viz. to grasp the slippery beast in the middle with the second and third fingers above and the first and fourth below. He is thus held as in a vice. Gesner quotes the Greek proverb, *ἀπ' οὐρᾶς τὴν ἔγχελυν ἔχεις*, 'You've an eel by the tail,' as expressing either a man 'lubrica fide'—'a slippery fellow,' or an object which it is impossible to retain. The same proverb has found its way into German, 'Du hast den aale bei dem Schwanz.' The slippery nature and line-entangling propensities of the eel are often the subject of much merriment. Who does not remember, as depicted by the pencil of John Leech, the disconsolate look of poor Mr. Briggs as he holds up on the end of his fishing-line a whacking Thames eel, that has twisted that said line into the most inextricable conglomeration of worse than Gordian *knots*? Or who can ever forget the scene of the bursting of the aquarium—the conception of the same inimitable artist—and the *vain* efforts of the old lady to pick up her favourite eel with a pair of tongs!

Eels were held in high, and indeed in very absurdly high, repute by the ancients. As to the Egyptians, they paid the eel so great a compliment as to enrol it amongst their gods. Only another fish, if Herodotus is correct, shared this honour with the eel, and that was known by the name of *lepidôtus*, some fish probably of the carp family, and so called from the large size of its scales.* Antiphanes † ridicules the Egyptians for the honour they paid to eels, and contrasts the value of the gods with the high price asked for this fish in the market of Athens. 'In other respects men say that the Egyptians are clever, in that they esteem the eel to be equal to a god; but they are far more valuable than the gods, for we can propitiate them by prayer; but as for eels, we must spend twelve drachmas or more merely to get a smell at them.' And Anaxandrides‡ thus amusingly contrasts the manners

depicted an eel rolled up in a fig-leaf. It is curious to note the correspondence of ideas between the Egyptians and Greeks in this matter of the allegorical meaning of the eel. Bolzani states that the picture of 'an eel held by the tail' denoted 'a man vainly pursuing a fugitive object;' and the representation of a man engaged in catching eels, was meant to typify 'one who was growing rich from civil discord,' such as Cicero represents Catiline and his co-conspirators, when he speaks of them as men 'qui, honores, quos quieta republica desperant, perturbata se consequi posse arbitrantur.' In L. Cat. ii. cap. ix. See further on.

* ii. 72. † Apud Athenæus, vii. 55, ed. Dindorf. ‡ Ibid.

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of the Egyptians with those of his fellow-countrymen. 'I never could associate with you, for neither do our customs nor laws agree with yours, but differ widely. You adore an ox, I sacrifice him to the gods; you esteem an eel as the greatest deity, we think him far the best of fish; you don't eat swine's flesh, I am particularly fond of it; you worship a dog, I beat him if I ever catch him devouring my victuals,' &c.

The ancient Greeks carried their partiality for the eel to a most ridiculous excess; now she is invoked 'as the goddess of pleasure, sometimes as the white armed goddess—and, finally, as the Helen of the dinner-table, because every guest strove, like Paris, to supplant his neighbour, and keep her for himself.'* The eels from the river Strymon and lake of Copais appear to have been those generally most highly prized, though Sicily was also celebrated.† Archestratus,‡ of Syracuse, who appears to have been a sort of ancient Soyer, and who travelled far and wide for the purpose of learning anything that might be useful in the culinary art—whose opinion, therefore, we may be content to take in this question—naturally gives the preference to eels from his own shores. The Greeks, in the time of Aristophanes, used to serve up their eels with beetroot, though sometimes they were boiled in salt and water, with marjoram and other herbs. Eubulus § is quoted as saying,—

'then there came
Those natives of the lake, the holy eels,
Bœotian goddesses, all clothed in beet.'

The ancients sometimes captured eels by means of hooks baited with large worms or small fish. Aristotle‖ mentions a three-pronged spear (*τριόδους*)—probably similar to our common eel-spear—which was used by the Greek fishermen to take the flat-fish (*Pleuronectidæ*) on the sand. He also says that eels in the Strymon were taken at the time of the rising of the Pleiades, when the stormy winds stirred up the mud, and that at other times it was useless to try to obtain them.¶ In modern days

* 'Prose Halieutics,' p. 381.

† The Strymon is the modern Struma or Carasu, which flows through the Lake Prasias (now Takino). The eels that formerly abounded there were doubtless an attraction to the numbers of cranes ('Strymoniæ grues') frequently mentioned by ancient writers. Belon ('Les Observations,' p. 124) speaks of the large size of the eels of the Strymon: 'Les anguilles y sont d'une excessive grandeur.' The Lake Copais (now Topolias) is still famous for its eels. In the dark recesses of the subterraneous channels which form the outlets of the lake eels would find a congenial habitation.

‡ Athenæus, vii. 53, Yonge's translation.

§ Athen. vii. 56. ‖ 'Hist. Anim.' iv. 10, § 4.

¶ 'Historia Animalium,' viii. 4, § 5, ed. Schneider.

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the best time for catching large numbers of eels is after heavy storms and floods. Aristotle gives as a reason for their being caught at these times, that eels having small gills are soon suffocated if the water is muddy. To this point we shall have occasion to allude as we proceed. The following ingenious mode of angling as adopted by the Grecian youth is given by Oppian:—*

> 'With ludicrous device, in slimy bays,
> Some boy the silver volume'd eel betrays;
> A sheep-gut's humid length his hand protends,
> Below the perforated line descends.
> The Fish sucks down the bait with rav'nous joy,
> And gives the tugging signal to the Boy;
> To th' opposite Extream his lips adjoyn,
> And fill with crowded air the rounding Line.
> Swoln with the springy blast the entrail strains,
> And binds the captive's throat with airy chains;
> The imprison'd winds his straitened jaws dilate,
> And fill his heaving breast with bloated fate.
> Panting he rolls, and struggles all in vain,
> A floating captive to the youthful swain.'

Eels were also taken in wicker baskets with narrow necks,† as with the moderns; they were sometimes decoyed into earthenware vessels covered with colander-shaped lids, and baited with bits of cuttle-fish or other tempting morsels;‡ they were kept by the Romans in their fish-ponds (*vivaria*), ready at hand for the table when required. Pliny states that immense numbers of eels used to be taken in the lake Benacus (Lago di Garda), in the territory of Verona,—through which lake the river Mincius flows,—generally in the month of October, when the waters were disturbed, and that masses of more than a thousand in number were often taken by the traps (*excipulis*) placed in the stream. Eels were sometimes caught by stirring up the mud of the ponds and lakes in which they were found;§ hence the Greek proverb, ἐγχέλεις θηρᾶσθαι, 'to fish for eels,' or, as we should say, 'to fish in muddy waters,' with the political meaning of disturbing a state for the sake of gain; thus the sausage seller addresses Cleon, 'Yes, for it is with you as with eel-catchers, when the lake is still they take nothing, but if they stir up the

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* 'Halieutics,' iv. 559, Jones's translation. Ælian ('Nat. Hist.,' xiv. 8) has described a similar mode of catching eels. The modern method of 'bobbing with a bunch of grubs strung on worsted,' if not so ingenious, is doubtless more successful.

† Nassis. 'Nassa est piscatorii vasi genus, quo cum intravit piscis, exire non potest.'—Festus, s. v.

‡ 'Hist. Anim.' iv. 8, § 12.

§ Aristoph., 'Nub.,' 559.

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mud they have good sport; so have you when you disturb the state.'*

It is well known that the mode of procreation of eels has for ages been a puzzling question; and there is still something wanted to complete our knowledge of the general subject. Aristotle, after asserting that eels are not produced from ova, or, as some persons have stated, from the metamorphosis of intestinal worms into young eels, goes on to tell us what he conceives to be the true mode of generation. 'They are produced from what are called the entrails of the earth (*ἐκ τῶν καλουμένων γῆς ἐντέρων*), which exist spontaneously in mud and wet earth. Some have been observed to make their escape from these things, and others have been apparent in them on being dissected. Such things are produced in the sea, and in rivers where is much putrefaction, in such places in the sea which abound in sea-weed, and in rivers and lakes near the banks where the heat of the sun engenders putrefaction.'† Aristotle believed that there was no difference of sex in the eel, but that the so-called male and female were different species. He speaks correctly, however, of its migrating to the sea, of its nocturnal habits, of its dislike to very cold, and its love of pure fresh water.‡ Pliny's notion was as absurd as that of Aristotle as to the origin of eels. 'They rub themselves against rocks, and their scrapings come to life. Nor have they any other mode of propagation.'§

Other ancient writers were of opinion that eels originated in the carcases of dead horses (as Virgil supposed bees were produced from the dead body of an ox). Curiously enough, Gesner sees no improbability in the above solution of the difficulty, but thinks that other carcases besides those of horses may engender eels.‖ And yet he does also give the true account when he says that the sexes are plainly to be distinguished.¶ It is remarkable,

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* *ὅπερ γὰρ οἱ τὰς ἐγχέλεις θηρώμενοι πέπονθας.*
ὅταν μὲν ἡ λίμνη καταστῇ, λαμβάνουσιν οὐδέν·
ἐὰν δ' ἄνω τε καὶ κάτω τὸν βόρβορον κυκῶσιν
αἱροῦσι· καὶ σὺ λαμβάνεις, ἣν τὴν πόλιν ταράττῃς.—*Eq.* 864.

† 'Hist. Anim.' vi. 15, § 2. ‡ 'Hist. Anim.' vi. 13, § 7; viii. 4, § 5, 6.

§ 'Nat. Hist.' ix. 50. Oppian's theory will be found at Hal. i. 849.

‖ 'In putredine gignitur Anguilla ut vermes in terra, id quod experientia compertum fuit. Aliquando enim equo mortuo in Magalonæ stagnum injecto, paullo post innumerabiles Anguillæ illic visæ sunt, quod ego ita accipio ut non ex equi tantum, sed etiam ex aliorum animalium cadaveribus generentur.'—'De Aquatilibus,' iii. p. 40, C.

¶ 'Vidi equidem Anguillas mutuo corporum complexu coëuntes, neque puto partibus ad gignendum necessariis prorsus destitutas esse: inferiore enim ventris parte et vulva in fœminis et semen in maribus reperitur: sed pinguitudine multa circumfusæ hæ partes non apparent, quemadmodum neque ova pinguitudine permista.'—Ibid., p. 42, D.

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therefore, that Gesner should have had recourse to the 'spontaneous production' theory; but we must remember that in his time this was a popular creed; and even this learned writer was not free from the fallacies of his age. Helmont gives the following recipe for obtaining young eels:—'Cut up two turfs covered with May-dew, and lay one upon the other, the grassy sides inwards, and thus expose them to the heat of the sun; in a few hours there will spring from them an infinite quantity of eels.' Some writers, as Schwenckfeld and Schoneveld, appear to have mistaken parasitic leeches and Gordian worms for the young of the eel. Chopped horse-hair, thrown into the water, was deemed a certain method of obtaining eels; this opinion we have found to prevail amongst the uneducated classes to this day in some of the midland counties.* It is remarkable that even Walton seems to have imbibed contentedly the popular notions of his day, 'That eels may be bred as some worms, and some kind of bees and wasps are, seems to be made probable by the barnacles and young goslings bred by the sun's heat and the rotten planks of an old ship, and hatched of trees.'† (p. 281.)

In another place Walton affirms his belief in the notion that pike were sometimes produced from pickerel weed (p. 230). Such superstitions find a place in the 'Piscatory Eclogues.'

> 'Say, canst thou tell how worms of moisture breed,
> Or pike are gendered of the pickrel-weed?
> How carp without the parent seed renew,
> Or slimy eels are form'd of genial dew?'

The opinion that eels are viviparous, though quite free from the absurdity that characterises the notions we have already mentioned, is unquestionably erroneous. It is not a little remarkable that the anatomy of the fish should not have been earlier ascertained. 'Who can say,' writes Dr. Badham as late as 1854, 'that they have taken a female in roe, or tasted a male's milt?' If you ask a fishmonger whether he has ever seen the spawn of an eel, he will think you are joking with him, and will probably consider 'eel's spawn' to be nearly analogous to 'a mare's nest,' or 'pigeons' milk!'

C. U. Ekström says, 'I have never found roe in the body of the eel, but I nevertheless believe that it is through the deposit of eggs that the fish propagates its species.' There can be little doubt that the belief in the viviparous nature of the eel may be

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* We have been informed that the same mode of accounting for the origin of eels exists amongst the unlearned in Scotland.

† See the well-known plate of the goose tree, barnacle tree, or the tree bearing geese, in Gerard's 'Herbal,' last plate.

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traced to the fact of the presence of intestinal worms in the stomach and intestines. These worms, several kinds of which are described by Diesing * as inhabiting the genus *Anguilla*, have been ignorantly taken for young eels.

But although the oviparous nature of the eel is established beyond a shadow of doubt, and the anatomy of the fish clearly ascertained, still we have by no means all the information we require on the general question.† That eels descend rivers to the sea for the sake of depositing their spawn in the brackish water of estuaries where the increased temperature of the water is favourable to their habits,‡ has been long known. Aristotle alludes to the fact, and divers observers in modern times have recorded it. But do these eels ever again ascend the rivers, or do they remain in the sea and estuaries? At what season of the year are the eggs deposited? Is it *necessary* that eels should descend to the sea for spawning, or do they propagate their species in ponds and fresh water?

Before we remark on these questions, we should state that there are three species of eel indigenous to the British Isles, viz., the sharp-nosed (*Anguilla acutirostris*), the blunt-nosed (*A. latirostris*), and the middle-nosed (*A. mediorostris*). The commonest of these is the sharp-nose; the blunt-nose is widely distributed, but does not appear to be nearly so abundant; it is probably the 'frog-mouthed eel' of the Severn fishermen; it is described as being a fiercer and more voracious fish than the other two, dashing at and seizing its prey as a terrier does a rat, and filthy in the extreme in the nature of its food.' § It seldom exceeds 5 lbs. in weight. Mr. Francis, whose name is well known in connection with the new Art of Pisciculture, describes the blunt-nose as 'a coarse worthless fish.' We have never tried the flesh of the Blunt-nosed eel, but a friend who has tasted him, gives him a shocking character, describing his eelship as a person of very offensive odour before he is cooked, and of extremely unpleasant flavour afterwards. Surely it was Blunt-nose that fattened on the body of Asteropæus.

> 'When roll'd between the banks, it lay the food
> Of curling eels and fishes of the flood.'—*Iliad*, xxi. 221. ‖

* 'Systema Helminthum,' ii. p. 389.

† See on this subject Yarrell's 'British Fishes,' ii. p. 388, 2nd edit., and the inaugural thesis of Hohnbaum-Hornschuch, quoted at the head of this article.

‡ 'The mixed water is shown by experiment to maintain a temperature two degrees higher than the pure sea or fresh water, from the combination of the fluids of different densities.'

§ The 'Angler-Naturalist,' p. 398.

‖ See the 'Ingoldsby Legends'—'The Knight and the Lady,' p. 478, ed. 1862.

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According to an authority quoted by Mr. Cholmondely Pennell in his very entertaining work ('The Angler-Naturalist'),* the broad-nosed eel does not migrate. The same writer states that the contractors for the fishery of the Toome 'expressly stipulate that they will not take a single broad-nosed eel,' but always throw them aside. The third kind of eel is generally supposed to be local in its habits. It is not improbable, we think, that it may be more generally distributed than is supposed. We have seen a specimen taken in Shropshire, but the distinctive characters of this species are not apparent until after dissection; hence it may often be confused with the sharp-nosed kind.† The specific term of medium-sized nose, as applied to this third kind, cannot by itself be depended upon as a means to determine the species. The sharp-nosed eel varies considerably in the breadth of its muzzle. The only decisive test is the absence of spinous processes in the cervical vertebra of the so-called *Mediorostris*.

With regard to the question whether the eels that have descended to the sea from the lakes and rivers return again, or whether they remain in the brackish estuaries, we cannot give any decided opinion. Many persons have witnessed the ascent of countless thousands of young eels or elvers from the estuaries and the sea, and no one, we believe, has ever seen adult eels accompanying the elvers, or journeying by themselves. Yarrell says that the return of adult eels is shown by the habits and success of the basket-fishermen in rivers within the tide way, who place the mouths of their eel-pots up stream in autumn, and down stream in the spring. The question must still be regarded as problematic. Another difficult matter to determine is the time of the deposition of the ova. From some notes kindly put into our hands by Mr. Jonathan Couch, it would appear that eels breed almost throughout the year. Young eels of very small size, we are informed, have been found on the sea-beach of Polperro, in Cornwall, so early in the year as the beginning of January. Early in March Mr. Couch has seen them migrating in immense numbers up the river near his house, and 'from this date,' he adds, 'the passage is incessant during the summer, and continues during part of the autumn.' Mr. Couch sent us a little elver, about 2½ inches long, on the 5th of September last, and he

* We have pleasure in recommending Mr. Pennell's Manual, which contains much interesting matter, written in an agreeable manner, and published in a commodious form. There are a few physiological errors, here and there, which the Author, we hope, will rectify, should another edition of his book be called for.

† The middle-nosed species is said to rove and feed during the day.

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tells us that all that have passed upward from the beginning of the year are of the same size. 'From microscopic examination of the ova embedded in the ovaria,' the same writer observes, 'I found the grains of very different size, as if the shedding them must require a long time, which is proved by the unremitting passage upwards of the young eels for many months.' The ova are scattered in the mud, and Mr. Couch concludes that the spawn for the most part is deposited in the harbour, near low-water mark, by eels which lodge in the hollows of the stonework of the piers; but where there is no shelter, the eels are sometimes known to enter rivulets.

That eels breed in ponds from which there is no communication to the sea hardly admits of a doubt. The following remark of Mr. Young, published in the 'Angler-Naturalist,' clearly proves that eels do not *always* deposit their spawn in tidal water:—

'The rivers in Scotland,' he says, 'were very low in the month of July, and I watched the motions of the eels in swarms (as I thought spawning) on the sand and gravel-banks in the river Shin. I should have mentioned this circumstance to you while here, had I not wished to be more certain; but in October last, I got a few men and made them dig out one of the gravel-banks where I had observed the eels all together, and found it alive with young eels, some of them scarcely hatched, at the depth of from six to fifteen inches.'

Other observers have, from time to time, written in confirmation of this opinion; and we have ourselves lately examined a pond, the owner of which informed us that several years ago he mudded it, and then put a few eels into it: that these eels bred there is certain, for some years afterwards the pond was found to be pretty well stocked with eels of different sizes; and the nature of the ground is such that it would have been impossible for any eels—making all reasonable allowance for their powers of travelling over land—to have gained admission to it from streams which had no communication whatever with the pond itself.*

It is a most interesting spectacle to see the migration of the young eels from the sea, and wonderful are the instinctive efforts of these little creatures to surmount obstacles that would at first view appear to present unconquerable difficulties. Mr. Anderson, upwards of a century ago, described the young eels as ascending the upright posts and gates of the waterworks at Norwich until

* We must, however, observe that we have never seen nor heard of the occurrence of elvers two or three inches long in a pond to which there was no communication to any rivers. As young elvers are diurnal in their habits, this is remarkable.

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they came into the dam above. Ballyshannon is a very favourable place for the study of this curious subject, as we are informed by Dr. Davy, who makes the following interesting remarks on eels ascending rocks:—

'Amicus. This is indeed a curious sight. Here are some [eels] wriggling up a perpendicular rock. How is it they accomplish this?

'Piscator. I believe they are able to accomplish it chiefly owing to two circumstances—their mucous glutinous surface favouring adhesion, and their form small and slender. None of these eels, you perceive, are more than two or three inches long, and slender in proportion. Watch one that is now in progress, ascending that perpendicular rock. See how it makes its tail a support, adhering by that, whilst it projects itself upwards; and this done, now adhering by its trunk, it draws its tail after it. These are its steps, and the asperities of the surface of the rock are its stairs favouring its exertions.'

Sir Humphry Davy, the celebrated author of 'Salmonia,' and brother of the physiologist whose words we have just quoted, was a witness of the ascent of these elvers at Ballyshannon, at the end of July, 1823. He speaks of the mouth of the river under the fall being

'blackened by millions of little eels about as long as the finger, which were constantly urging their way up the moist rock by the side of the fall.' 'Thousands,' he adds, 'died, but their bodies, remaining *moist*, served as the ladder for others to make their way; and I saw some ascending even perpendicular stones, making their road through wet moss, or adhering to some eels that had died in the attempt. Such is the energy of these little animals that they continue to find their way in immense numbers to Loch Erne. The same thing happens at the fall of the Baun, and Loch Neagh is thus peopled by them. Even the mighty Fall of Schaffhausen does not prevent them from making their way to the Lake of Constance, where I have seen many very large eels.'

That young eels do ascend waterfalls in the manner described by so close an observer and philosopher as Dr. John Davy cannot be doubted: it is probable, however, that their ordinary method of climbing perpendicular obstructions is by *worming* themselves up through the overhanging dripping moss that covers the rocks. There would be no very great difficulty in 'such a getting up stairs.' Mr. Couch, who has repeatedly watched the ascent up a fall of four or five feet in a stream near his own house at Polperro, has never seen a young eel successful in its efforts to climb a moderately dry rock: 'if they advance on a dry portion, their course is arrested; and after many endeavours and frequent restings they were compelled to retreat and seek a moister spot.'

After the little eels have gained the summit of the fall, they rest

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rest for a while with their heads protruded into the stream. They then urge themselves forward, taking advantage of every projecting stone or slack water, and never get carried back by the current. Falls 20 feet high are not insuperable barriers to these persevering little creatures. Although, as we have already seen, this migration of young eels continues throughout the greater portion of the year, yet it would appear that the spring and early summer are the seasons when they ascend in the greatest numbers. In some rivers, as in the Thames and Severn, this migration is termed eel-fare, of which the word *elver* is, perhaps, a corruption. They often associate in the form of long ropes in their upward migration: at other times they proceed in a promiscuous manner; every now and then diving under the sand, or resting under the shelter of a stone; always, we have observed, keeping near the sides where the stream presents fewer difficulties of ascent. Young eels have been observed at sea four or five leagues from the land: of the myriads that ascend our rivers few, comparatively speaking, ever arrive at eelhood: the young tender morsels are devoured by numerous enemies, the adult eels being amongst the number. In some salmon rivers, Mr. Francis states that he has seen the lower pools in a perfect boil with the constant rising of the fish as the small eels wriggle along the top of the water; so that the salmon, if the larger eels be destructive to their fry, exact summary vengeance. But man, as usual, is their greatest enemy. Mr. Couch tells us that one of the Cornish fishermen, when at Exeter some years ago, saw 'four carts loaded with little eels, not larger than a knitting-needle, for sale, and on making inquiry was informed that the people fried them into cakes'! Elver-cakes consist of a number of these young eels, which, after being scoured and boiled, are pressed into flat masses: they are said to present a peculiar appearance, from the number of little black eyes that bespangle them, and to be delicious food. In France these little eels are given to the ducks and poultry, and even share the same fate as sticklebacks do on some parts of our coast, being carted away for manure.

Mr. Frank Buckland writes as follows in the 'Field' newspaper of June 6, 1863:—

'Some time since I received, through the kindness of a friend, four cakes composed entirely of young eels. These eels, or eelvers, came to Langport (on the river Parrett) with the first flood-tide in March. They are about three or four inches long, and came in a continued shoal about eighteen inches wide, without cessation for some days, always against the stream, and close to the left bank. The women catch them at night by means of a canvass bag, attached to a hoop at the end of a long stick, to which a lantern is fixed. Occasionally a larger one is seen

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seen amongst them, of a dark colour, and almost black. They are thrown into a tub of salt, which cleanses them; they are then boiled, and pressed into cakes, which are cut into slices and fried, making the most delicious food. Sometimes they are so abundant that the people about get tired of eating them, and actually feed the pigs with them. Here there is a branch of fish-culture, which, I am sure, Mr. Francis will agree with me ought decidedly not to be neglected; and that these little eels, which in a short time would increase their weight, and therefore their value a thousand-fold, should be looked after and not suffered to be lost to the resources of the country.'

Eel-fare, once a striking and remarkable sight in the Thames, no longer exists on account of the filthy water about London, in which it has been proved that eels cannot live any length of time. Mr. Francis has little doubt that when the Thames is once more purified 'eel-fare' will in time again recur to it.

Whether these myriads of young eels belong to the sharp-nosed species alone, or, as is more probable, to at least two British species, is uncertain. We have occasionally taken small transparent specimens—the majority are dark olive, sometimes almost black—in which the action of the heart and gills is plainly visible. Mr. Couch thinks this transparent eel may be a different species, and states he has never observed it in companies. According to our own experience, however, these light-coloured eels are gregarious, and occur in company with the darker specimens. We have never succeeded in keeping young eels of two or three inches long beyond the space of a few weeks in confinement; they are delicate little fellows, and, though they twist about with lively emotion, are doubtless not 'as merry as grigs.' It is impossible to obtain a better subject than a young transparent eel for the examination of the lymphatic pulse at the end of the tail, first described by the late Dr. Marshall Hall.

Eels are pre-eminently nocturnal animals and fond of the dark. Towards evening the juvenile sniggler knows that he has the best chance of success. They always congregate at the darkest places of the stews in which they are kept, and invariably select the darkest nights for their autumnal migration to the sea. They will not start on their journey on moonlight nights; the darker and the more stormy the night, the better for a voyage. Millers are well aware of this fact, and take care to set their traps accordingly, when they are sure of a large catch. Eels are unable to endure very severe cold, unless there is plenty of mud or sand in which they can hide themselves; if kept in artificial stews without this necessary essential, they will, in frosty weather, grow quickly thin and die in a few days. Eels generally lie buried in the mud during the winter, but, if the weather prove mild

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mild and there is abundance of rain, they will leave their holes and proceed with the floods on their migrations. The mild winter of 1861, we are informed by a miller in our own neighbourhood, who takes many hundred-weight in the course of the twelve months, was favourable to the capture of eels. In December of that year half a ton was taken after a flood, and continuously to March, 1862, captures were made each month. Eels will not start on their migrations unless after a flood, or at any rate without a flush of water. From November, 1862, to June, 1863, not an eel was taken in the traps, the weather having been remarkably dry. The instinct of the eels doubtless causes them to wait for a flush of water to carry them down quickly to the salt water. In that curious old work by Juliana Berners, the following notice of the eel occurs:—

'The Ele is a quaysy (quasi?) Fysshe. A ravenour and devourer of the brode of Fysshe, and the Pike also is a devourer of Fysshe. I put them bothe behinde al other for to angle. For this Ele ye shall finde an hole in the grounde of water, and it is blew and blackyshe. There put in your hooke till that it be a foote within the hole, and your bayte shall be a great anglet witch or a menowe.'*

As to the instinct and general intelligence of the eel, we cannot regard M. Lacépède's notions as much exaggerated. Eels are capable of domestication, and if their affection is of the nature of cupboard love, the same is true of all other species of fish that have been tamed:—

'In Otaheite,' says Ellis,† 'eels are fed until they attain an enormous size. These pets are kept in large holes two or three feet deep, partially filled with water. On the sides of these pits they generally remained, excepting when called by the person who fed them. I have been several times with the young chief, when he has sat down by the side of the hole, and by giving a shrill sort of whistle, has brought out an enormous eel, which has moved about the surface of the water and eaten with confidence out of his master's hand.'

We have another account of some tame eels given by Sir W. C. Trevelyan, of which the following is the substance:—

'Some eels had been kept for nine or ten years in a walled garden at Craigo, the seat of David Carnegie, Esq. During the cold of winter they lay torpid, unless on bright days, when they came out of their hiding-places; but they would not take food before the 26th of April, and then they ate sparingly until the warm weather, when they became quite insatiable. When they were first put into the pond and had no food given them they devoured one another. They

* 'Treatyse on Fyssynge.'
† 'Polynesian Researches,' ii. p. 286.

generally

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generally kept quiet at the bottom of the pond, except when any of the family went to look into it, when they invariably rose to the surface, sometimes for food, and at others merely to play with the hand, or take the fingers into their mouths.'

The ancients appear to have been well acquainted with the art of taming fish; the sacred eel of the fount of Arethusa would feed from the hand (Aelian, N. A. viii. 4.) It was sacrilege to fish in sacred fish-ponds. See Martial's pretty Epigram—

'*Ad Piscatorem.*

'Baiano procul a lacu monemus,
Piscator, fuge, ne nocens recedas.
Sacris piscibus hæ natantur undæ,
Qui norunt Dominum, manumque lambunt
Illam, qua nihil est in orbe majus:
Quid, quod nomen habent et ad magistri
Vocem quisque sui venit citatus?
Hoc quodam Libys impius profundo,
Dum prædam calamo tremente ducit.
Raptis luminibus repente cœcus
Captum non potuit videre piscem:
Et nunc sacrilegos perosus hamos,
Baianos sedet ad lacus rogator:
At tu, dum potes, innocens recede,
Jactis simplicibus cibis in undas,
Et pisces venerare dedicatos.' *

Eels have the power of living a long time out of the water, if the air is humid; this they are enabled to do on account of the smallness of the gill aperture, the membranous folds of which by closing the orifice when the eel is out of the water prevent the desiccation of the branchiæ. Sometimes in their peregrinations overland they are overtaken by the rays of a warm sun, when they speedily die. They have been taken in gardens, on hooks baited for birds; and some authors have left it on record that they actually steal newly-sown peas!

Every sniggler knows that a sharp rap on the tail of an eel is attended with satisfactory results to himself and with unpleasant consequences to the fish, which is immediately quieted by the operation. This, some say, is by reason of the injury done to the lymphatic heart or caudal pulse, as before referred to.† Eels, as everybody knows, are extremely tenacious of life. Yarrell states 'that eels exposed on the ground till frozen, then buried in

* Lib. iv. Ep. xxx.

† But is it not more probable that the effect is due to concussion of the spine? The stoppage of the lymphatic heart could scarcely be followed by so immediate a result.

snow,

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snow, and at the end of four days put into water, and so thawed slowly, discovered gradually signs of life, and soon perfectly recovered.' Such a power of endurance as this, however, must be exceptional; for, as a rule, eels are not able to survive a hard frost unless they are embedded in their mud-holes. It may also be satisfactory to know that the stories which the shuddering cook can often tell of cut-up lengths of eel jumping out of the 'frying-pan into the fire' have in them only an appearance of horror. After the head is severed from the body, it is clear that there can be no sense of feeling properly so called; the life-like signs exhibited are accounted for by the high degree of irritability of the muscular fibre. Very curious stories have been told of the power of the eel to survive under peculiar conditions.*

Eels have many enemies: otters, polecats, rats, various water-birds, such as herons and swans, occasionally make them their prey, not to mention the rapacious pike and the salmon, which latter fish is, as we have seen, partial to elvers. The rats and polecats make their attacks in the winter when the eels are dormant.†

In a letter in the 'Zoologist' for 1846 upon this subject, Mr. Banister says:—

'We have polecats abundant in Pilling during the whole year; and in the winter season, when the water in the ditches in the main drains is chiefly congealed, and more especially when the ice is covered with snow, the footprints of the polecat may be traced on the ice, and the most indubitable evidence is thus afforded of its predilection for fish. Under such circumstances I have repeatedly ascertained that this animal is a most expert fisherman, for in severe and long-continued frosts many eels ascend our open drains, and as these water-courses are most slightly frozen over near the springs, the polecats, either by instinct or experience, discover the retreat of the eels. In tracing the footprints of the polecat it will soon be ascertained that he halts at every hole or opening he meets with in the ice, and at once commences fishing, by introducing a fore-foot into the water, and, no doubt, groping all around under the ice as far as he can reach in search of such eels as may have come to the aperture for air. That he uses his fore-paws in this manner is distinctly proved by his dirty footprints afterwards in the snow. It is also an admitted fact in the natural history of the eel, that it cannot exist without air. The polecats then, aware, either from instinct or habit, of this propensity of eels to assemble round any aperture in the ice for the benefit of

* Gesner says—'Phalacrocorax anguillas integras vorat, quod Anglus quidam nobis retulit; illæ mox per intestina elapsæ, denuo devorantur, idque vel novies aliquando repetitur, prius quam debilitata tandem retineatur.'—De Aquat., p. 45 D. And see 'Prose Halieutics,' p. 389.

† See 'The Angler-Naturalist,' p. 381.

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the air, invariably search for them at every opening they meet with; and in tracing their footprints in the snow, as above described, it will frequently be discovered that eels have been dragged from under the ice by these wily fishermen, and either devoured on the surface or carried to their dens to satisfy their hunger at some future opportunity.'

Every naturalist has observed the peculiar denticulation on the inside of the middle claw of the common heron: it is very probable, as Lacépède observes, that the bird drives this claw into the body of the eel, and so renders ineffectual all its efforts to slip from its grasp. The heron, doubtless, occasionally finds a large eel an 'awkward customer;' and he frequently has to come out of the water on to the land, so as to be able to deal his slippery friend stronger and better directed blows. Yarrell relates, and gives a spirited vignette of the circumstance, that a heron had once struck his sharp beak through the head of an eel, piercing both eyes, and that the eel—no doubt remembering that one good turn deserves another—had coiled itself so tightly round the neck of the heron as to stop the bird's respiration; both were dead.

That eels are not devoid of sagacity is proved by many well-attested anecdotes: they are said to form themselves into companies for hunting, and by partly encircling a shoal of small fish, drive them to the shore, where they are more readily caught and devoured. Mr. Jesse states that he has observed this fact in the canal in Hampton-court Park. Eels are not particular in their choice of food: young-water-fowl, fish of all kinds, worms, spawn, insects, crustacea, &c., form their staple articles of diet. They appear, however, to vary their dinners with occasional nibbles at fresh-water plants. In warm weather they are often to be seen coiled round an aquatic plant in a vertical position; for what purpose they do this we have been unable to discover. In the winter time eels are often found knotted together in large masses. This fact was known to Pliny. It is probable that they congregate for the sake of ensuring warmth.*

Eels are of great commercial value; and there seems to be no reason why eel-culture, if attempted in the British isles, should not be attended with satisfactory pecuniary results. Incalculable numbers are annually destroyed, as they ascend our rivers: it is a pity these young elvers are not protected. Of course, in rivers which are favourable to the increase of salmon and trout the presence of large quantities of devouring eels is anything but desirable; but their multiplication in our sluggish rivers, which contain either such fish as are able to take care of themselves or

* See Lacépède, vi. p. 481.

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such as are, comparatively speaking, worthless, is a matter worth consideration.

The London market is principally supplied with eels from Holland, a country where they abound. According to an estimate made by Mr. Mayhew, no fewer than 9,797,760 eels are annually sold in Billingsgate market, amounting to a weight of 1,505,280 lbs., one-fourth of which is sold by the costermongers. Mr. Mayhew thus graphically describes a visit to the Dutch eel-boats with their bulging polished oak sides :—

'I went to the shore where the watermen ply for passengers to the eel-boats; they were surrounded by skiffs that ply from the Surrey and Middlesex shores and wait whilst the fares buy their fish. The holds of these eel-boats are fitted up with long tanks of muddy water, and the heads of the eels are seen breathing on the surface, a thick brown bubble rising slowly and floating to the sides. Wooden sabots and large porcelain pipes are ranged round the ledges, and men in tall fur caps, with high cheek-bones and rings in their ears, walk the decks. At the stern of one boat was moored a coffin-shaped barge pierced with holes, and hanging in the water were baskets, shaped like olive-jars, both to keep the stock of fish alive and fresh. In the centre of the boat stood the scales, a tall, heavy apparatus, one side fitted up with the conical net-bag to hold the eels, and the other with the weights, and pieces of stone to make up for the extra draught of the water hanging about the fish. When a skiff-load of purchasers arrives, the master Dutchman takes his hands from his pockets, lays down his pipe, and seizing a sort of long-handled landing-net, scoops from the tank a lot of eels. The purchasers examine them, and try to beat down the price. "You calls them eels, do you?" said a man with his bag ready opened. "Yeas," answered the Dutchman, without any show of indignation. "Certainly there is a few among them," continued the customer; and after a little more of this kind of chaffering the bargain is struck.'*

But although London is chiefly supplied with eels from Holland, we must not suppose there are no valuable eeleries in the British isles. There is a large eel-fishery at Toome, on the lower Bann, where from fifty to sixty tons of eels are annually caught in the migrating season. 'As many as 70,000 eels,' we are told, have been taken at this place in one night, all of the sharp-nosed species, with the slight exception of, perhaps, a dozen broad noses, that have been accidentally mixed up with the shoal.

'On one night in 1842,' observes Mr. Pinkerton, 'when I visited the Toome fishery, there were caught, in round numbers, 11,000 eels. Now, as the persons who purchase the produce of a season's fishing

* 'London Labour and London Poor,' vol. i. p. 66.

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by contract expressly stipulate that they will not take a single broad-nosed eel, every eel—with a dexterity of eye and hand worthy of a Robin or a Frikel, and only acquired by long practice—is carefully counted, and all broad-nosed ones thrown aside. And on this occasion there were only three broad-noses in the whole number.'

There is also an extensive eel-fishery on the Erne. That eels were formerly in high repute in England seems clear from the fact that certain places take their names from them. Ely, according to one derivation, has its name from the eel, the rents being formerly paid in this fish; the lords of the manors, it is said, being annually entitled to more than 100,000. Elmore and Ellesmere are said to have the same derivation.

But the most celebrated place in modern times for the excellence and abundance of its eels, is, perhaps, the lake of Comacchio, near Venice. M. Coste has lately drawn the attention of those interested in fish-culture to the satisfactory result that would attend the artificial production of eels.* He states that a series of researches, whose results have been verified by a number of proprietors, go to show that young eels, about 7 millemètres long, if placed in reservoirs with plenty of food, will attain the weight of four, five, or six pounds in the course of four or five years. A pound weight of elvers, composed of about 1800 in number, will at this rate produce 3000 kilogrammes of eels; and he adduces in support of his calculation the numbers really taken in the lake of Comacchio. At the price at which in the actual state of things eels are sold in the French markets, 3000 kilogrammes represent no less a sum than from ten to twelve thousand francs. A large and profitable business, it appears, is at present transacted by the proprietors of the eel-fisheries of Comacchio. The fishermen and men engaged in the business-offices give these fish different names according to their size. The eels, doubtless, for the most part, belong to the sharp-nosed species, but the different names are useful in commercial transactions, as expressing the value of the different categories.

'M. Baroni,' M. Coste adds, 'has had the happy idea of excavating a special pond arranged as a labyrinth, which offers in its course cisterns more or less deep, where the fish descend to shelter themselves from the severe frosts or excessive heats. This pond is destined to receive the late hatches, the gleanings of the produce from the shores of the Adriatic or from the mouths of rivers. The young, about a centimètre in length, are caught in canvas nets, and then brought to the vivarium, where they leave them a whole year. It is, therefore,

* 'Voyage d'Exploration sur le Littoral de la France et de l'Italie,' pp. 49-51.

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therefore, quite possible during this period to follow their successive growth, and to measure and weigh them daily, weekly, and monthly.'

M. Coste continues to say, that, having a complete series in his collection, he has been able to show that this kind of fish is one of those of which the culture may furnish the greatest profits, not only on account of its multiplication, but because its development is sufficiently rapid for it to become an object of annual revenue.

These eels from Comacchio, which are said to grow to a large size, and to be of the most delicate flavour, are sent to all parts of Italy, sometimes alive, more commonly chopped in pieces, grilled and preserved in a pickle of salt and vinegar, shrouded in bay leaves, and served out to customers on the point of a porcupine's quill.

We cannot resist quoting the following graphic account of 'All-eel-day' at Naples on Christmas Eve, written by one who was a witness to the scene. It would appear that eels are as necessary to the good people of Naples on Christmas Eve as hot cross-buns are to Englishmen on Good Friday, or pancakes on Shrove Tuesday :—

'Nothing can exceed the bustle and noise of the streets to-day (Christmas-Eve). All the way up the Toledo is one vast scene of excitement; the beggars whine for alms in stronger accents; the cries of itinerant salesmen are perfectly terrific; the vociferation of buyers who will not be sold, and of sellers who will not be bought, rise high above the shrilling of children, the lashing of whips, the yelling of dogs, the chaunting of processions, the bursting of petards, the rolling of drums, and the crashing of wheels. The battle of hard bargain is fought with spirit to-day, and the subject of contention is—eels. Every favourite Italian bon-bon, frittoura and dolce is on sale as well; but these certainly form the staple commodity, and carry off all the honours of the day, holding the same place in the affections of the lazzarone, and being as indispensable a standing dish for his Christmas as roast beef and plum-pudding are to an Englishman, or hard-boiled eggs over Romanized Europe at Easter. Men with their ears bored and adorned as well as each greasy hand with huge gold rings, vociferate fiercely as they slice with large long knives unsightly pastes, called "rustici e dolci"—messes composed of flour and rancid grease, into which is stuck a heterogeneous collection of unsavoury sweet and sour confectionaries. Fruit-stalls are in great muster, their keepers expecting now to dispose of commodities that have hung some time on hand. Not a skewer of baked pears, not an orange on sweet or bitter principles, not a string of rosy tomatos, nor bunch of blushing service-apples can be spared from the gay-gilt booths on this grand occasion. Fish-stalls, however, everywhere predominate; here giant lobsters expand and flap their fan-like tails, and bound off the board as if they

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already felt the hot water. Thousands of "uongli," piles of "frutti di mare," and every other species of bivalve, with fish of all shapes and hues, familiar to him who has studied the fresco and mosaic "coquillages" on the walls and in the floors of the houses of Pompeii, lie in confused heaps upon the street-flags; but the predominating delicacy, the fish most in request, is, as we have said, eels. This is indeed "All-eel-day." Not a biped of our race in Naples but hopes to eat them in some fashion or other. The very paupers consider it hard if no friendly Christian furnish them with the means of procuring a taste at least of "capitoni," though these expensive luxuries fetch not less than six carlini a rotolo, or about a shilling a pound. The dispensers of the delicacy occupy either side of the Toledo from end to end, and there display the curling, twisting, snake-like forms of their slippery merchandise in every possible pose, and under every variety of suffering; some, suspended over the booths, wriggle round the poles to which they are attached; others, half-flayed to demonstrate the whiteness of the flesh, undulate their slimy coils by thousands in large open hampers; and while some are swimming, but in vain, for their lives in wooden troughs of cold water, others are fizzing and sputtering in the midst of hot grease, in huge frying-pans, over the fire. Customers are incessant in their demands, and every man, woman, and child carries home eels, cooked or uncooked, for breakfast, dinner, supper, and many an intermediate meal besides. Surely every stranger, though no enemy to eels, must dream of them to-night, and wriggle uneasily in bed for a week to come after merely passing down the street; while every Scotchman who shall chance to find himself in the midst of such a scene, will learn doubly to hate and recoil from a Church which sanctions such an abomination as food!' *

As to the question of the wholesomeness of eel's flesh, there can be no doubt that, owing to the large amount of rich fatty matter which it contains, it is not a diet suited to the stomach of a man of weak digestion, unless eaten in very small quantities. We confine this observation to the flesh of a clean-fed, sharp-nosed, or middle-nosed eel; drain-fed individuals of either species, as well as the offensive broad-nose, are likely to agree with none but very coarse feeders indeed. It was not the fault of the lampreys that King Henry died, it was his own fault for eating too much. And although we cannot acquiesce in old Galen's expostulation with the gods for giving eels so delicious a taste and so malignant and dangerous an operation, we must not forget the remark of Fuller, 'Grant them never so good, excess is a venomous sting in the most wholesome flesh, fish and fowl.' However, be this as it may, 'the proof of the pudding is in the eating;' and it is certain that hot eels are a most wholesome and nutritive food to the London poor. 'Hot eels' form an important street luxury;

* 'Prose Halieutics,' pp. 385-387.

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and Mr. Mayhew * has given a minute and interesting account of the trade.

The price of eels purchased for this trade at Billingsgate, amounts to the sum of 12,102*l.* annually.

The skin of the eel is remarkably tough. In the times of the ancient Romans it was used to whip naughty boys, who were thus exempt from the infliction of any pecuniary fine, having been mulcted, not in coin, but in their own skin! † A similar use of eel-skin prevailed in the sixteenth century, as appears from the following quotation from Rabelais:—'Whereupon his master gave him such a sound lash with an eel-skin, that his own skin would have been worth nothing to make Bag-pipe bags of.' ‡

Eel-skin is the object of a small trade in some cities. In Tartary it is used, after having been oiled, as a substitute for window-glass. It is supposed by the poor to be a good remedy for cramp or rheumatism, and we have often spoken with poor persons who attach great virtue to the skin of the eel. 'I amner quite sure, maister,' said an old man to us the other day, 'whether it be a sartain cure for the rheumatis; but for cromp, I knows there be nothing loike it.'

Eel-skin must have inflicted severe punishment on boy-skin, not only on account of its toughness, but from the presence of innumerable numbers of concretions of carbonate of lime. A portion of eel-skin mounted in Canada balsam, and viewed under the polariscope, is a beautiful object for the microscope. Eels vary much in colour; the silver eel is generally the most highly prized. Silver eels are certainly very delicious, but, according to our own experience, we find the green-bellied eels equally good; nor have we any fault to find with yellow-bellied specimens. Prejudice, of course, is against both of these colours, but we can confidently recommend any sharp-nosed eel if he is taken out of clear water. We have seen a cream-coloured broad-nose, which was doubtless an albino, and owed its whiteness to the absence of pigment cells. Sometimes piebald eels have been met with, and a correspondent in the 'Field' newspaper mentions his once having received an eel of a rich golden colour like gold-fish.

It is not common in this country to meet with an eel above the weight of five pounds, though there are well authenticated

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* 'London Labour and London Poor,' vol. i. p. 160.

† Pliny, N. H. ix. 23.

‡ Book ii. c. 30, translated by Mr. Ozell. Lond. 1737. The term *anguilla* was in later times applied to a whip made of leather thongs, which was used to flog boys. See Isidore's glosses quoted by Du Cange in his Latin Glossary. 'Anguilla est quâ coercendi in Scholis pueri, quæ vulgo Scutica dicitur.'

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instances of eels attaining the weight of fifteen, or even twenty pounds. Some of the eels in tropical countries are said to attain an enormous size. Kaup enumerates about thirty-two species of the genus *Anguilla;* some of these, it is probable, may be no more than varieties.

But we must bid adieu to the common eel, and beg the reader's indulgence while we bring before his notice a near relative of *Anguilla*, the mighty conger of the sea. Space, however, compels us to be brief. *Conger vulgaris* differs but little in form and structure from his smaller though far more valuable cousin. With the exception of the lower jaw being shorter than the upper, and the dorsal fin commencing nearer to the head than in the common eels, and with a slight difference in the arrangement of the viscera, the conger bears a strong resemblance to the eel proper. There is, however, one other curious, though but trifling difference, which we have observed in dissections, and that is the total absence of any scales in the skin of the conger, the hide of which said beast is of remarkable thickness and strength. We have failed to detect any essential difference in the spawn and milt of this giant of the tribe from what obtains in the common fresh-water species of eel. Of all disagreeable things there are few, we should think, that can equal the conger. His flesh, which has an odour difficult to describe, but too easy to be discerned, is so exceedingly tough that it is almost impossible to masticate it even were its quality commendable; at the same time, perhaps, the olfactory nerves are more offended with the smell of the conger, whether cooked or raw, than the palate is with its flavour. So strong are the effluvia from this slimy monster of the deep, that it takes numerous vigorous washings with soap and hot water ere the dissector's hands dare approach his nose without giving offence to that organ. How strange and unaccountable a thing is taste! Greek epicures considered the flesh of conger to be exquisite; and not only 'a dainty dish to set before a king,' but food which the gods themselves loved to feast upon. Bah! it is a wonder it did not turn even old Vulcan's stomach. And yet even the flesh of the conger has approvers in modern days. We are acquainted with a family that prefers it to the 'white-armed' eel; and conger soup is pronounced excellent. A writer in the 'Field' (Oct. 17, 1863) says that a more delicate, savoury, and nutritious soup is not within his acquaintance. 'As for the last quality,' he adds, 'it is worth noting that no long time ago a case was reported in the "Lancet" of a delicate young lady who underwent a serious operation in Guernsey, and became so debilitated that her life was despaired of. She recovered, however, and the medical man who attended her, and who

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who reported the case, attributed her cure mainly to the nutritious qualities of conger soup.' We have no doubt of the nutritious properties of conger, and perhaps the white soup of the Channel Islands, according to the receipt of the same 'Chronicler,' may even be palatable, considering the various other ingredients, such as bacon, lettuce, green peas, cream, anchovy sauce, marigold flowers, &c., of which it is composed. Conger steaks, 'with rich meat gravy or sharp sauce, are pronounced by the same authority to be *delicious!*'

Sicyon was a noted place for congers in ancient times; there they grew to an immense size, each one quite a load for a man, some requiring even a cart to take them away.* The mode of cooking conger, according to the receipt of Archestratus, was 'to boil it with its entrails in brine.' Another receipt recommended boiling in salt water with sprigs of marjoram. This receipt we have lately tried, and have given our opinion above, but our fish did not come from Sicyon, but from the Isle of Man; and Archestratus says that some congers are very superior to others. The head of the conger appears to have been the part most prized by the Greek gourmands; a conger's head and shoulders was worth five drachma, or about four shillings. A certain cook bitterly complains of the high price of fish in the Athenian markets.†

Whether the conger was ever a general favourite amongst the nations of Western Europe, we are unable to say; but it is certain that in England, in the time of the Henrys, the conger was considered an article of food fit for a king. The Prince and Poins, according to Falstaff's account, found, amongst other reasons for their companionship, this one, that both of them were fond of conger and fennel sauce.‡ In modern days, the conger forms a valuable though coarse article of diet amongst the poor of our own coasts. In the Isle of Man the conger may be said to take the place of the poor man's pig; it is his bacon, which he would find difficult to save, if it were not for these great eels, which are caught in great abundance, and sold at the rate of 2*d.* or 3*d.* per lb. The Manx men split these congers, and then salt them and hang them up to dry on their cottage walls. We have never tasted a salted conger, but have been told by one who has ventured upon a morsel, that a man might as well try to eat the saltcellar. Many congers are caught on the Cornish coast, but not to the extent which formerly prevailed. Lobsters—of which the conger is particularly fond—

* Athenæus, vii. 31. † Ibid. vii. 42.
‡ Shakspeare, 'Henry IV.', Pt. ii., Act. ii. sc. iv.

are

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are not nearly so plentiful on the Cornish coast as they used to be.* According to Mr. Couch, it is not uncommon for a boat with three men to bring on shore from five hundredweight to two tons. The fishing for congers is always performed at night. They are most formidable antagonists at times, when they have been drawn up and hauled aboard. It is quite a common occurrence for a conger to attack the fisherman with open jaws; and so great is the strength of the large specimens, that they have occasionally succeeded in pulling the fisherman quite out of his boat, if by any chance he has fastened the line to his arm. Mr. Pennell relates an incident of his having witnessed the attack of a huge conger, which had been pulled into his boat in a crab-net, upon one of the sailors, and states that the eel, though completely divided in two pieces, bit one of the men so sharply through his thick wading boots, that he was lame for some time afterwards.† Yarrell says that specimens weighing eighty-six, and even a hundred and thirty pounds, measuring more than ten feet long, and eighteen inches in circumference, have occasionally been captured.‡

A somewhat novel method of capturing congers prevails on some parts of the coast of France, where it is customary to employ dogs in their search. § The account given is as follows:—

'The old woman led the way along the outer edge of the rocks [on the shore at Granville] till she came to a place where the sand ran for a considerable distance into the body of the rocks. The sand, however, was not smooth, for in all directions little mounds rose up, breaking the level. "Go and seek, good dog Trompette!" said the old lady, when she entered this creek. The dog started off hunting in all directions. In a quarter of a minute, he stopped at one of the little lumps, and began to scratch and whine like a terrier at a rat hole. "See, he has one!" said the old woman as she ran towards the dog, brandishing her pickaxe. When she reached the place, she looked which way the hole ran, and then began tearing up the sand, which rose in lumps at every blow. After eight or ten strokes, out tumbled a conger-eel about the same size as those in her basket; the dog and his mistress made a dash at it: the biped got it; the woman flung it with great force on to the hard sand, and then quietly put it into her basket, shouting, "Seek again, Trompette!" Trompette obeyed, and in this way within five minutes the dog found and the mistress dug up and basketed three of these eels.'

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* 'Cornish Fauna,' p. 78.

† See Mr. Frank Buckland's amusing contributions to 'The Field,' May 23, and Sept. 12, 1863.

‡ There is now in the Guernsey Museum the skin of a conger which weighed 92 lbs. It is stretched upon the wall, and is, we are told, about 11 feet long.

§ 'Life in Normandy,' vol i., p. 197.

The

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The sand appears from what follows to have been full of worm tubes, and the eels were probably seeking their food amongst them. We should be glad to hear of the introduction of this new kind of sport on our own side the Channel. We venture to hope that it would prove a desirable boon to certain numerous visitors at our watering-places—that 'ignoble army of idlers,' so well described by Charles Kingsley, 'who saunter about the cliffs, and sands, and quays;' to whom every wharf is but 'a wharf of Lethe,' by which they rot 'dull as the oozy weed.'

Formerly, the flesh of the conger, after having been dried in a particular manner, was ground or grated to powder, and in this state used to thicken soup. Mr. Couch, who has kindly furnished us with some interesting particulars in the natural history of eels, tells us that the fat which envelops the ova in the conger is employed through at least all the south-east part of Cornwall by country house-wives in making the crust of pies and cakes, instead of butter and lard, to the latter of which it is considered superior.

Space forbids our entering upon any consideration of the interesting electric eel (*Gymnotus electricus*) of South America; many of our readers will, doubtless, remember to have seen some few years ago a living specimen in a large tank at the Polytechnic Institution, Regent-street. The *gymnotus* possesses special organs, four in number, which give it the power to communicate electric shocks. We have been informed by an American lady, lately resident in Virginia, but now in this country, that the American fishermen consider all eels to be electric. They assert, that if a newly-caught specimen is rubbed backward from the tail to the head, it will emit brilliant sparks.

Nor, again, can we allow ourselves to speak at any length of the celebrated Muræna of the Mediterranean, that has acquired an unenviable notoriety in connexion with the cruelty of a certain Roman gentleman who enjoyed the friendship of Augustus; for this said individual, Vedius Pollio by name, had made the interesting discovery that the flesh of his slaves had a wonderfully fattening effect upon that of his eels; on which account it was easy to dispense with an offending slave without being altogether deprived of his services.

The Muræna was in high repute amongst the ancient Romans, not only on account of the delicacy of its flesh, but also for the beauty of its colour; it was the especial pet of the fish-ponds, and used to be decked with all kinds of ornaments; would come at its master's call, and eat fearlessly from his hand; it appears to have given a name to one of the Licinia gens, who had a great mania for aquaria generally, and murænas in particular.

Talk

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Talk of a poultry mania, or a mania for sea-anemones! why, they were nothing to the ancient mania for muræna. What fair admirer of some darling Cochin China ever shed bitter tear drops at its untimely end.

'Flendo turgiduli rubent ocelli.'

But the eloquent orator Hortensius, the rival of Cicero, was unable to stop his tears when his favourite muræna died in one of his fish-ponds at Bauli; and another celebrated Roman, L. Licinius Crassus, appears to have had an equally tender heart, for he, too, wept at the death of his fishy darling. But Crassus* had a ready wit, as well as a soft heart; for he it was who, when his brother censor, Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus, twitted him in the senate for having cried as much at the death of an eel as if he had lost a daughter, very cuttingly retorted, that it was more than Brazenbeard had done for any one of his three wives.†

ART. VII.—1. *Geschichte der Stadt Rom im Mittelalter, vom fünften Jahrhundert bis zum sechszehnten Jahrhundert.* Von Ferdinand Gregorovius. Vols. I. to IV. Stuttgart, 1859-62.
2. *Die Grabmäler der Römischen Päpste.* Von F. Gregorovius. Leipzig, 1857.
3. *Die Papst-Fabeln des Mittelalters.* Von G. J. I. von Döllinger. München, 1863.

THE sight of Rome, while it brings us near, as nothing else can bring us in the same degree, to the men and to the actions of the city's ancient days, makes us, at the same time, realise in a manner altogether peculiar the vastness of the interval which separates us from them. We can trace, in some cases with certainty, in others with reasonable confidence, places of which the names, or the memories connected with them, have been familiar to us from childhood. But what a change has passed over all! Temples and palaces are gone, or there remain of them only some shattered pillars and some massive but ruined walls; nay, the very soil is piled up to the height of many feet above the pavement on which the ancient Romans trod, and quarters which once swarmed with a busy population are now given up to tillage, or left to utter neglect. 'We find,'

* Ælian.—*Nat. Anim.* viii. 4.

† It was to this, doubtless, that Crassus on another occasion referred, when he said of his colleague, 'Non esse mirandum quod aëneam barbam haberet, cui os ferreum, cor plumbeum esset.'—Suetonius, 'Vit. Nero' 2.

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as Goethe says, 'the marks of a grandeur and of a destruction which alike transcend our conceptions.' *

It is across the gulf which separates the imperial splendour of Rome from its present state of desolation and decay that Mr. Gregorovius undertakes to guide us. His subject includes that which Gibbon originally intended to treat, but afterwards exchanged for one of far wider scope—the history of 'the decline and fall of the city;' † and, while disclaiming all rivalry with the greatest of modern historians, he tells us that, like Gibbon, he conceived the idea of his project while full of the impressions produced by his first visit to Rome. But with the fall of the city his work embraces also that renewal which, by a process unique in the history of the world, began with the decline of ancient Rome, and long advanced side by side with it, until at length the city of the Cæsars had become the city of the Popes.‡

Mr. Gregorovius has been enabled, by a residence of some years in Rome, not only to furnish himself thoroughly with local knowledge, but to profit by the assistance of the Roman antiquaries, and to consult unpublished manuscripts, together with a vast mass of topographical books and pamphlets which it might be impossible to find elsewhere. But his sojourn in Rome and his love for the city have in no degree abated his German spirit, and in the antagonisms of Germany and Italy he never hesitates to declare himself boldly, or rather he is eager to make opportunities of declaring himself. In so far as the cry of 'Italy for the Italians' may be directed against the Greeks or the Saracens of former times, or the French of our own day, he heartily sympathises with it; but as to the Germans, it is very different.

He holds that the Teutons, by whatever name they may be called—Goths, Lombards, Franks, Germans—did all the good that has been done in Italy from the time of Alaric downwards, while all the evil has been done by the Greeks, the French, or the Italians themselves.§ Towards the French, in particular, Mr. Gregorovius entertains a strong dislike; and, even although he claims the Buonapartes as Lombard, and therefore Teutonic, *Boniperts* (iv. 161), he has all the animosity of a patriotic Prussian against the founder of the imperial house, and continues no small part of it towards the present representative of the family. His opinions on modern politics are, indeed, expressed with a frankness and a frequency which are more amusing than dignified

* Werke, xxvii. 210 ('Italiänische Reise'), ed. 1829.
† Gibbon, Miscell. Works, p. 83, ed. 1837.
‡ Vol. i. pp. 14-5.
§ See *e.g.* i. 366, 422, 451-2; iv. 206-7, 327, 581-2.

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in a historian; but it is easier to describe his opinions negatively than positively. He does not think with the Liberals among the Italians of our own day; but we are not surprised that both his History and his little book on the 'Tombs of the Popes' have lately been forbidden at Rome. If the former contains little or nothing that is new, the reason appears to be, not that the author has spared any pains, but that there was little for him to discover; and it deserves, in a degree somewhat uncommon in German books, the praise of being clearly and readably written, although in some places it is disfigured by attempts at eloquence which we find ourselves quite unable to admire.* We are bound also to say, that we have no great faith in the author's skill as a translator, or in his criticisms and emendations of doubtful texts. For instance, where St. Jerome (Ep. lii. 10, ed. Vallarsi) complains that, while churches were decorated with lavish profusion, no care was taken in the choice of candidates for the ministry, Mr. Gregorovius translates *ministrorum Christi nulla electio est* as if it meant that the true servants of Christ are without outward lustre.† And where some kind of stuff used in church decoration is styled *alythina*, he tells us that this represents the Greek ἄλυτος, *indissoluble*; whereas any reader who has the slightest acquaintance with Greek must see that ἀληθινός, *genuine*, is meant. Still more surprising is the mistranslation of a form of curse—*cum diabolo et ejus atrocissimis pompis, et cæteris impiis, æternis incendiis concremandum*, where he would render the last words by 'to be burnt together with the other impious and eternal fires.'‡ Again, at vol. ii. p. 37, we find an inscription printed and translated as follows:—

'Lucæ et Lucis opus. Virgo hæc quam cernis in
ara circumvecta nigram dispulit urbi [urbe?] luem.'
'Werk des Lucas und des Lichts. Diese Jungfrau, die du hier uf der Bähre tragen siehst, vertrieb aus der Stadt den schwarzen Tod.'

Mr. Gregorovius has not only failed to see that the inscription is in verse, but has wrongly joined *circumvecta* with *in ara*, and turned the *altar* on which the image of the Blessed Virgin stands in the church of Ara Cœli into a *bier*, on which he supposes it to have been carried about the city. Again, in the well-known speech of the Persian prince Hormisdas, after having surveyed the glories of Rome,—*id tantum sibi placuisse, quod didicisset ibi quoque homines mori*

* As a specimen of this, we may mention the description of Charlemagne's meeting with Leo III., vol. ii. p. 530.

† 'Die wahren Diener Christi sind ohne Glanz,' i. 185.

‡ 'Und den übrigen gottlosen und ewigen Feuersbrünsten zu verbrennen.' ii. 378.

(*Ammian.*

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(*Ammian. Marcellin.* xvi. 10), Mr. Gregorovius, instead of adopting the conjecture of *displicuisse* for *placuisse* from Adrian de Valois and Gibbon,* prefers the old reading as being 'geistreicher'—although this reading makes the prince express not only satisfaction that Rome had no charm against the common lot of mankind, but dissatisfaction with everything that he had seen there! † And, as our author is unlucky in differing from Gibbon here, so, where he rightly finds fault with him for having followed Procopius in confounding the Tiber with the Anio (i. 351-2), the mistake is one which in another place has been somewhat elaborately made by Mr. Gregorovius himself.‡ Again, Benedict of Soracte, a barbarous chronicler of the tenth century, is quoted as speaking of the 'Civitas Leonina,' which Leo IV. 'centum *civilis* construxit;' and Mr. Gregorovius, supposing the words to refer to the fact that Leo built a wall around the Vatican suburb, conjectures that Benedict, in the wish to exaggerate the importance of the work, wrote 'centum *civitates*' (iii. 110). It would not be easy to make sense of this; but the true reading is evidently *Centumcellis*—the Pope having built (as our author himself tells us a few pages later) another 'Leonine city' at Centumcellæ—now Civita Vecchia. These blunders, which we have casually noticed, are, indeed, all of the most trifling kind; but it is unpleasant to find a learned historian making blunders which a very small boy ought to avoid, and such specimens do not raise a presumption in favour of Mr. Gregorovius as to more difficult and doubtful cases.

The period which Mr. Gregorovius proposes to include in his work extends from the reign of Honorius to the capture of Rome by the Constable de Bourbon in 1527; and the four volumes already published bring down the story to the end of the twelfth century.

When Honorius, in 403, led up the Capitoline hill the triumph won by the arms of Stilicho at Pollentia, the buildings of imperial Rome were yet standing in their grandeur. From the sixteen gates of the city radiated twenty-eight great roads, most of them lined by splendid memorials of the dead, and the surrounding Campagna was thickly studded with temples and

* 'If we adopt this reading, we may consider it as a reproof of Roman vanity. The contrary sense would be that of a misanthrope.'—Gibbon, ii. 146.

† Prince Albert de Broglie, therefore, is not quite correct in saying that by Gibbon's reading 'on arrive au même sens, mais sous une forme plus adoucie et plus élégante.'—L'Eglise et l'Empire au 4me Siècle, iii. 378.

‡ In vol. iii. p. 197 we are told that a letter of John VIII. proves the Anio to have been called in the 9th century *Tiberinus*, 'from which was formed the vulgar *Teverone*.' But in the quotation it is clear that 'Tiberinum fluvium, qui olim Albula dicebatur' means the Tiber.

villas

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villas, chapels and tombs, over which rose, in every direction, the long and lofty lines of the fourteen aqueducts. But a large part of the population had already been drawn away by the attractions of the new capital on the shores of the Bosphorus; the Palace of the Cæsars had suffered through the absence of emperors who preferred Nicomedia or Constantinople, Milan or Ravenna; and the temples of the old religion, although undestroyed by violence, were closed and abandoned to neglect.* Yet our author shows good reasons for believing that the ecclesiastical writers of the time have gone somewhat beyond the truth in their representations of the temples as already fallen into ruinous decay, and of the statues as everywhere thrown down. With regard, too, to the ravages of the barbaric hosts which, from the time of Alaric, in 410, successively captured Rome, there is perhaps a yet more evident tendency to exaggerate their effects. Jerome, Augustine, Orosius, and their followers, seeing in the calamities of the imperial city the vengeance of Heaven against idolatry and sin, were naturally led to make the most of it. But if the religious motive was too strong with them, the feeling of Teutonic nationality seems to draw Mr. Gregorovius somewhat too strongly in an opposite direction. He is eager to extenuate as much as possible the amount of damage done by one invader after another. The question is an old one, nor has Mr. Gregorovius by any means gone furthest among those who have maintained his side of it; but we should trust his conclusions more if his patriotic motives were less forced on our attention. It was not in one or two such attacks that the ruin of Rome was effected. From the sack by Alaric to the great and crowning destruction by the Normans in 1084, it was the object of contending hosts—the prey of successive assailants: and to the ravages of armies were added many other causes of destruction—hurricanes and earthquakes, floods and fires; but the main cause of the ruin of ancient Rome was the change from Paganism to Christianity. Few temples became churches, and religious motives combined with the distresses of the time in consigning to desolation the theatres and other places of diversion.

As the Popes increased in wealth, they built churches more and more, and, by a system which seems to have in-

* In the vexed question of the population of ancient Rome, Mr. Gregorovius adopts M. Dureau de la Malle's estimate, which rates it as having never reached 600,000. He supposes that, in the troubled half century which followed the time from which his history starts, the number, already much reduced, was lessened by 100,000 or more, so that after Genseric's invasion it little exceeded its present amount.—i. 216.

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herited its principle from the old Roman polytheism, the multiplication of churches was carried on with a regard, not to the number of the inhabitants (for whom they were vastly too many), but only to the number of saints who might be so honoured. Pillars and ornamental marbles were transferred from temples to churches, the buildings from which they had been torn being abandoned to ruin; nor was it for the churches of Rome only that this spoliation was carried on, for Charlemagne removed some pillars to Aix-la-Chapelle, and Pope Victor III., while Abbot of Monte Casino, adorned the church of his monastery with antique columns from Rome. The first notice of the practice of destroying public edifices for the sake of the materials is found in an edict of the Emperor Majorian, who, in 458, forbade such things under heavy penalties (i. 221); but at a later time, when the Popes became independent, and were able to dispose of the ancient buildings of their city without asking the consent of the Emperor or of the Exarch, the demolition was freely carried on (ii. 344).

'The nobles, even the abbots, erected towers on splendid monuments of antiquity, the citizens established in public baths and circuses their workshops, forges, ropewalks, and cloth manufactories. When the fisherman near the bridges, or the butcher at the theatre of Marcellus, or the baker, offered his wares for sale, they lay on the finest slabs of marble, which had perhaps once served as seats for the masters of the world, for Cæsar, Mark Antony, Augustus, or the multitude of senators, in the theatre or the circus. The beautiful sarcophagi of heroes were now used as water-vats, wash-tubs, or pig-troughs, as at this day; the table of the cobbler or of the tailor might be nothing less than the cippus of an illustrious Roman, or a slab of alabaster on which the noblest matrons of Rome had once spread out the ornaments of their toilet. For centuries Rome was like a great lime-pit, into which the most precious marbles were cast, to be burnt into mortar.'—(ii. 565–6.)

Theodoric ordered some marble pillars to be removed from the Pincian Palace to Ravenna, and, as Belisarius afterwards resided in the palace, we do not see that Mr. Gregorovius is justified in assuming that it must have been already ruinous when the Gothic king interfered with it (i. 285). But Theodoric was so far from being a Goth in the unfavourable sense which we have learnt to attach to the word, that he bestowed especial care on the preservation of the monuments of Rome. He appointed officers to see that the buildings and other objects of antiquity should not be injured: one officer under him was styled 'Guardian of the Statues,' another was 'Count of the Aqueducts.' He did much to restore and maintain the walls of the

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the city, and directed that in new constructions the ancient style should be followed. Nay, he complains of the Romans for doing those very acts of damage which have since been wrongfully charged on his own nation (i. 278-284). The real date of the decay of Rome, according to Mr. Gregorovius, is from the fall of the Gothic monarchy; and he has a peculiar satisfaction in drawing attention to the fact that, when Belisarius was besieged in Rome in 537, the statues which adorned the Mausoleum of Hadrian were destroyed, not by the Gothic assailants, but by the Greek defenders of the place, who hurled them down on the besiegers. Throughout the struggles between Belisarius and his Gothic opponents, when each party in turn became besiegers and besieged, our author maintains that the Goths were innocent of all barbarian outrage; that Totila, for instance, although he is still held guilty of the destruction of the city by many who acquit Alaric, abhorred the thought of wanton devastation, and in plundering was remarkably moderate (i. 416-421). But after the time of Belisarius, Rome, with its population thinned by war, by emigration, by hunger and disease, rapidly sank.* In the *end* of the century we find the Lombards at the gates of the city, and Gregory the Great, in discourses which Mr. Gregorovius characterises as 'the funeral sermon of old Rome' (ii. 49), describing the miseries of the time, which he regarded as tokens that the end of all things was near. Gregory was so far from sympathising with the religion of ancient Rome that he even denounced the study of heathen literature. But while this fact rests on the evidence of his own letters, Mr. Gregorovius rightly acquits him of the acts which were ascribed to him by some of his admirers in the middle ages—the burning of the Palatine library and the destruction of ancient Roman monuments (*ii.* 97-9).

Sixty years after the death of Gregory I., the Emperor Constans II., having left Constantinople amid the execrations of his subjects, appeared at Rome, where, although stained with the blood not only of his brother, but of Pope Martin, and of others whom the West revered as martyrs of orthodoxy, he was received with great reverence by Pope Vitalian. His visit lasted only a few days, but it is memorable in the history of the city from his having carried off the bronze tiles of the Pantheon, which had been converted by Boniface IV. (A.D. 609) into a church. Then followed the Iconoclastic controversy, memorable as having given the chief impulse to the separation of Italy from the Empire. Mr. Gregorovius, we are surprised to find, takes

* Lord Broughton's 'Italy,' i. 377.

part

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part with those extreme Romanists and extreme Protestants who, while utterly differing in their estimate of the act, represent Pope Gregory II. as having renounced his allegiance and stirred up Italy to revolt (ii. 255). For a confutation of his views, we content ourselves with referring to Dr. Döllinger's work (pp. 151-5), and with expressing our surprise that a writer, who is free from vulgar controversial bias in such matters, should have taken up an opinion hitherto advocated only by the zealots of either party. One effect of the controversy was, that, while the adherents of images were persecuted by the Eastern emperors, many pictures were brought from Constantinople to the West —among them, probably, most of the dark and grim Madonnas ascribed to the pencil of St. Luke; and that many artists were driven to seek a refuge at Rome (ii. 275). By these were executed some of the stern and awful mosaics which still exist in the tribunes of the older Roman churches. But while we agree with Mr. Gregorovius as to the impression which these works produce on a modern spectator, we cannot think with him that the severe representations of the Saviour had a large share in driving men to seek after lower and less repelling mediators with Heaven; for the severity of expression seems to have resulted merely from want of skill in the artists, nor, in so far as we know, are the faces of the Blessed Virgin or of other saints, as represented by the same school, at all more benign or attractive.

Passing over the disorderly time during which the nobles of the Campagna attempted to control the Papacy, and even succeeded in forcing into it a pope of their own, Constantine, who paid terribly for his short-lived dignity, we come to Adrian I., the contemporary of Charlemagne, and to Leo III., from whom, on Christmas Day, 800, the great Frankish hero received the imperial crown. The pontificates of Adrian and Leo form an era in the architectural history of Rome; for almost every church of the city was either rebuilt or largely altered and redecorated by the munificence of these Popes (ii. 26, 30). But, unfortunately, their wealth and care were not always employed in a manner which would entitle them to our gratitude. Mr. Gregorovius remarks that—

'the innumerable multitude of churches and convents rendered great plans impossible. For this reason, then (if there were no others), we discover a certain smallness in the Roman church architecture of the Carolingian period. The decoration of the friezes under the roofs with tile-edges; the composition of the towers, which are generally small, out of arched windows parted by little pillars; the ornamentation of the surfaces of the towers with round plates of marble of various colours; the depressed vestibules, with their little pillars and their mosaic

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mosaic friezes, adorned here and there with medallions in mosaic—all this gives evidence of diminished standards of view.'—(iii. 27.)

Rome was now again the capital of the Western Empire, while the temporal power of the Popes, founded in reality by the donations of Pepin and Charlemagne, was carried up to a far more venerable origin, and invested with a supposed title to far wider dominion, by the forged donation of Constantine to Pope Sylvester. But the relations of the Papacy and the Empire were full of strange anomalies, and it was after this time that the Papacy itself passed through its worst degradations. In relating the story of the dark tenth century, Mr. Gregorovius does his best to throw a veil of decency over the unsavoury memories of the Theodoras and Marozia, while he dwells on the abilities and energy of Pope John X. (the supposed paramour of the elder Theodora), and of Alberic of Tusculum, the son of Marozia by a father whom he supposes to have been of Teutonic descent. But we must hurry over the times of these personages, of the Othos, and of the Saxon and Franconian emperors who followed them, until we reach the pontificate of Gregory VII. Of the importance of Gregory in the history of the Papacy we need not now speak; but we may extract from Lord Broughton's 'Italy' a sketch of the destruction which was brought on the city of Rome by this Pope's contest with Henry IV.:—

'To this time must be ascribed the final extinction of the city of the Cæsars. The Emperor Henry IV., the troops of the Pope's nephew Rusticus, and the Normans of Robert Guiscard, were more injurious to the remains of Rome, from 1082 to 1084, than all the preceding barbarians of every age. The first burnt a great part of the Leonine city (*i.e.* the Vatican quarter), and ruined the portico of St. Peter's (a covered passage which then connected the church with the Castle of St. Angelo); he destroyed also the long portico from the Ostian gate to the church of St. Paul. In his last irruption he levelled a part of the Septizonium to dislodge Rusticus, razed the fortresses of the Corsi on the Capitol, and battered the Mole of Hadrian. The Normans and Saracens of Guiscard's army, with the papal faction, burnt the town from the Flaminian gate to the Antonine column, and laid waste the sides of the Esquiline to the Lateran; they set fire to the region from that church to the Coliseum and the Capitol, or, according to some authorities, to the Tiber. He attacked the Coliseum for several days, and finished the ruin of the Capitol. It is reasonable to believe that the flames were arrested by the wilderness which had before existed to the south of those positions, and indeed in other quarters. The conflagration of Guiscard created or confirmed a solitude much more extensive than is embraced by that "spacious quarter between the Lateran and the Coliseum" to which it is confined by Gibbon. From that period, at least, must be dated the

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the desolation of a great part of the Esquiline, and all the Viminal, and much of the Cœlian hill, including the irretrievable ruin, perhaps, of the Coliseum, and certainly of many of the remaining structures of the forums and the Sacred Way. A contemporary writer (Bonizo, Bishop of Sutri) says that all the regions of the city were ruined; and another spectator (Hildebert, Archbishop of Tours,), who was in Rome twelve years afterwards, laments that, although what remained could not be equalled, what was ruined could never be repaired.' *

Gregory's last words, 'I have loved righteousness and hated iniquity, therefore I die in exile,' might serve as a type of the Papal history for centuries after his time. Not, of course, that we can identify, as Gregory did, the love of righteousness and the hatred of iniquity with an inflexible desire to raise the Papacy to universal and despotic empire; but that he and his successors, while they steadily pursued their great object of exalting the Papacy, were continually involved in troubles which destroyed their peace. It was the period when the Papacy was strongest against all other powers; when the great movement of the Crusades gave it such a sway as had never before been known over the whole of Western Christendom, and even extended its dominion and its influence widely in the East; yet the Popes themselves were oftener in banishment from their own capital than masters of it. Emperors and antipopes, nobles and democratic factions, in turn expelled them; and we find them sometimes wandering in countries beyond the Alps, sometimes establishing their temporary court in some small provincial town, such as Viterbo, Tusculum, Anagni, or Orvieto, until the time of the 'Babylonian captivity' at Avignon. In those days the chief buildings of Rome were occupied as fortresses by powerful families. St. Peter's itself was fortified, and had often to bear the brunt of war; and although Calixtus II., after having ended for a time the strife between the Church and the Empire by the Concordat of Worms, enacted at the Lateran Council of 1123 that churches should not be 'incastellated,' the practice continued long after. German emperors came to Rome to receive the crown, and the day of their coronation was very commonly wound up by a bloody conflict with the Romans. German armies invaded Italy, committing all sorts of ravages, and were usually driven back, with their numbers fearfully reduced, by pestilence arising from the unwholesome climate. With the neighbouring towns the Romans were engaged in continual feuds, of which that which ended in the utter destruction of Tusculum (A.D. 1191) is a memorable example

* i. 390-4. Comp. Gregorov., iv. 240-42.

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(iv. 584). There were frequent revolutions and changes of constitution, which Mr. Gregorovius faithfully relates, although as to this part of his subject he speaks with a modest diffidence which it is to be wished that other writers would imitate. The present volumes end just before the election of Innocent III., who became Pope at the age of thirty-seven, and during a pontificate of eighteen years carried out to their highest triumph the principles which had been enounced by Hildebrand a century and a half before. There is much of interest in that part of the history which yet remains to be told; but it is not for us to go before our author, and, having thus generally sketched the outline, we shall now turn to some of the details, which we propose to take in a kind of topographical order, beginning, of course, our imaginary walk through Rome from the modern 'Burg of the English'—the quarter adjoining the Porta del Popolo.

The first object that we notice is the Mausoleum of Augustus. Of its present condition we have lately spoken in reviewing Mr. Story's 'Roba di Roma.'* Originally, as it was seen and described by Strabo, it was covered with earth, on which grew a grove of trees. In later times, the legend ran that Augustus caused a basketful of earth to be brought from every province of his dominions, 'that so he might, as it were, rest in the earth of the whole world which he had ruled.' From its form it was styled in the middle ages '*Mons* Augustus,' and in the feuds of the Roman factions it became a fortress of the Colonnas (iii. 575).

Proceeding onwards, we come to the Ælian Bridge (now the Bridge of St. Angelo), which leads to Hadrian's mausoleum or mole. The bridge itself was the scene of many a fight between parties which held possession of the opposite sides of the river, the most memorable of them being that which took place on the day of Frederick Barbarossa's coronation (A.D. 1155). The earliest description of the Mole of Hadrian is said to be that by Procopius ('Bell. Goth.' i. 22), which, however, is very slight, and leaves ample room for the play of fancy in attempting to restore the building on paper. He mentions that its upper part was adorned with splendid marble statues of men and horses, which, as we have already seen, were in great part thrown down by the garrison under Belisarius on their Gothic besiegers. At that time, probably, the mausoleum had already acquired the name of 'Theodoric's Prison,' by which it continued to be known until in the tenth century it became the 'Tower of Crescentius;'

* Q. Rev. vol. cxiv. p. 264.

and

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and there the Consul of Rome held out until (whether by fair or by foul means is disputed) he fell into the hands of Otho III., by whom he was put to death (A.D. 998). Here, too, Gregory VII. was forced to take refuge, when his imperial enemy, whom he had humbled to the dust at Canossa, had gained the rest of Rome, and had enthroned an antipope in St. Peter's. The modern name is derived from a story of uncertain date, but which relates to a time earlier by four centuries than that of Crescentius. In the year 590 the pontificate of Pelagius II. had closed amid deep and general distress. Many buildings had been destroyed by a fearful inundation, in which it was believed that multitudes of serpents, and among them one of enormous size, were seen swimming down the Tiber. Pestilence and famine followed; for the waters had carried away the public granaries, with the stores of corn collected in them. The first act of Gregory I., on being elected as the successor of Pelagius, was to institute a solemn procession in order to entreat the removal of these calamities. Clergy, monks, and nuns, with innumerable mourners and penitents of all classes, wound their way slowly through the streets, chanting doleful litanies; and even as they were moving along, eighty persons dropped from the ranks of the procession and fell down dead. But when the Ælian Bridge had been reached, on the way to St. Peter's, an angel was seen above the Mole of Hadrian, sheathing his flaming sword in token that the plague was stayed; and three angels were heard in the air singing the anthem *Regina Cœli*. In memory of this, Benedict XIV. erected on the top of the Castle of St. Angelo the figure of the Archangel Michael (ii. 24–36).

Of St. Peter's itself we shall say little, for, although the name frequently occurs in our author's pages, it designates a different building from that which now exists. The original foundation is ascribed to Constantine, who is said to have himself begun the excavation, and to have carried twelve baskets of earth in honour of the twelve Apostles (i. 89-90); and the old basilica, although often repaired and embellished, remained in its essence until in the fifteenth century it was swept away to make room for the grand work of Michael Angelo and his successors. Among its benefactors, Honorius I. is especially celebrated as having decorated it lavishly with gold, silver, and mosaics. But the wealth and splendour of the church suffered greatly through an attack of Saracens, who in 846 sailed up the Tiber, and, besides other acts of spoil and profanation, carried off the massive silver covering with which the monothelite pope had adorned the Apostle's tomb. In one respect, old St. Peter's has been more fortunate than many other buildings which no longer

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exist, inasmuch as its appearance has been preserved to us in several representations—the latest of these being Raphael's fresco of the 'Incendio del Borgo,' where Leo IV. appears in the balcony of the church, quenching the flames by his benediction.* In the course of ages a vast mass of buildings had grown up around it, even before the Vatican Palace was founded by Nicolas III., and among these was the earliest bell-tower in Rome, erected by Stephen II., who was pope from 752 to 757. Such towers are among the features which mark the transition from the basilican to the mediæval style of church architecture; and in the middle ages, when no place was too sacred to be attacked, they served for military purposes, as well as for the professed object of their erection (ii. 344-6). Although there is much cause to regret that in the building of the present church too little care was taken for the preservation of remarkable objects, a good deal still remains to carry back our memories to older times. The tombs of popes which crowded the ancient porch were swept away by Julius II., but many fragments of them still remain in the crypt—the earliest being that of Boniface IV. (A.D. 615).† To the crypt, too, have been transferred the remains of Otho II., and of his kinsman the young German pope Gregory V., together with the mosaic which formerly adorned the wall above the emperor's tomb in the porch (iii. 420). The modern portico still displays the inscription composed by Alcuin and set up by Charlemagne in honour of Adrian I. (ii. 504); and the sarcophagus of the Consul Anicius Probus in the chapel of the Pietà, with that of Junius Bassus in the crypt, belong to the fourth century. From the older church, too, comes the bronze statue of St. Peter, whose foot is kissed by devotees of all classes, from the supreme pontiff to the beggar. A legend tells us that Leo the Great, on his return from that mission to Attila which is the subject of Raphael's famous fresco, celebrated the success of his mediation with the barbaric invader by recasting the bronze Jupiter of the Capitol into this figure of the chief of the Apostles. The legend symbolises the great change from paganism to papal Christianity; but as to its truth there is much room for doubt, and Mr. Gregorovius thinks it likely that the Jupiter of the Capitol, instead of undergoing this significant transformation, was among the plunder which was carried off by Genseric and was lost at sea (i. 196, 212, iii. 252).

We now suppose ourselves to be in the Borgo of the English, the ancient haunt of pilgrims from this country—among them of

* As to this fire, see vol. iii. 103-4.
† Grabmäler der Päpste, 31.

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kings who put off their royalty to end their days as monks in the Holy City (ii. 212-14). The whole of the Vatican quarter was defenceless until, after the outrages of the Saracens which we have mentioned, Leo IV. enclosed it with fortifications, of which the high tower above the Papal gardens may serve as a relic and a specimen. It was chiefly with a view to the maintenance of the English hospital and 'school' in this quarter that the payment of Peter-pence or 'Romescot' was originally imposed by Offa on his subjects (ii. 469); and, although the English hospital for pilgrims became, in 1204, an institution for the relief of sickness and distress, under the title of the hospital of Sto. Spirito, while the same name superseded that of St. Mary as patron of the adjoining church, the English connection with this part of Rome continued down to the sixteenth century, when Wolsey, as ambassador of Henry VIII., inhabited the palace now occupied by the Portuguese ambassador. In the same quarter other foreign nations also had their colonies—their special churches, their hospitals for pilgrims, their schools for the young, the prototypes of the national colleges which abound in modern Rome. There were the 'schools' of the Franks and of the Lombards (ii. 472-3); and the church of St. Michael in Sassia (a name which was popularly extended from the Anglo-Saxon settlement to the whole of the district) was connected with the school of the Frisians, a people who owed their first conversion to the zeal of Anglo-Saxon missionaries, Wilfrid, Willibrord, and Boniface. The church, 'small, dark, and forgotten,' retains its Carolingian bell-tower; and an inscription of the thirteenth century is probably correct in referring the foundation to Leo IV., although, agreeably to the spirit of its time, it defies chronology in order to bring in the great name of Charlemagne as that Pope's contemporary (ii. 470-1).

Leaving the Borgo for the Trastevere, we must not allow ourselves to be seduced from our historical objects by the glorious views which might be gained by climbing to the terraces of St. Onuphrius or of St. Peter in Montorio. But as we cast our eyes upwards, Mr. Gregorovius reminds us of the antiquity of mills on the Janiculum. There they were, as they are now, until the Gothic king Vitiges, when besieging Belisarius, cut off the Aqua Trajana, which fed them. The imperial general, while pressed by this necessity, had recourse to the ingenious device of establishing floating mills—the ancestors of those which may still be seen moored in the Tiber; but it would seem that he afterwards restored the aqueduct, as it is recorded that Pope Honorius I., in the following century, built mills on the Janiculum, near the church which he had founded in honour of St. Pancras (i. 357, ii. 144).

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St. Mary's, in the Trastevere, is one of the principal churches of Rome, and represents the first church which the Christians could call their own—the site having been adjudged to them in preference to the company of victuallers by the eclectic emperor Alexander Severus. The original church was built by Calixtus I.—the bishop whose saintly memory has been so seriously damaged of late years by the discovery and publication of the 'Philosophumena.' In connection with a restoration of that church by Benedict III. (A.D. 855-8), Mr. Gregorovius produces a passage of the 'Pontificals,' which is, perhaps, the earliest mention of the art of glass-painting,—'Fenestras vero *vitreis coloribus* ornavit, et pictura musivi decoravit' (iii. 134; Anast. in Migne, Patrol. cxxviii. 1354). But in Rome the art of mosaic, as displayed on the walls of churches, and especially on the vault of the tribune, triumphed over the decoration of the windows, so that glass-painting never flourished to any considerable extent. The present church of St. Mary dates from the pontificate of Innocent II., in the twelfth century.

The neighbouring Church of St. Chrysogonus was rebuilt in 1128 by its titular Cardinal John of Crema (iv. 390), the same whose mission to England for the purpose of enforcing celibacy on the clergy is said to have been marred by the awkward discovery of his own frailty.* The spire, which is, we believe, the only one in Rome, cannot be commended for its beauty; but both it and the tower are curious as bearing traces of the Northern models which the Cardinal had seen on his legation to this island. A later Cardinal of the same church was Stephen Langton, Archbishop of Canterbury.

A third church in the Trastevere, St. Cecilia, is more interesting than St. Chrysogonus; but it is so fully described in the 'Handbook of Rome' that we need not give any further notice of it. We therefore cross to the island of the Tiber, and reach the Church of St. Bartholomew, founded by the young Emperor Otho III., whose strange and tragical story is so closely bound up with Rome. The intention was to honour the memory of Adalbert, Bishop of Prague, who, having twice left his see in disgust at the unruliness of his people, had lived for a time in a monastery on the Aventine, and at last, as if by way of penance for the desertion of his episcopal duty, had sought and found martyrdom as a missionary to the heathen Prussians. Otho, who had known him at Rome, and had often listened to his exhortations, was deeply touched by his end; and, after having visited his tomb at Gnesen, in Poland, undertook to erect a

* Henr. Huntingd. l. vii., ap. Migne, Patrol. cxcv. 950.

church

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church of St. Adalbert in this spot, where a temple of Æsculapius had formerly stood, and where, even in our own day, the sculptured form of the Epidaurian serpent carries back the thoughts to the old tales of Livy and Ovid.* The citizens of Benevento, on being required by the Emperor to give up the body of St. Bartholomew for the enrichment of the new church, palmed off on him the relics of a less illustrious saint, Paulinus of Nola, and Otho, on discovering the trick, besieged their town, but without success. It would seem, therefore, very questionable whether the body of St. Bartholomew was ever here, and Benedict XIII. decided that it was still at Benevento (iii. 510-1); yet, when the church was rebuilt by Paschal II. in 1113, the name of the apostle was substituted for those of the original patrons St. Adalbert and St. Paulinus.

We reach the left bank of the Tiber and plunge into the Ghetto, with its filthy alleys crowded by its peculiar population. The settlement of the Jews in Rome dates from the time of Pompey the Great, and their numbers were much increased after the destruction of Jerusalem; Rutilius, in his 'Itinerary,' alludes to these facts, and laments the effect of them on Rome:—

> 'Atque utinam numquam Judæa subacta fuisset
> Pompeii bellis, imperioque Titi.
> Latius excisæ pestis contagia serpunt
> Victoresque suos natio victa premit.'

Mr. Gregorovius thinks that the connexion of the Jews—'quorum cophinus fœnumque supellex'—with the neighbourhood of the Porta Capena was 'merely transitional' (i. 301). But this opinion seems to be refuted by the late discovery of a catacomb on the Appian Way, in a situation which appears to have been chosen with a view to the convenience of Jews dwelling in the quarter where they are placed by Juvenal. That this catacomb was used exclusively by Jews is proved not only by the absence of pagan and Christian characteristics, but by the constant use of Jewish symbols, such as the seven-branched candlestick, the ark of the covenant, the palm of Judea, and the like, and by the description of many among the deceased persons as having held offices connected with the synagogue,—rulers, scribes, &c.† But

* Liv. Epit. l. xi.; Ovid. Metam. xv., 736-744.

† Perhaps Mr. Gregorovius may have heard of the discovery of this catacomb when he expressed in his first volume (A.D. 1859) a disbelief that the Jews had any share in the catacombs of St. Calixtus (the entrance to the Jewish catacomb being very near these). But the matter is now beyond all doubt. There is a pamphlet on the Jewish catacomb by Father Garucci. It is remarkable that, while some of the inscriptions are in Latin, some in Greek, and others in the Greek language, but in Latin letters, there are none in Hebrew.

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for centuries the Jewish settlements were in the Trastevere and in the neighbourhood of the bridges, and the site of their ancient synagogue, where they endeavoured, in such fashion as they could, to imitate the arrangements of their ruined Temple, is still pointed out in the Transtiberine Vicolo delle Palme (i. 300-1). In the neighbourhood of that quarter, too, there was a cemetery, outside the Porta Portese; but, although this was known to the Roman antiquaries of the seventeenth century, the entrance to it has since been lost. The Jews were a recognized 'school' in mediæval Rome. They lived under the especial protection of the Popes, and on great occasions, such as that of a Pope's entrance on his office, or of his return from exile to the jubilant flock which was, perhaps, soon after to drive him out again, representatives of the synagogue were always expected to appear, displaying the Book of the Law, and presenting gifts in token of their homage. Mr. Gregorovius supposes that the Bridge of St. Angelo was called 'Pons Judæorum,' from being the scene of such greetings (i. 300); but we are inclined to suspect that the shops with which it was formerly lined (like London Bridge even in the eighteenth century, and the Ponte Vecchio of Florence to this day) were chiefly tenanted by Jews, and that from this circumstance the name may have been derived. Rabbi Benjamin of Tudela, who visited Rome under the pontificate of Alexander III., reports his brethren in Rome as then numbering only 200 (iv. 392, 634-5); but among this despised handful were some whose abilities or wealth made them important—the most skilful physicians and surgeons, although they were not above suspicion of unlawful arts; the greatest capitalists and money-lenders, although they were execrated for their usury and rapacity. About the middle of the eleventh century, one of the chief among the Roman Jews forsook the religion of his fathers, and was baptized by the name of the Pope, Leo IX. The convert and his family supported the hierarchical party under Hildebrand and his successors; and in the beginning of the following century Peter, the son of Leo, attained the highest dignities and the most powerful influence in Rome. His wealth was increased by the skilful employment of his capital; and although Orderic Vitalis tells us that the nobles of France detested him as a 'most wicked usurer,'* the greatest Roman families were glad to ally themselves with the sons and daughters of a house so rich and potent. For a time the Jewish pedigree seems to have been almost forgotten, and the genealogy of the Pierleoni was deduced, in common with that of other great mediæval families,

* Vol. iv. p. 385, ed. Le Prevost.

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and probably with equal truth, from the illustrious Anicii of ancient Rome (iv. 393-6). Peter the son of Leo died in 1128. Two years later, one of his younger sons, Peter, who had become Cardinal of SS. Cosmus and Damian, was chosen Pope by a party among the Cardinals, and took the name of Anaclete II., but found himself opposed by the Pope of another party, Innocent II. In the contest that followed, the reproach of a connexion with the synagogue, although until then unheard, was put foremost among the many reproaches which were poured forth against Anaclete by the unscrupulous Arnulf of Lisieux and other opponents. The contest was decided in favour of Innocent through the influence of St. Bernard of Clairvaux, then the virtual dictator of Western Christendom: yet Anaclete maintained his pretensions to the last, and died in possession of St. Peter's. The Pierleoni, although they had failed in the attempt to set up a Pope from among themselves, long continued to be among the chief of the Roman nobles; and centuries later, the flatterers of the imperial house of Hapsburg sought to exalt its greatness by tracing out for it a connexion with the family of the Jewish usurer.

The Pantheon is noticed at some length in connexion with the pontificate of Boniface IV. For two hundred years, since the order of Theodosius the Great for the closing of the temples, this noble building had stood deserted—its huge bronze gates opened, perhaps, from time to time, by some barbarian in quest of plunder, or by some curious visitor who, when admitted within, found the statues of gods and heroes thrown down, and everything abandoned to decay. But Boniface conceived the idea of turning it to the service of Christian religion, and, having obtained the Emperor's permission (which was then necessary for such a disposal of an ancient public building), he consecrated it as a church in the year 609. The popular belief, whether rightly or wrongly, supposed it to have been a Temple of Cybele and all the gods; and in that spirit of accommodation which in many cases turned heathen into Christian rites, the Temple of Cybele and all the gods was dedicated to the Blessed Virgin and all martyrs. By this character the Pantheon, alone among the ancient buildings of Rome, has been preserved to our own days, although not without suffering other injuries besides those of time. The bronze tiles of the dome were carried off (as we have seen) by Constans II. in the seventh century; those of the portico were cast by Urban VIII. into guns for the castle of St. Angelo and into the twisted pillars of the canopy of St. Peter's; and the same Pope, not content with taking away, added a positive disfigurement by erecting the ugly and unsuitable bell-towers. In the thirteenth century, the oath taken

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taken by a senator of Rome bound him to defend and preserve, among other things, 'the round church of St. Mary;' but, from the connexion in which it is mentioned, we think with Lord Broughton (ii. 132) that the object of this oath was rather to secure the Pantheon to the Pope as a military post than to preserve it as a venerable and beautiful monument of antiquity.*

Crossing the Corso in the region of the Via Lata, which in the middle ages was the most fashionable quarter for residence, we arrive at the oblong Piazza de' SS. Apostoli, where stands the palace of the Colonna family. This palace is connected with the memory of Alberic and the Counts of Tusculum, who formerly possessed its site. The first appearance of the Colonnas in history is in the year 1101, when Petrus de Columpna was master of Monte Porzio and other places near Tusculum, together with the castle of Columna, among the Alban Mountains, which by some writers has been identified with the ancient Labicum; and from that castle, rather than from the Pillar of Trajan, which figures in their arms, the name of the family is derived (iv. 303-4). Peter appears to have been an offshoot of the Counts of Tusculum—perhaps a nephew of the young scapegrace Benedict IX., who was thrust into the papacy by the Tusculan family, and was deposed at the council of Sutri in 1046. But the popular belief of the middle ages accounted for the rise of the Colonnas by a more romantic story, which is incidentally given by Professor Döllinger:—

'A smith in Rome observed that his cow every day took a way of her own. He followed her, crept after her through a narrow hole, and found a meadow with a building in which stood a stone pillar, with a brazen vessel full of money on the top. He was about to take some of the money; but a voice cried out to him "It is not thine; take three pence, and thou shalt find in the forum the man to whom the treasure belongs." The smith obeyed, and, going to the forum, threw down the three coins in three different places. A poor despised lad found all three, became thereupon the smith's son-in-law, bought great possessions with the money from the pillar, and so founded the house of Colonna.'—p. 38.

It was after the destruction of Tusculum and the extinction of its counts in the direct line that the Colonnas, as their kinsmen, came into possession of their palace and property in Rome (*iii.* 326).

Close to this is the site of Trajan's Forum—in the days of imperial splendour the most magnificent part of Rome. The triumphal arch which adorned it was stripped of its sculptures

* See Gregorov. ii., 120.

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in order to enrich the Arch of Constantine, and in the course of ages the whole of the splendid buildings which adorned the forum were swept away and their foundations were covered with rubbish or with modern houses, so that we are indebted to the excavations of the French under the first Napoleon for bringing to light the remains of the Ulpian basilica. It was in this forum, according to the legend, that Gregory the Great was struck with the sculptured representation of Trajan's kindness towards a poor widow whose entreaties moved him to dismount from his chariot when starting on a warlike expedition, and to delay until he had done her justice for the death of her son. The thought that so good a prince should have been involved in the doom of the heathen affected the Pope deeply. As he proceeded from the forum to St. Peter's he wept continually over Trajan, and prayed for his deliverance; and in the church he was rewarded by an assurance from heaven that his prayer was heard, while he was warned that such intercession for departed heathens was not to be repeated. The story was famous throughout the middle ages, and received various additions; according to one form of it (devised, no doubt, for doctrinal reasons), the Pope restored Trajan to life and baptised him, and when the rite was completed the Emperor's body fell again to dust, while his soul was received into heaven (ii. 86-7). The Romans of the middle ages watched over Trajan's pillar with affectionate pride. Thus, in 1162, when it had become the property of the nuns of St. Cyriac's, we find a decree of the Roman senate that it should be preserved 'whole and incorrupt, with its figure upright, so long as the world shall last' (iv. 641).

From the Forum of Trajan we ascend the Quirinal. Here stands the church of St. Sylvester *in Capite*, so called from possessing the head of St. John the Baptist, or rather one of his many heads; for Amiens, St. Acheul, St. Jean d'Angely, and perhaps other places, assert rival claims. But the same church possesses also a relic of yet more remarkable pretensions—the portrait of the Saviour, which He himself is said to have impressed on a cloth and sent to King Abgarus of Edessa (iii. 350, 642). It was in front of this church that Leo III. was attacked by a party of ruffians, headed by two of his predecessor's nephews, who endeavoured to blind him and to cut out his tongue, dragged him into the church, where they renewed their attempt, and left him lying before the altar as if dead (iii. 525-6). He was healed of his wounds in the monastery, and escaped across the Alps to tell his sufferings to Charlemagne at Paderborn; and the outrage is memorable in the history of the world, as having led not remotely to the imperial coronation.

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On the height of the Quirinal now stand the two famous colossal statues, which, with the horses attached to them, are described by inscriptions as the work of Phidias and Praxiteles. From them one of the Crescentian family in the tenth century was styled 'of the marble horse.' The names of the two great Greek sculptors appear to have been connected with these figures (however incorrectly) in the imperial days, but conveyed no idea to the men of the middle ages. Phidias and Praxiteles were then supposed to have been two young philosophers, who appeared at Rome in the reign of Tiberius. On being asked by the Emperor why they went about naked, they answered that it was because all things were naked and open before them, and undertook to tell him his most secret thoughts. Their promise was performed, and, as they declined all other recompense, the Emperor caused these figures to be erected as a memorial of them. The horses stamping the earth signified the rulers of the world; the naked figures of men, with their arms raised and their hands closed, were interpreted as reckoning the coming of a time when a mightier King should appear, who should mount the horses, in token of subduing the masters of the world (iii. 404-5).

We retrace our steps, and on our way to the church of St. Agatha pass through a part of the Via Magnanopoli—a name of disputed etymology. The church of St. Agatha, 'of the Goths,' was given up by Ricimer to the Arian worship of his barbaric soldiery (i. 235; ii. 83). After it had stood deserted for some years, it was dedicated in honour of St. Agatha by Gregory the Great, who in one of his Dialogues (iii. 30) has given an account of the miracles connected with the re-opening. During the mass on the consecration-day a pig was felt by many persons in the crowded congregation to run between their legs, until he made his way out at the door; but no one saw him. This flight of the unclean animal signified, of course, the purification of the church; but the demons who had possessed it continued to alarm the faithful by noises and other prodigies, until at length the completeness of the purgation was signified by the descent of a thick cloud of inconceivable fragrance, and by the repeated miraculous lighting of the lamps.

St. Agatha's has been modernised out of all interest, and even the heart of O'Connell, which is preserved in it, is not attractive to our countrymen in general. But all who have been in Rome know the Church of St. Peter in Vincoli, remarkable for the view from the piazza in front of it, for its fine antique pillars, for the awful Moses of Michael Angelo, for the small picture by Guido in the sacristy, and for the great Apostle's chains, from which it has its name. These chains, we are told, were divided between Rome and

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and Jerusalem, until Eudoxia, the Athenian rhetorician's daughter who became the Empress of Theodosius II., got possession of the portion which was preserved at Jerusalem, and sent half of it to her daughter Eudoxia, the Empress of Valentinian III. The newly-acquired part, on being applied by Leo the Great to that which was already at Rome, became at once firmly joined to it, and this church was built in honour of the precious relic (i. 213). From the time of Gregory the Great it became usual for Popes to send filings of the chains to princes and others as a token of favour, accompanied by a prayer that they might serve to the spiritual benefit of the receivers. A fresco in the church represents a great plague which raged in the year 680, when it is said that good and evil angels were seen by night marking the houses of the city; and that for every blow which the evil angel struck with his lance on the door of any house, one of the inmates was found dead next day. But this legend appears to have been wrongfully appropriated by the Roman St. Peter's *ad vincula* from a church of the same name at Pavia (ii. 184-5). With it is connected an altar of St. Sebastian, by whose relics the plague is said to have been removed; and over this altar is an ancient fresco, which is remarkable as displaying the saint, in the form of a severe old man, arrayed in rich embroidery—an idea for which was afterwards substituted that of the graceful and naked youth, pierced with arrows, who appears in the pictures of Perugino, Francia, and Correggio (ii. 186).

Descending the hill, we come to the grand mass of the Flavian Amphitheatre—still, after all the mutilations which it has undergone, the most imposing object in Rome, and that to which the mind most readily turns in recalling the image of the Eternal City. Its first appearance in this history is in connexion with the heroic Greek monk Telemachus, who sacrificed himself to obtain the abolition of the gladiatorial shows in which the Romans had continued to delight, even when Christianity was generally professed. We need not dwell on its later vicissitudes, when it served as a fortress of the Frangipani family, or as a quarry from which modern palaces derived their materials. The first mention of its modern name, Coliseum or Colosseum, is generally referred (and by Mr. Gregorovius among others, ii. 211) to Bede, who is cited for the famous prophecy versified by Byron—

> 'While stands the Coliseum, Rome shall stand
> When falls the Coliseum, Rome shall fall,
> And when Rome falls, the world.'

But in truth the date of this prophecy appears to be quite uncertain, as the work in which it occurs seems to be wrongly ascribed

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ascribed to the 'venerable' monk of Jarrow, and, moreover, is merely a compilation of extracts, the sources or dates of which no one has taken the trouble to investigate.*

Of the temple of Venus and Rome, which was built from the designs of the Emperor Hadrian, and surpassed all other Roman temples in dimensions and splendour, there remain but scanty ruins, which are partly built into the church of St. Frances, while some of the vast granite pillars lie unheeded on the ground. This temple owes its ruin to Pope Honorius I., who was permitted by the Emperor Heraclius to transfer its gilt bronze tiles to the decoration of St. Peter's (ii. 128).

The Arch of Titus still preserves the ancient level of its pavement, while the steepness of the ascent on either side has been lessened by the accumulations of ruin. The sculptures of the arch are known to everybody as preserving the form of the seven-branched candlestick and other sacred objects of the Jews. Yet the representation cannot be quite literal, since the sculptor, in order to improve the appearance of the candlestick, has embellished it with some figures which are inconsistent with the Mosaic prohibition of images (i. 209). The fate of these Jewish spoils is doubtful. They are said to have been carried off by Genseric to Africa, and from Africa by Belisarius to Constantinople, and Procopius relates that Justinian sent them to Jerusalem in compliance with the petition of some Jews, who represented to him that the possession of them had brought ruin successively on Rome and on Africa, and that they could rest safely in no place but their ancient home (i. 210). If this be true, they must either have been lost at Jerusalem, or carried off to the East by some of its many captors. But no later mention of them appears in history; and on the other hand, the church of St. John Lateran was believed through the middle ages to possess the ark of the Covenant, the tables of the law, the golden candlestick, and other treasures of the same kind; and on the strength of these claimed to have succeeded to the prerogatives of the Jewish Temple as 'mother and head of all churches' (i. 211).

The Palace of the Cæsars is noticed from time to time in these volumes. It appears to have been habitable as late as the beginning of the eighth century, but in the troubles which led to the separation of Rome from the Eastern Empire it fell into decay, and when Charlemagne visited Rome he found the palace in utter ruins, while the soil was mostly laid out, as it is to this day, in vineyards belonging to monastic societies (ii. 227-9).

* See Migne, Patrol. xciv. 543. We may note that Mr. Gregorovius describes Bede as a monk of *West*humberland, and that he supposes 'Cantabrigiæ' on the title-page of Smith's edition to mean *Canterbury* (ii. 212).

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The first church built in the Forum, where churches are now so extravagantly multiplied, was that of SS. Cosmus and Damian, in the pontificate of Felix IV., about the year 530 (i. 323). The ancient bronze gates by which the church is entered were brought from Perugia by Urban VIII.; the round building which forms the vestibule appears to be now generally regarded as an oratory of Romulus and Remus; and, on a principle which we have already noticed, the twin founders of Rome were appropriately succeeded by the twin saints, who are said to have been natives of Arabia, to have practised the healing art gratuitously, and to have been martyred in Cilicia under Diocletian. There was also a further suitableness in the dedication of this church, inasmuch as the neighbourhood was much inhabited by professors of medicine, among whom had been Galen himself (i. 324-5, 328-9). Cosmus and Damian were, with the exception of scriptural personages, the first Oriental saints who were honoured with a church in Rome. In the mosaics of the tribune they appear with vigorous action, and with 'faces aged, energetic, dark, magian-like, with supernaturally great eyes, animated by a reverential dread to approach the Saviour, and at the same time with a glow of religious passion' (i. 326). These mosaics, which are supposed to be coeval with the church, are among the most remarkable works of their kind that are to be seen in Rome.

The buildings of the Capitol, since its restoration by Michael Angelo, have been turned towards the modern city, whereas in ancient times the front was towards the Forum; and it is difficult to realise the former appearance of this famous spot, either in its glory or in its decay. For five hundred years from the time of Cassiodorus, in the sixth century, the Capitol is hardly noticed. Mr. Gregorovius gives a picturesque description of its probable state when brambles and ivy grew rankly over the remains of the ancient monuments, and the chief living frequenters of the place were the goats, from which one part of the hill derives its name of Monte Caprino. The utter ruin of the buildings may be inferred from the fact that the Capitol never became a fortress in the times when the whole city bristled with fortresses. The revival of its fame begins with the eleventh century, when assemblies were held here by those who wished to renew the institutions of ancient Rome; and it was in an attempt to dislodge the Republican party from the possession of it that Pope Lucius II. met his death in 1145. The question whether the Temple of Jupiter stood on one or the other of the eminences which rise at either end of the hill has become almost a matter of national quarrel between the Roman and the German antiquaries.

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antiquaries. Mr. Gregorovius, although not altogether confidently, sides with the majority of his countrymen in placing it on the Monte Caprino rather than on the rival height which is crowned by the Franciscan convent of Ara Cœli (iv. 445). This name, which from the fourteenth century has superseded that of St. Mary in Capitolio, is connected with a legend of Augustus. The senators, it is said, in admiration of his beauty and fortune, proposed to worship him as a god. The Emperor asked for time to consult the sibyl, who, after a fast of three days, foretold to him the speedy coming of the 'King of Ages.' Suddenly, a light of dazzling brightness burst from heaven; the Blessed Virgin appeared in unearthly beauty over an altar, with the Divine Child in her arms; and voices were heard proclaiming, 'This is the virgin who shall conceive the Saviour of the World! This is the altar of the Son of God!' The Emperor erected on the spot an altar in honour of the Son of God, and the name 'Ara Filii Dei' was afterwards changed into 'Ara Cœli' (iv. 446-8).

Among the many legends connected with this hill is one which anticipates in some degree the idea of the electric telegraph. The ancient Romans, it was said, erected here seventy bronze statues, representing all the nations of the world, and each with a small bell hanging from its neck. Whenever any province of the empire rebelled, the statue corresponding to it moved, the bell rang, and the priests, who by turns kept watch day and night, reported the fact to the Emperor (iii. 550-1). The account of these statues was embellished in various ways. According to a mediæval French romance, they were the work of Virgil, and were connected with a magic mirror, in which every movement of the enemies of Rome was imaged (iv. 628). The equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius, which now stands in the square of the Capitol, owes its preservation through the middle ages to the mistaken idea that it represented the first Christian emperor. A statue of Constantine is mentioned in the 'Notitia' as standing near the Arch of Severus, and Fea supposed this to have been no other than the statue of Marcus Aurelius. But, as Mr. Gregorovius remarks, it is hardly possible that such a confusion should have been made at the date of the 'Notitia,' within seventy years after Constantine's death: he suggests, therefore, that the figure of Constantine must have perished, and that its name was afterwards transferred to the existing statue (i. 42). This formerly stood in front of the Lateran, and, in times when the common people knew as little of Constantine as of Marcus Aurelius, it was believed to have been erected in honour of a peasant who had delivered Rome from some formidable attack by cunningly making the king of the invading nation prisoner

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prisoner (iii. 388). Under Otho I., in 966, the head of a defeated Republican party was hanged by his hair from this statue; in 985 the body of Boniface VII., a pope whose crimes had rendered him odious, after having undergone a variety of outrages, was thrown down 'before the horse of Constantine' (iii. 387-9, 424); and in our own time the Italian tricolour has been forced into the rider's hand.*

Descending again to the Forum, we pass the church of St. Theodore or Toto,—where sick children are still presented in hope of a cure, as the mothers of ancient Rome are supposed to have presented their children to Romulus on the same spot (ii. 131-4), —and St. Anastasia, with the interesting excavations below it. We cast a glance towards the site of the Circus Maximus, (i. 291-2), and reach the Velabro, where the arch of Janus Quadrifrons, once a fortress of the Frangipani, the entrance to the Cloaca Maxima, the church of St. George, and the arch of the silversmiths, are seen in close neighbourhood. The ancient name *Velabrum* was corrupted by mispronunciation into *Velum aureum*, and thus we read on the porch of St. George's:—

"Hic locus ad velum prænomine dicitur auri" (ii. 191).

The patron saint of England and of this church may very possibly be purely fabulous, but is certainly not to be confounded (as he has been by some who ought to have known better) with the Arian pork contractor who invaded the episcopal throne of Athanasius. Like him, indeed, he is said to have been a Cappadocian, but he is described as a military tribune, and his martyrdom is referred to the reign of Diocletian (ii. 187). A church of St. George, 'ad Sedem,' is mentioned in an epistle of Gregory the Great, and the passage is engraved in front of the present building. The site is probably the same, as *sedes* is supposed to mean the benches of the silversmiths or bankers who carried on their business in the Velabrum; but in 682 the church was rebuilt, in honour of St. George and St. Sebastian, by Leo II. (ii. 190-3). But St. George never became popular in Rome, and, although two small churches in other parts of the city formerly bore his name, this is the only one which now preserves it (ii. 193). While other nations regarded him as the especial patron of chivalry, and under his banner were fighting the infidels of the East—while the crusaders believed themselves to be aided in fight by a troop of heavenly warriors, headed by the

* This statue and the horses on the Quirinal figure in a curious prophecy which was current in England under Edward I.

'Constantine, cades et equi de marmore facti.'

—Pauli, Gesch. v. England, iv. 89.

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Cappadocian martyr—the crusading and chivalrous spirit never took root at Rome, where the citizens preferred to occupy themselves in squabbling with each other, in driving out their popes and receiving them back, and in preying on that credulous enthusiasm which continually sent thousands of pilgrims to the city of St. Peter, and found its highest manifestation in the wars for the recovery of the Holy Land (iv. 275-6).

The Romans of the middle ages were naturally eager to connect the remains of antiquity with the memory of famous men. Thus the arch of Janus Quadrifrons was believed to be the house of Boëthius (ii. 191); the fortification which the Frangipani had raised on the Arch of Titus was Virgil's tower (iv. 629), and the Meta Sudans was his tomb. This famous magician (as he was accounted in the middle ages) meets us again in connexion with the huge antique mask which gives its name to the Bocca di Verità. This mask, now preserved in the porch of St. Mary's in Cosmedin, is supposed to have been really the cover of a drain; but the mediæval legend represented it as the work of Virgil, and as having served for the detection of perjury. The ancient Romans (it was said) in swearing placed their hands in its open 'mouth of truth,' and, if any one swore falsely, the mouth closed on his hand and bit it off. But in the days when this story was believed the test could no longer be applied; for it was said that the cunning of a woman who had been guilty of adultery had put an end to its charmed power (iv. 629). The origin of the church of St. Mary in Cosmedin, built in the ruins of a temple, is not recorded, but, having fallen into decay, it was rebuilt by Adrian I., who made it, says his biographer, 'a real Cosmedin.'* The etymology which would make this word to refer to the decoration (κόσμος) of the church, is, however, questionable; for it appears that the Greeks of Ravenna and of Naples gave the same name to their churches, after a place in the city of Constantinople (ii. 446-9; iv. 648). The pillars of the church are antique, and the graceful tower dates from the time of Hadrian I.; but the rest of the building, with its beautiful tesselated pavement, its marble ambones, and its rich candelabrum, its mosaic episcopal chair, and some of its curious reliquaries, is to be referred to the pontificate of Calixtus II. in the twelfth century (ii. 450).

The strange structure at the end of the Ponte Rotto, which is variously styled the house of Rienzi, of Crescentius, and of Pontius Pilate, is considered by Mr. Gregorovius to have served, among other uses, as a tower for the protection of the bridge, and for the

* Migne, Patrol., cxxviii. 1191.

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receipt of tolls from passengers. He is, however, unable to throw any certain light on its origin, although he considers it to be the only remaining specimen of the more ambitious domestic architecture of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and therefore as showing the style of barbaric ornament which was probably displayed in the palaces of the Frangipani and Pierleoni (iv. 643-6).

The Aventine is worth ascending, both for the glorious view which it commands, and for the remarkable churches of St. Sabina, St. Alexius, and St. Mary. The first of these, now the head-quarters of the Dominicans, is far older than the foundation of their order, having been originally built under Celestine I. about 425 (i. 258). The second is said to have been founded as early as the reign of Honorius, by Euphemius, the father of the saint whose name it bears. According to the legend, Alexius, the son of a wealthy senator, married a bride of the Imperial house; but on his wedding-night he disappeared, and roamed in a mean disguise about the world, until at length he returned home, to lay himself as a beggar under the staircase of his father's palace. In this condition he spent seventeen years, enduring the scorn and the pity of all the household; but, when dying, he put into the hands of the Pope a paper containing the story of his life. The truth of his tale and the sanctity of his character were attested by heavenly voices, and his splendid obsequies in St. Peter's were attended by the Pope and the Emperor, with a vast concourse of Romans (iii. 414-5). It was in the convent attached to this church (which also bore the name of St. Boniface) that Adalbert of Prague lived as a simple monk during his sojourn in Rome (iii. 429); and for his sake Otho III. bestowed on it gifts and privileges (iii. 505). The third church, St. Mary's, occupies the site of the house in which the patrician Alberic was born, and which he gave up to St. Odo of Cluny, the great monastic reformer of the tenth century (iii. 338-9). Here Hildebrand spent his early days, under the care of his uncle, who was prior of the convent; and, so great was his regard for the monks, that in all his difficulties he used to entreat the help of their prayers. St. Mary's is mentioned in the account of the election of Octavian, the rival of Alexander III. in the Papacy (A.D. 1159), as already belonging to the military order of St. John, from whom it takes its modern title of 'The Priory' (iv. 530).

The Monte Testaccio is seldom ascended by travellers, who in general content themselves with looking at it from the cemetery near the Ostian gate; but it well repays the slight labour of climbing to its height. The origin of it is involved in utter darkness; in all likelihood it had already begun to grow in

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classical times. Yet there is no mention of it in ancient writers; for it is certainly not the same with the 'Doliolus,' with which it is identified in some of the maps which may be found in Grævius' 'Thesaurus.' Nibby is of opinion that it was formed between the fourth century and the time of Theodoric; but it seems more likely that it may have been begun much earlier, as a guild of potters had been established in this neighbourhood even from the kingly period, and the slow accumulation of their broken crockery may have passed without notice even from the topographical writers of ancient times. A mediæval legend accounted for it by supposing that it was formed of vessels in which the subject nations had brought their gold and silver as tribute to Rome. The earliest mention of it is in an inscription of the ninth century, which is preserved in the porch of St. Mary's in Cosmedin (ii. 450-2).*

We have already noticed the destruction of the portico which once sheltered the pilgrim on his way from the Ostian gate to the church of St. Paul. This great basilica was founded by Theodosius, in 383, and the original building remained until 1823, when it was destroyed by fire. Its eighty pillars, disposed in four rows, were brought together from various quarters, and showed a great difference in material, while many shifts had been found necessary in order to give the appearance of uniform size. The beautiful cloisters, of the twelfth century, contain, among other things, the tomb of Peter the son of Leo and father of Anaclete II.; and in the church itself the fire has spared the mosaics with which the tribune was decorated by Placidia, in the pontificate of Leo the Great. St. Paul's, as it rivalled St. Peter's in wealth and splendour, was, like it, an object of attack to the Saracens, and, from its situation, was even more exposed to their violence. John VIII., therefore, did for this church the same which Leo IV. had done for the Vatican, by enclosing it within a wall. But of the further history of 'Joannipolis' we have no account.

In a green and secluded nook of the Campagna, two miles beyond St. Paul's, stand the three churches which mark the traditional scene of the Apostle's martyrdom. The largest of them, SS. Vincent and Anastasius, was built by Innocent II. on the site of a church founded by the Pope Honorius I. (ii. 141). It is remarkable for the stern and solemn effect produced by its long and narrow nave, its low pier arches, and the height of wall above, broken only by a row of small and plain windows; and it may be regarded as the only memorial of the great St. Bernard's con-

* See Lord Broughton, ii. 376.

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nexion with Rome, since Innocent, in acknowledgment of his services to the Papacy, bestowed the church on the Cistercian order, to which it still belongs (iv. 418). The first abbot was that namesake and pupil of Bernard who afterwards became Pope Eugenius III., and to whom the saint dedicated his treatise 'Of Consideration' (iv. 463).

Let us suppose that we are again within the walls, and following the course of the Appian Way. The little church of SS. Nereus and Achilleus was originally known as the 'Titulus Fasciolæ;' for it is said that St. Peter, on that flight from Rome which was arrested at the spot known as 'Domine, quo vadis?' dropped a bandage (*fasciola*) with which his wounded foot had been bound, and that this church was built in commemoration of the accident. Mr. Gregorovius, however, is inclined to suppose that Fasciola was the name of a pious Roman lady, possibly no other than St. Jerome's friend Fabiola. The church is interesting chiefly from its connexion with the great ecclesiastical annalist Baronius, who restored it according to his idea of an early Christian place of worship, and engraved on its wall an entreaty that his successors in the cardinalate of SS. Nereus and Achilleus would allow it to remain as he had left it. For the sake of this work we are inclined to forgive him some of his many sins against historical truth; and often, as we have found some Roman church of venerable and historical name supplanted by an odious building of the seventeenth or eighteenth century, we have wished that it had had its Baronius to guard it by prayers, or even by curses, against wanton change. As we pass St. Gregory's, we remember with gratitude the tie which connects that church and its founder with our English Christianity, although we may not be inclined to use the prayer for the reconversion of 'the noblest British nation' which is charitably provided for the use of visitors. But although Mr. Gregorovius has something to tell us about every one of the other churches on the Cœlian, we must not linger over these, but must hasten on to the more celebrated church of St. Clement.

This, as the reader doubtless knows, has long been famous as presenting the most unaltered and faithful type of a primitive Christian church. Occupying a site on which a not improbable tradition represents the apostolical father St. Clement as having founded an oratory, and on which a church had long existed at the date of St. Jerome's 'Catalogue of Illustrious Men,' it is approached through a square cloistered court, which was a common feature in early churches; and the interior enables us to trace more distinctly than in any other building the manner in which the arrangements of the secular basilicas were adapted to Christian

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Christian worship. The marble enclosure of the choir, which runs down from the tribune into the nave, bears the monogram of John VIII., who was pope from 872 to 882; and to him, or to Adrian I. in the preceding century, the church had usually been ascribed. But this church, although still entitled to claim our undiminished interest as a reproduction of the ancient Christian basilica, has lately become the subject of unexpected controversies through the discoveries made under the care of Dr. Mullooly, prior of the Irish Dominicans to whom it belongs. Excavations have brought to light another church, at a level about twenty feet lower, and under that lower church have been discovered remains which are supposed to reach back in part even to the kingly period of Roman history.* We have heard a suggestion that this lower church may have been merely the crypt of that which stands above it; but no one who has actually seen the place can doubt that the lower church was of an earlier age than the upper and was superseded by it. Since no record of the change from the one to the other is found, we are forced to conjecture as we best may the date at which the upper church was built, and the reason why the older church was abandoned.

In looking for grounds on which our conjectures may be founded, we turn to some paintings which have been discovered on the walls—especially to two which are in a wonderful state of preservation, and have for their subjects the installation of St. Clement by St. Peter, and the history of St. Alexius, which we have already mentioned in connexion with the Aventine. It is somewhat surprising that no one, in so far as we are aware, has undertaken to pronounce as to the age of these pictures from knowledge of the history of art. By some, they have been referred to the fifth century (in which St. Alexius is said to have lived), while other works in various parts of the buried church have been referred to a still earlier time. But, as the painting of the Installation bears an inscription signifying that it was given by Beno de Rapiza and Mary his wife, 'for the love of God and the blessed Clement,' Mr. Gregorovius truly remarks that it cannot be older than the time when names ending in *izo* and *iza* arose—namely the tenth or the eleventh century.† He therefore supposes the present church to have been built by Paschal II., who was Pope from 1099 to 1118,

* See the last edition of the 'Handbook for Rome,' p. 142-46, and the 'Ecclesiologist' for February, April, and June, 1863.

† iii. 407; iv. 161, 165. Rapizo is to be added to the *hundred and ninety-two* forms of the name *Robert*, which Dr. Maitland has collected in 'Notes and Queries,' 1st Ser. vi. 218.

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in consideration of having taken his title as Cardinal from St. Clement's—the older church having probably been destroyed by Robert Guiscard; and in this opinion our excellent friend of the 'Handbook' agrees (p. 146). But, as the election of Paschal to the Papacy took place in St. Clement's, either the old or the new church must have then been in such a condition as to be a fit place for the meeting of the cardinals; and, since we do not find any mention of the rebuilding of St. Clement's during the pontificate of Paschal, while it is expressly recorded that he rebuilt the church of the Quattro Coronati, 'which had been destroyed in the time of Robert Guiscard, Prince of Salerno,'* it would seem that, if the present church was Paschal's work, it must be referred to the time when he was especially connected with St. Clement's as Cardinal.

The lower church may probably have been built in the room of one yet older, or, at least, it may have been restored and embellished, about the year 870, during the enthusiasm excited by the arrival of the patron's supposed relics at Rome, and by the miracles which they are said to have wrought.† This conjecture is strengthened by the fact that Cyril, the apostle of the Slavonians, by whom these relics were brought from the Crimea, was himself buried in the church, where he is commemorated by paintings and inscriptions; and it is further strengthened by the occurrence of John VIII.'s monogram on the enclosure of the choir; for there can be no doubt that the choir originally belonged to the older church, and from it was hastily and unskilfully removed to its present position.‡ The painting which bears the name of Beno de Rapiza, and that of the story of St. Alexius, which is in the same style, may be supposed to have been executed at some time between the beginning of the eleventh century and the Norman capture of Rome in 1084; if a special occasion for such a gift to the church be sought, it may be found, perhaps, in the circumstance that Suidger, Bishop of Bamberg, who was raised to the Papacy by Henry III. in 1046, revived the memory of the patron saint by taking the name of Clement II.

But to disturb all this theory comes a letter from a friend who was at Rome last autumn, and who tells us, on the authority of an eminent Roman antiquary, that Beno de Rapiza and his wife figure in the registers of St. John Lateran so late as the beginning of the

* Petr. Pisan. ap. Watterich, 'Pontificum Romanorum Vitæ,' ii. 416-17, Lips. 1862.

† See the 'Translatio S. Clementis,' c. 9, in Ginzel's 'Gesch. der Slawenapostel Cyrill und Method,' Leitmeritz, 1857.

‡ 'Handbook of Rome,' 143-44.

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thirteenth century. If this be so, and if the Beno and Mary of the Lateran be the same with the Beno and Mary of St. Clement's, the history of this church becomes a puzzle which we cannot undertake to solve, and we must wait for further light. Let us remark, before leaving the subject, that any attempts to make capital for the peculiarities of Roman doctrine out of the wall-paintings of the underground church are utterly absurd. The artists by whom those paintings were executed could only represent the history and usages of earlier Christian ages as they and their contemporaries understood them; and we need hardly say that the ninth, tenth, or eleventh centuries knew far less of the apostolic and primitive ages than we ourselves know from the investigations of later times. If, therefore, Beno de Rapiza has left us representations of St. Clement and St. Peter which agree in the main with the present Roman idea, the fact is of no importance whatever as regards any question between the Roman Church and our own; nor need any Protestant fear that, by contributing towards the worthy Father Mullooly's fund for continuing the excavations, he may help the controversial interest of Rome.

Somewhere in the neighbourhood of the Lateran was the scene of the catastrophe which is said to have revealed the sex of Pope Joan. It was believed that, in consequence of that catastrophe, the popes in their processions avoided the street in which it occurred; but, in truth, the street was avoided on account of its narrowness, and the avoidance of it was one of the circumstances which contributed to form the legend. The street was swept away by Sixtus V., and the legend has probably now but few believers, even in Exeter Hall, although it appears to have lately found one or more champions among learned and paradoxical Germans. But how did this strange tale originate? According to some, it took its rise from the scandalous history of the papacy in the time of the Theodoras and Marozia. Baronius supposes the idea of a female John to symbolise the weakness of John VIII. (who happens to have been a more than ordinarily violent pope); and in later writers we have met with the very ingenious theory that, as the female pope, according to one version of the story, was a native of Mentz, and as the great forgery of the Isidorian Decretals is supposed by some authorities to have been executed in that city, Pope Joan is nothing else than an impersonation of the False Decretals! Those of our readers who are curious in the matter may be referred to Dr. Döllinger's 'Papst-Fabeln,' where the story is supposed to have arisen out of a misunderstanding of two antique figures which once stood in this neighbourhood,

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bourhood, and of some other ancient remains which existed, or still exist, in Rome.

In all general views of Rome the grand group of the Lateran is a conspicuous feature. The oldest part of it is the Baptistery, which is generally ascribed to Constantine, although it was probably erected by him for some other purpose, and although the story of his having received baptism in it at the hands of St. Sylvester has long been exploded.* Mr. Gregorovius is inclined to ascribe the whole building to Sixtus III., but the passage which he quotes from the Pontificals appears clearly to limit that pope's work to the addition of the porphyry columns and other ornamental parts (ii. 150). Of the chapels annexed to the baptistery, one is historically remarkable as having been dedicated by Pope Hilary to St. John the Baptist in gratitude for his escape from the fury of the council which is known as the 'Latrocinium' of Ephesus (ii. 150).

The great church of the Lateran, which bears on its front the proud inscription 'Mother and Mistress of all Churches of the City and of the World,' was known for ages as St. Saviour's, or as the Basilica of Constantine—the latter a title which, in a different sense, is now attached to the three gigantic arches in the Forum. About the year 580 St. Benedict's monastery at Monte Casino was destroyed by the Lombards, and the expelled monks found, through the kindness of Pelagius II., a refuge in the Lateran, where they dedicated their convent to St. John the Baptist and St. John the Evangelist; and from this it was that, although not until long after, the name of St. John's was given to the patriarchal church (ii. 17). This church has undergone many vicissitudes. The oldest building on the site fell down in 896, and for seven years its ruins were exposed to plunder by any who might care to search for the precious objects which were buried among them. The rebuilding was undertaken and carried out by Sergius III., whose church was in its turn destroyed by fire in 1308 (ii. 270-2). The church which succeeded that of Sergius has been, unhappily, so disfigured by modern improvements, that the Lateran is now one of the most disappointing sights in Rome. Yet the beautiful old cloisters—perhaps even more beautiful than those of St. Paul—still remain, and within the church itself, in addition to the curious portrait of Boniface VIII. by Giotto, the traveller may trace, here and there, the monuments of ancient popes which have been thrown into the shade by the more modern splendours of Corsinis and Torlonias.

* Here again we refer to Dr. Döllinger's 'Papst-Fabeln.'

Not

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Not far from the Lateran stands another of the great churches of Rome—the Basilica Heleniana or Sessoriana (i. 106). This, too, has suffered from restoration to such a degree that the present building has little to interest the traveller; nor are English travellers in general likely to be much attracted by the relic from which it derives its name of 'Holy Cross in Jerusalem'—a portion (as is asserted) of the true cross, which is said to have been the gift of the pious Empress Helena. Perhaps our thoughts, as we visit it, may rather turn to the legend of Gerbert, the extraordinary man who, after a life of strange vicissitudes, in which he had been the most resolute and dangerous opponent of the Papacy, became Pope through the influence of Otho III., under the name of Sylvester II. Gerbert, it is said, had studied under Saracen teachers in Spain, and had learnt much of their unhallowed lore. He made, under starry influences, a brazen head, which, like that of our own Friar Bacon, answered questions affirmatively or negatively. When he asked, 'Shall I be Pope?' it answered 'Yes.' When he asked, 'Shall I die before I sing mass in Jerusalem?' the answer was 'No.' The first part of the prophecy was fulfilled, and on the strength of the second part Gerbert promised himself a long—even an endless—life. But one day, as he was celebrating mass in this church, he was seized with sudden illness; the name of 'Holy Cross in Jerusalem' flashed on his mind, and he perceived that his last hour was come. In the earnestness of his remorse for his sins, he ordered that one of his limbs should be cut off after another, and that his trunk should be thrown into a cart, and buried in the place to which the horses should spontaneously carry it. The horses stopped at the Lateran basilica, in token that for the worst of sinners forgiveness waits on repentance; and a moistening of Sylvester's gravestone, accompanied by a rattling of his bones below, foretold the death of his successors.*

The legend of the foundation of St. Mary Major's, the third in rank of the basilicas, relates that, in the papacy of Liberius (A.D. 352-366), a rich patrician named John dreamt on the night of the fourth of August that the Blessed Virgin appeared to him and charged him to build a church in the spot where on the following morning he should find newly-fallen snow. On awaking, John hastened to report his dream to the Pope, and found that he, too, had been favoured with a similar vision. While they were yet talking, messengers rushed in with the astonishing news that snow had fallen on the Esquiline, near the Baths of Livia, and, on proceeding to the spot,

* Grabm. d. Päpste, 40-43.

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they found that the story was true. The plan for the church was then traced out in the snow under the Pope's direction, and the building was raised at the cost of the pious patrician (i. 108). Mr. Gregorovius supposes this story to be no older than the twelfth or thirteenth century, and (without thinking it necessary to discuss the miracle) he shows that the connexion of St. Mary's name with the origin of the church is an anachronism. The foundation of Liberius seems to have been known by no other name than one derived from his—*Basilica Liberiana;* it was at the rebuilding by Sixtus III., in 432, that the name of St. Mary's was bestowed on the church, in commemoration of the victory gained in the preceding year, at the general council of Ephesus, over the Nestorian heresy which denied to the Blessed Virgin the epithet of *Theotokos.** And this was the first church in Rome which bore that name which has since been given to so many others; for although St. Mary's in the Trastevere dates (as we have seen) from a much earlier time, its present designation was later than that of the basilica on the Esquiline (i. 108-9). The outside of the church is now unhappily encrusted with additions of later date, but the splendid interior is still, in the main, the work of Sixtus III.; and to his time are ascribed the remarkable mosaics, which our author describes at considerable length, and characterizes as retaining much of antique grace, and free from the Byzantine peculiarities which appear strongly in those of St. Paul's, executed only a few years later (i. 181-3).

Near St. Mary's is the church of St. Pudentiana, which by some is considered to date even from the second century, while in England it is generally known as giving the title to the chief representative of the Roman Church among us: and, as our thoughts have been thus turned homewards—although perhaps not by the most agreeable association—here we may end our imaginary stroll through Rome, with thanks to Mr. Gregorovius for the pleasure and instruction which we have already received from his book, and in the hope that we shall soon see the completion of it.

* Mr. Gregorovius says that the name of *ad Præsepe* is proved by a document of the sixth century to have been then given to this church, although it is generally supposed to have begun from the acquisition of the sacred cradle and other relics from Bethlehem in 642 (i. 181; and see the dissertation by Bianchini on the Life of Sixtus, in Migne, Patrol. cxxviii.). What, then, was the origin of the name?

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ART. VIII.—1. *Correspondence respecting the Affairs of the Duchies of Schleswig and Holstein.* Presented to Parliament. London, 1860-62.

2. *Denmark and Germany since* 1815. By C. H. Gosch. London, 1861.

3. *Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte der Holstein-Lauenburgischen Angelegenheit am Deutschen Bunde in den Jahren* 1851 *bis* 1858. Frankfort-am-Main, 1858.

4. *Grund-gesetz für die gemeinschaftlichen Angelegenheiten des Königreichs Dänemark und des Herzogthums Schleswig.* Kopenhagen, 1863.

5. *Debate in the Prussian Chamber.* Kölnische Zeitung, Dec. 2 and 3. 1863.

6. *A Residence in Jutland, the Danish Isles, and Copenhagen.* By Horace Marryat. 2 Vols. London, 1860.

IN the diplomatic parlance of the day, the monarchy of Denmark consists of a kingdom and of three duchies. The kingdom is made up of the islands and of the Northern portion of the Cimbrian peninsula, called Jutland. The Central portion of that peninsula is the Duchy of Slesvig; the Southern portion of it is the Duchy of Holstein. On the South-eastern frontier of Holstein lies the little Duchy of Lauenburg. All these territories belong equally to the Danish Crown. But they are held on very different titles. Jutland and the islands have always formed part of Denmark Proper; Slesvig has been from the most ancient times either united to Denmark, or a fief held under the King of Denmark; while Holstein and Lauenburg have always been fiefs of the Holy Roman Empire. Thus the boundary between Slesvig and Holstein, which is formed by the river Eyder, was also the boundary between the feudal jurisdictions of the German Emperor and the Danish King. In the course of the centuries during which the modern map of Europe was in process of formation, these two territories, like many others in their neighbourhood, underwent numerous political and territorial changes. Only at distant intervals, and at brief periods, were they governed in their entirety, as they are now, by the King of Denmark. Their more usual condition was that they were split up into various divisions, under various rulers. The distribution which prevailed in the main in more recent times, that is to say during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, was that the King of Denmark took one bit of each of the two Duchies; the Duke of Holstein-Gottorp took another; and the Ducal family of Sonderborg had a small remnant out of each Duchy to divide among themselves. In course

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course of time these subdivisions came to an end. Throughout the whole of Europe, the ambition of rulers, and the common sense of their subjects, has tended to consolidate into large masses the minute political atoms into which the various territories had been split up under the feudal system. In Denmark this wholesome tendency began to make itself visible in the middle of the seventeenth century; and during the latter half of that century the policy of the Kings of Denmark was mainly directed to the object of getting back the portions of Slesvig which were held by other lines. At last, after many vicissitudes, King Frederick IV. succeeded in 1713 in occupying the Gottorp portion of Slesvig; and united it, as soon as peace was restored, under the guarantee of England, to the Danish Crown.* The separated part of Holstein was not secured for another half century. However, when the Holstein-Gottorps had ascended the throne of Russia, this petty strip of territory ceased to be an engrossing object of ambition to them. In 1773 Paul, then just of age, renounced all rights of the House of Holstein-Gottorp upon any part of Slesvig; and also ceded all his possessions in Holstein to the Danish Crown. The smaller shares in the two Duchies belonging to other claimants were in course of time bought up. Thus in 1779 the King of Denmark became the ruler of those parts of Slesvig and of Holstein which had been granted away, and from that time they remained united to the monarchy. Holstein, however, continued to retain its feudal relation to the Emperor of Germany. It remained a fief of the Holy Roman Empire till that empire was finally broken up in 1806. Lauenburg was ceded to the monarchy under a totally different title. When peace came after the Great War, and those who had languished long under the oppression of Napoleon came together to redistribute the spoils they had won back from him, it was not likely that Denmark, who had joined him, would meet with much mercy from his victims. They were content, however, with stripping her of Norway. By way of compensation, the petty Duchy of Lauenburg, which lies upon the south-eastern frontier of Holstein, was added to the Danish territory. At the same time these two Duchies of Holstein and Lauenburg, as they had formed part of the old German Empire, were included in the new Germanic Confederation. In virtue of these possessions, the King of Denmark therefore became a member of the Diet. If Denmark could have looked into the future, and have foreseen the perils that lay hidden under that seemingly formal stipulation, she would have prayed the

* The English guarantee (July, 1720) applied to the Danish possession of the whole of Slesvig, and was couched in the strongest terms 'against all and every one who may attempt to disturb it directly or indirectly.'

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Congress of Vienna rather to strip her of any territory than to admit her into that fatal partnership.

This settlement might have lasted without disturbance for an indefinite time, if the tempers of the various nations had remained as they were in 1815. All the arrangements of that year were negotiated upon the principle that France and Russia were the only two countries from whose aggressive spirit the peace of Europe had anything to fear. The old traditions of Austria, and the heterogeneous character of her empire, were thought to be a sufficient security for her pacific disposition; nor can it be said that that expectation has been disappointed. Prussia and the smaller German powers had given to the minds of politicians of that date a different and a more humiliating guarantee. Their conduct during the Great War had shown so slender an aptitude for self-defence, that the idea of their attempting conquest was too absurd to be entertained. Nor had their patriotism been of that excitable kind which disposes a nation to incur risk for the sake of glory. They had allowed themselves to be tossed from one ruler to another, as the fancy of their conqueror might decide; they had submitted to see a horde of foreign officials stifling their trade in order to forward his designs, and loading them with taxes to keep up the machinery for their oppression; they had suffered their sons to be dragged into a distant land to fight his wars; and all these insults had not spurred them into any serious resistance, until bolder races had broken his power, and had made patriotism comparatively safe. The masses, in 1813, fought well: but it was only after Russia had made their task easy; and it was rather against the will than under the guidance of their natural leaders. It was pardonable, therefore, in the Vienna Plenipotentiaries, if it never occurred to them to fear that the ambition of the smaller German States would endanger the balance of power which they were adjusting. But contempt is said by the Indian proverb to pierce the shell of the tortoise; and the ignominious part which Germany played during the Great War had the effect of awakening a national spirit which had never existed before. If it had been directed by moderate and practical men, this movement would have been of great service not only to Germany but to Europe. A United Germany, strong enough to resist attack, either upon her Eastern or her Western frontier, would have been, in the opinion of the statesmen of forty years ago, the surest guarantee of European peace. No one would have ventured to predict that the ambition of a United Germany might be as dangerous to that peace as the ambition of France or Russia. Unhappily this movement for national unity did not fall into the hands of the more sober part of

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of the community. It was closely linked with the secret propaganda of those wild democratic theories which the Revolution had left as its legacy to Europe. The democratic and the national party grew up side by side in an alliance so close that they could barely be distinguished from each other. In such companionship it was not likely that the designs of the national party would be marked by a spirit of moderation, or a respect for the rights of others. Moderation, especially in the matter of territory, has never been characteristic of democracy. Wherever it has had free play, in the ancient world or the modern, in the old hemisphere or the new, a thirst for empire, and a readiness for aggressive war, has always marked it. This tendency impressed itself deeply upon the national party in Germany. They had enough to do without meddling with their neighbours. The reconciliation of conflicting interests, which is indispensable for such a consolidation as shall make Germany strong in the face of real danger, would have taxed all their sagacity. The attainment of that constitutional liberty which is the truest foundation of a nation's strength, would have given abundant employment to their enthusiasm. But they were not satisfied with these modest objects of desire. After the fashion of many other nations during the course of the last half century, they fed their imaginations upon historical illusions. They studied the records of the past to find material for dreams of the future. They dwelt upon the thought of what a German emperor once had been; and they sighed for a mighty German Empire based upon pure democratic principles, that should again give law to Europe.

Of course for the erection of such an empire a powerful fleet was a matter of primary necessity. For the maritime interests of a pacific Germany—such a Germany as the statesmen of the last generation pictured to themselves—a very moderate protection would suffice. Her external commerce is small; and the only enemies she has much cause to fear are enemies that would attack her by land. But for a nation claiming to exercise a powerful influence upon the affairs of the world, a maritime force is indispensable. Unfortunately in Germany the elements out of which a maritime power is made are lamentably deficient. During the most excited months of 1848, an Austrian nobleman of eminence met a number of sympathising compatriots at a dinner at some tavern in London; and in the course of his speech he took occasion, among other things, to congratulate them upon the maritime power of their country, for, as he strikingly observed, 'they had got a splendid naval force, only they had not yet got the ships.' The national party have always been anxious to remedy this solitary but unfortunate deficiency. The best evidence of the importance which they attach to this point is the

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the strange effort which has been made in recent years to collect money by private subscriptions to build a fleet for Germany. It is needless to say that this curious exhibition of patriotic zeal has not been brilliantly successful. But it has been carried out with great industry; and there have been few towns in Germany (except where the Government has interfered) in which a collection has not been made in some form or other for the German fleet. As a specimen of the mode in which the canvass has been conducted, and of the strange sort of people who have been induced to join in it, we may take the case of Dr. Strauss, who has published during the present year a vigorous lecture directed against 'historical' Christianity, which he recommends to his countrymen by telling them that it was delivered at Heilbronn, a small town in Wurtemburg, 'to raise money for the German fleet.' Nothing, of course, would be more unwarrantable than to utter a word of censure against any kind of expenditure which an independent power may think fit to make upon any kind of armament it pleases. But this peculiar zeal for a naval power indicates the objects upon which the National Verein is bent. And it is from the National Verein that the impulse proceeds which is driving the German Cabinets into war.

The truth is that the existence of Denmark as an independent power is almost as fatal to the creation of a German marine as that capital deficiency of ships to which we have already referred. In proportion to its size, the German Confederation is singularly destitute of sea-board. What sea-board it has is ill-furnished with harbours; and what harbours it possesses are, in a great measure, commanded by the territories of other powers. Setting aside Trieste—which, under the new-born doctrine of nationalities, is not likely to remain German property very long—Germany only possesses the coast of Prussia and Mecklenburg upon the Baltic, and, besides Hamburg, the coast of Hanover and Oldenburg upon the North Sea. The Baltic harbours, such as they are, are not of much use for operations upon the open sea if Denmark should be hostile; and except Bremer-hafen, the harbours on the North Sea are commanded either by Denmark or Holland. On the other hand, if the Duchy of Slesvig and the Duchy of Holstein could be fairly got into German hands, and made subservient to German interests, the whole state of the case would be changed. The monarchy of Denmark would be practically broken up, and would become a mere dependency of Germany; and a set of admirable harbours, both upon the Baltic and the North Sea, would be placed at the disposal of the German fleet.

The bearing of German aspirations on the present dispute may, in short, be summed up thus: the National party desires above all things that Germany should be a great naval power; the dismemberment

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memberment of Denmark is essential to that end; and we find, actually, that the National party are those who are urging on with the greatest vehemence the dismemberment of Denmark. Upon these grounds alone it would not be uncharitable to conclude that the Germans were actuated in the present dispute by very much the same motives as that which actuated Ahab in his celebrated controversy with Naboth. But this imputation, disgraceful as it is, is not matter of surmise; it has been openly admitted—or, rather, loudly proclaimed—again and again, that the grievances of the Holsteiners and the Slesvigers were only urged to give Germany an excuse for evicting Denmark out of the Duchies. To take but one testimony out of many, we will quote from the report of the Committee of the House of Representatives at Berlin, in 1860. 'Without these Duchies,' say the Committee, 'an effectual protection of the coasts of Germany and of the North Sea is impossible; and the whole of Northern Germany remains open to a hostile attack as long as they belong to a power inimical to Germany.' A more simply formulated reason for stealing your neighbour's property was never, perhaps, before printed in a state paper. The speakers in the recent debate (Dec. 1) in the Prussian Chamber, have not been less plain-spoken. A Committee was appointed to consider the claims of the Pretender, Prince Frederick; and the reporter of the Committee, von Twesten, makes the following candid remark:—

'The Duchies are for Germany and Prussia a strong bulwark under all circumstances against any attack coming from the North. This as well as their maritime position are advantages which Prussia can never relinquish.'

Dr. Löwe, who is a conspicuous man in the National Verein, speaks with even less affectation of concealment;—

'What interest has Prussia in the maintenance of the London Protocol? Since the time of the Great Elector, Prussian policy has always been rightly directed towards gaining the North German Peninsula for Germany.'

The extract is curious: both as an admirable specimen of the morality current among the German patriots of the present day, and also for the calm audacity with which the new geographical designation of North German Peninsula has been invented. But it hardly needed these frank confessions to enlighten us upon the subject. No one who has followed the Schleswig-Holstein controversy carefully and impartially can entertain even a momentary doubt that he is reading over again, in a more tedious form, the fable of the Wolf and the Lamb. Without such a key to the conduct of Germany, the whole correspond-

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ence is simply unintelligible. The oppression alleged, even if it be genuine, is so slight in itself—it is so insignificant in comparison to that practised by the great German powers towards subject nationalities of their own—the claims made are so unreasonable—the determination on the part of Germany to disintegrate the Danish monarchy is so transparent—that, unless some ambitious motive were at the bottom, the whole transaction would be one of the mysteries of history.

The desire of the German National party to obtain a hold over Slesvig first became apparent after the great political disturbances of the year 1830. During the eighteen years that intervened between the revolutionary period of 1830 and the revolutionary period of 1848, the agitation was carried on with great vigour. A new doctrine was elaborated, which is known by the name of the Schleswig-Holstein theory. According to this theory, Slesvig and Holstein 'had been united for four hundred years under the King-Duke, and were independent of the rule of Denmark Proper.' Thus, Holstein being part of Germany, and Slesvig being indissolubly united to Holstein, it followed that Schleswig-Holstein was part of the Great Fatherland. It was true that the majority of Slesvigers spoke Danish; but that was their misfortune, not their fault. They ought to be taught to revert to their native German as soon as possible; and the sooner the intrusive Danish Government could be ejected, by any contrivance, the better.

It is needless to dwell upon the curious character of the 'indissoluble union,' which appears to have been an union all upon one side. The propounders of it argued, with great confidence, that because Holstein was German, therefore Slesvig, which was indissolubly united to it, must be German too. It never seems to have occurred to them that the argument was capable of being turned round. If Slesvig is Danish—as, by its history and the original language of the majority of its inhabitants, it certainly is—it follows, according to the doctrine of indissoluble union, that Holstein must be Danish, too. However, the allegations upon which the theory is based are as worthless as the logic by which it is constructed. The best proof that no amount of indissoluble union has made Slesvig into a German duchy is, that from the thirteenth century it has been held, according to all the formalities of the feudal law, as a Danish fief.* The lord para-

* During the latter half of the seventeenth century, a large portion of Slesvig was occasionally held free from feudal service by the House of Gottorp—the ancestors of the Emperor of Russia. This quasi-independent sovereignty was extorted by force in 1658, and was effaced by force in 1713.

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mount of Slesvig was always the King of Denmark, while the lord paramount of Holstein was the German Emperor; and, accordingly, the Eyder has always—at least, since the days of Conrad II.—been accepted as the northern limit of the Holy Roman Empire. It is perfectly true that there are, and have been for many centuries, a considerable number of Germans north of that river. The line which divides races asunder seldom remains as immovable as the line which divides their governments. In the lapse of centuries, the wealthier and more cultivated race gradually overstepped the border. German emigrants from Holstein came over and settled in Slesvig; and when, by the accidents of succession, dukes of German blood inherited the duchy, they brought with them representatives of powerful German families, who received grants of land. Thus it came to pass that a considerable minority of the population of Slesvig were Germans by race and blood, and as they were the wealthier class, they left the mark of their nationality upon the civil and ecclesiastical institutions of their adopted land. Under the guidance of German judges, German maxims of law crept into the old Jutish law-book. Under the rule of German bishops, German services were said and German sermons were preached in many a parish where only Danish or Frisian was understood by the people. Out of this political prevalence of the German minority sprang a certain amount of political connexion between the two duchies. The Germans of Slesvig naturally leant upon their more powerful brethren on the other side of the Eyder, and associated themselves to Holstein as closely as they could, both in social intercourse and in certain administrative arrangements. The University of Kiel was commonly used by both duchies. In the sixteenth century the two Diets even met in one place, and continued to do so until their extinction in 1711; and since 1648 the purely local affairs of the two Duchies, or at least of such part of them as was in the hands of the King of Denmark, were managed by a distinct department, entirely, or almost entirely, apart from the affairs of Denmark Proper. In 1834 a common court of appeal was given to them.

When the Germans say, therefore, that a political union has existed between Slesvig and Holstein for four centuries, the assertion scarcely contains even the smallest possible infusion of truth. There has never been anything that could be called a definitive union: though, on the other hand, there has never been an absolute, permanent, and complete separation. The occasional combination, such as it was, was fitful and desultory, and depending evidently more upon the moment's convenience than upon any definite policy. There is no trace

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of any customary right possessed by the Duchies of forming one political whole. This is sufficiently demonstrated by the fact that it was very seldom that either of them could keep its own unity—let alone any right to be united with its neighbour. It would be endless to describe the various combinations into which they were cut and carved at various periods of their history. Sometimes they were under two princes, sometimes under three, at one time under as many as nine: sometimes they were united with the Danish Crown, and sometimes they were separated from it. Sometimes one of them was united and the other was not; or bits of each were united to it, while other bits were severed from it. Until the last alienated morsel relapsed to the Danish monarchy in 1779, there were only two periods in the course of their long history during which they were united under one prince. One of these periods lasted for fifty-five years, the other lasted for twenty-one years; and the most recent of them was more than three centuries ago. Since then they have never been combined independently of the kingdom of Denmark Proper. Before 1779 they were not (with those two exceptions) ever combined at all. Since 1779, until this controversy began they were under the absolute government of the King of Denmark, and had no independent rights at all. Anything less like 'a union of four hundred years, independently of Denmark Proper'* cannot well be conceived.

If the history of actual practice cannot be made to yield much evidence in favour of this indissoluble union theory, the 'charters' that have been invoked in aid are a still more lamentable failure. This part of the German case is so curiously weak, that it is often difficult to believe that any man having a reputation for common sense to lose should have seriously advanced it. There are two points which have to be proved; 1st, that the two Duchies are by right independent of Denmark; 2ndly, that they are indissolubly united together. In behalf of each of these propositions a charter is invoked—in favour of the first the 'Constitution,' of King Valdemar, and in favour of the second the 'Privileges' of King Christian I. There are many serious difficulties in the way of discussing King Valdemar's Constitution: but the first of those difficulties is as conclusive as the first out of the twenty that prevented the Maire of Ivry from delivering the keys of the town to Henri Quatre. The King, when he was informed that the first reason was that there were no keys, said that in that case it was unnecessary to go into the other nineteen:

* Mr. Ward, Parl. Corr. 1863, p. 207. Count Bernstorff, Parl. Corr. 1863, p. 197.

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and so our readers will perhaps spare us the necessity for stating our other reasons for not discussing Valdemar's Constitution, when we inform them that it does not exist. There is no such document. High and low, in town and tower, in library and record-chest, patriotic German professors have hunted for it with the indefatigable pertinacity which distinguishes their race: but the provoking parchment will not be discovered. Well then, it may be asked, how did any one contrive to evolve the idea of its existence? The answer to this reasonable question will show on what a microscopic foundation a German Professor can erect a theory of towering proportions. There is in a Holstein convent a certain parchment, without date of place or seal, purporting to be a letter written in June, 1448, by a certain Count of Oldenburg, who subsequently was elected King of Denmark. In this letter, written apparently for the purpose of obtaining his election to the Crown, the Count says that he has been shown a number of old documents, one of which contains a Latin passage signed by King Valdemar III. and his council, and dating from A.D. 1326. The Latin passage runs as follows: '*Item Ducatus Sunderjutiæ regno et coronæ non unietur nec annectetur ita quod unus sit dominus utriusque.*'* Upon this foundation rests what the German writers call 'The Valdemarian Constitution.' It may be briefly dismissed. The Valdemar who sat on the Danish throne in 1326 was a boy of twelve years old in the first place: and in the second place, he was a usurper who had just been put upon it by an adventurous uncle. Four years later he was driven out again, and the rightful sovereign returned. King Valdemar therefore was not exactly the kind of man—or rather boy—who would have authority to make a Constitution that was to bind the Danish monarchy for five centuries. It is further remarkable that no other allusion is made to the existence of this curious promise, even in the state papers of the time in which the mention of it would most naturally find a place. The only evidence of it is that, more than a hundred years later, a Count of Oldenburg, in a letter whose genuineness is gravely doubted, makes a statement which is wholly unattested by any other person, that a document had been shown to him, of whose authenticity we have no proof, purporting to record that the boy-usurper made this promise at the very moment of his usurpation. Granting this heap of assumptions, what does the promise really undertake? It undertakes—not that Denmark and Slesvig shall never be administratively or legislatively united—*but that they shall never be ruled by the same king.*

* 'Also that the duchy of South Jutland (Slesvig) shall not be united with or annexed to the crown and kingdom, in such a manner that there shall be one lord to both.'

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In other words, it promises that an arrangement which, in regard to parts of Slesvig, has existed for four hundred years, and in regard to the whole of it, for a century and a half, which has been sanctioned by the Congress of Vienna, and has never been called in question by the Slesvigers, or the Germans themselves, shall never take effect. King Valdemar comes somewhat late into the field. And to a document such as this, not only Germans, who merely want a rag of argument to cover the nakedness of their ambition, but even Englishmen, can be found to appeal as to an ancient and valid charter.

So much for Slesvig's 'independence of Denmark.' The other point in support of which the Germans appealed to ancient documents was 'the indissoluble union of the two Duchies.' Compared to the Constitution of King Valdemar, the document which they invoke for this second purpose is almost respectable. But though it lacks the elements of absurdity which belonged to the last case, its real value is scarcely greater. It consists of a passage in a Charter granted by King Christian I. in the year A.D. 1460. The passage has been much insisted on in Germany, and in fact has been converted into a kind of motto for the 'sympathisers,' who, after the fashion of such sentimentalists, unite gushing emotions with very practical views upon the subject of territorial acquisition. The passage is as follows:

'That the lands shall remain for ever together undivided.' *

Assuming

* The meaning of the original has been the subject of much contest. The words in the Low German of the period are—'*Wy lauen dat se bliven ewich to-samende ungedelt.*' The two last words obviously open a wide field for controversy. They may mean that Slesvig and Holstein shall always remain together, and never be divided from each other. Or they may mean that both Slesvig and Holstein shall remain each of them undivided; that is to say, that they shall each of them be free from those ulterior subdivisions which in the Middle Ages were so common and so grievous a curse. This last interpretation is rendered probable by the fact that, before Christian's time (and indeed after it), the Duchies were the victims of constant subdivision. The same view is also corroborated by the rest of the clause from which this isolated passage is extracted. It runs thus:—

'These lands aforesaid we promise to do our best to keep in good peace, and that they shall remain for ever together (or both of them) undivided. Therefore shall nobody feud upon the other, but each shall be content with what is right. And in order that such peace may be kept so much the better, we shall and will have our bailiffs to belong to the natives of such lands, and give them our castles and fiefs, and to no one else.'

Keeping the peace, therefore, seems to have been the object of the clause. The promise not to divide the lands was merely a portion of the promise to prevent internal feuds. It is obvious that infinite subdivision would endanger the peace, and promote disputes. On the other hand, the division from each other of the two lands which lie on either shore of the Eyder would not in any perceptible degree tend to endanger the peace. It is probable, therefore, that Christian was referring not to the separation of the two lands from each other, but to the internal subdivision

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Assuming that this promise meant that Slesvig and Holstein were never to be parted—for every step in the vexed question has been made a battle field—the question arises, what Christian meant by 'never parting' them. We can discover this in some degree from the rest of the Charter out of which this clause is taken. It did *not* mean that the two Duchies should have the same diet: for the Charter provides one diet for Holstein, and another for Slesvig. It did *not* mean that they were to have the same tribunals or the same laws: for the Charter provides a Jutish code of law for Slesvig, and a German code of law of Holstein. It did *not* mean that they were to have the same executive administration: for the Charter provides that Slesvig should be administered by a Drost, who was to be a Slesviger, and Holstein by a Marshal, who was to be a Holsteiner. If then this 'indissoluble union guaranteed by ancient charters' was not a legislative, nor a judicial, nor an administrative union—if it involved neither a common diet, nor common law courts, nor a common government, what was it? It could only have been a dynastic union; for nothing else remains. Christian I. promised only that he would retain the two Duchies under his own rule, and that his successors would do the same. During the three centuries which succeeded its promulgation the promise was, as we have seen, but indifferently kept. But never, since the day when King Christian signed it, has it been better kept than during the last fifty years. The kings of Denmark since 1779 have never shown the slightest inclination to break the dynastic tie which binds Slesvig to Holstein. If the suggestion has been made, it has not come from them. The present Federal execution undoubtedly tends to violate the undertaking 'that the lands shall remain for ever together undivided;' but no other measure that has ever been taken for the last hundred years can be charged with such a tendency.

But after all, an argument upon a charter of King Christian I., in 1460, which has been recognised by no subsequent legislation, can only be justified on the principle of arguing with a fool according to his folly. No one who recollects the contrast between what Europe was then and is now, can be blind to the absurdity of disinterring an obsolete proclamation from its tomb beneath the dust of centuries, and attempting to found on it a reversal of everything that modern legislation or modern diplomacy has sanctioned. In England, at that time, the last of the

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subdivision of each. The divisibility of fiefs—that is to say, of states—was a matter upon which subjects were always very sensitive, as indeed the Germans ought to know better than most people.

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Barons was raising and pulling down thrones at his pleasure; the English King still lived who had worn the crown of France; France, though then free at last, contained neither Brittany, nor Picardy, nor Calais, nor Lorraine, nor Burgundy, nor Provence; the Moor still ruled in Spain; Holland was still a fief of the Holy Roman Empire; and the Russian Czars had but just emerged from the dominion of the successor of Genghis Khan. Since that time revolution after revolution has swept over Europe. War has succeeded upon war; boundaries, institutions, religions have been changed in almost every country; old landmarks have been twice overthrown by desolating wars; and twice Congresses have assembled to reconstruct the map of a great part of Europe, and to grant a new title to its rulers. Denmark has not been exempt from the common law of change. Its boundaries have been repeatedly remodelled; its territory has been laid waste more than once by war; its religion has been revolutionised; its institutions, its laws, and the arrangement of its internal administration, have been altered again and again. The very charter of Christian I., on which these theorists rely, has been abandoned in all its most essential points. It provides that the monarchy shall be elective: the monarchy is and has long been hereditary. It provides that the Duchies shall be governed by one set of officers: they have been for many generations governed by officers of a totally different kind. It fixes the places at which the Diets shall meet: they have not met there for centuries. It secures the highest position in the administration of each Duchy to the Bishop: the power of the bishops has utterly passed away. It provides that none but Slesvigers shall hold high office in Slesvig: whereas, until the last fifteen years, those offices were generally occupied by Holsteiners and Germans of every kind. And yet it is to this antiquated and forgotten document, of which there is scarcely a provision which later usage has not set aside, that these theorists, who play the part of jackals to German ambition, have gone to find, in a garbled extract from an ambiguous clause, a justification for unprovoked aggression, and a fair cause for bringing down upon Europe a renewal of the miseries of war.

Difficulties of this kind, however, were a matter of small importance to those who wanted, not an argument, but a catchword. It was easy enough to talk glibly about the Constitution of Valdemar, as if such a document really existed, and to reiterate the scrap out of King Christian's 'Privileges,' as though it sanctioned the arrangements for which the Germans were pressing. Undismayed by any flaws in their case, the National party set to work to agitate. They invented a Schleswig-Holstein flag, and

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and composed a Schleswig-Holstein song, and accumulated a Schleswig-Holstein literature, which, if it has utterly bewildered the understandings of foreigners, fully answered its purpose of misleading the mass of ordinary German readers. The propaganda of anti-Danish sentiments among the German population in Holstein and the southern part of Slesvig was carried on with great success. It naturally would not be a very difficult matter to bring about this result. The Germans flatter themselves that they are a very superior people to the Danes, especially in the matter of language; and the political subordination, which was the necessary consequence of numerical inferiority, was inevitably galling. Their feelings were much those with which the French in Canada still look upon their English rulers. If no external cause was at hand to excite it, such a feeling might lie dormant for a very long time; but fanned by an unscrupulous and indefatigable agitation, it was easily kindled into a flame. With such materials the National party worked away, well supported from Germany, and scarcely at all counteracted by the easy-going Prince who sat on the throne of Denmark, until the eventful year 1848 arrived.

The courageous student, who is steering his way painfully through the intricacies of this question, may well breathe a sigh of relief when this important landmark heaves in sight. It is a half-way house at which he may securely rest, and lay down the burden of historical facts, which he has been forced hitherto to carry along with him. From this point the controversy assumes a totally different shape. Every element of importance in it is new; every old consideration, which up to this time was essential, becomes comparatively worthless. From this time forth we shall hear nothing more of ancient charters and imaginary constitutions; we shall lose sight entirely of the 'indissoluble union.' Instead, we shall be compelled to rummage the less attractive, but at all events more reliable lore of modern diplomacy. Before 1848 every argument was historical; after 1848 every argument is diplomatic. The only documents with which we shall have henceforth to do are despatches, and protocols, and treaties. It is only a revolution whose sharp edge can draw this deep dividing line between the old and the new. And the Danish Duchies, like the greater part of their neighbours, had their revolution in 1848.

In the first month of that fateful year, before the revolution at Paris had given the signal of disturbance to the world, the King of Denmark died. His successor—the King whose recent loss we have such good cause to lament—was a man of liberal impulses, and resolved to change his despotic rule for a more constitutional

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constitutional form of government. In order to give his subjects a voice in the management of the general affairs of the country, he resolved to create a representative body common to the whole kingdom. The proportions in which he proposed to assign the rights of election to this assembly were not only fair, but extravagantly favourable, to the duchies of Slesvig and Holstein; for, though the duchies only contain three inhabitants to every five contained in the 'kingdom,' *i. e.*, in Denmark proper, the King proposed, that the Duchies on the one side, and the kingdom on the other, should return an equal number of members. Any one who had merely the interests of the Duchies at heart would have accepted the proposal eagerly. But, of course, it did not suit the views of the German party. Its effect would have been to link the Duchies more closely still to the crown of Denmark—to extinguish all disaffection in Slesvig—and to dash for ever the magnificent dream of a German fleet riding in what once were Danish harbours. Accordingly they proceeded without delay to organise a resistance. If they had been left to their own resources, the resistance would probably not have been either very formidable or very prolonged. Unfortunately at this particular crisis came the Revolution of February. Within three weeks from the receipt of the intelligence that Louis Philippe had been ignominiously driven from his capital, all Germany was in a flame. In Carlsruhe, Munich, Vienna, Dresden, Berlin the mob had risen against the Sovereigns, and the Sovereigns had pusillanimously consented to do whatever they were bid. With the treachery which is the twin sister of cowardice, most of them took the earliest opportunity of revoking in security the concessions to which in their terror they had sworn. But in the interval of their abasement the National party was supreme; and both kings and demagogues had equally cogent reasons for desiring to foment disturbances in Denmark. The Kings were only too glad of a safe vent for the madness of their subjects; the demagogues burned for a chance of investing the Revolution with the halo of military success.

As soon as the leaders in Holstein were well assured of the support of Germany, they lost no time in acting. A large and tumultuous meeting was assembled at Rendsburg, in which a series of requisitions were addressed to the King, containing among other things a demand that Slesvig should be ceded to Germany; and five of the chief agitators were sent off to Copenhagen to present this modest petition to the King. It need hardly be said that the suggestion was politely but firmly declined. But the Holsteiners were in no mood to wait for an answer. Three days before that answer arrived they proclaimed a Provisional Government

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Government at Kiel; and a few hours afterwards, by a sudden and bold attack, they surprised the important fortress of Rendsburg. Four days later a Prussian army set out to march to their assistance; and within less than a month after the meeting at Rendsburg, Slesvig was occupied by upwards of 20,000 German troops. Proceedings so well concerted and so rapid took the Danes entirely by surprise. They had dreamed of no danger, and had made no preparations against attack. Even if they had foreseen it, it might have been difficult for them to ward off successfully what was in effect not a rebellion in Holstein, but an invasion on the part of Germany. The result, however, of the first onset was that the Danes were defeated with great loss at the town of Slesvig; and by the beginning of May they were forced to evacuate the Duchy altogether.*

We need hardly follow the vicissitudes of the war. It lasted with various fortune and occasional respite till the autumn of 1850. But Prussia did not long continue to pursue the rash and lawless course upon which she had entered under the dictation of the rioters of Berlin. Menaces from St. Petersburg forced her to leave her insurgent allies in the lurch, and to withdraw her troops from Denmark before they had been six weeks in the field; and the pressure of the other great Powers compelled her, after infinite negotiation, to conclude a peace with the Danes in June, 1850. This peace had but one condition: in every other

* The Germans have devised one or two curious theories concerning this rebellion. One of them is that adopted by Baron Schleinitz, that there was in reality no rebellion at all, but that the Germans 'never ignored or even questioned the sacred rights of their legitimate Prince, even at the height of the contest' which they were carrying on against his Government. The distinction is ingenious; but the countrymen of Pym and Hampden have a right to complain that it is a plagiarism. Another theory is that the Holsteiners only revolted in order to guard against the effects of a 'Copenhagen revolution,' which had deprived the king of his free agency. The 'Copenhagen revolution' was a very mild affair. It was merely a petition presented by the municipal body of Copenhagen to the King that he would change his Ministers. The proceedings were perfectly peaceable; and when the petitioners found that the Ministers had already resigned, they dispersed without tumult. The Danes indignantly deny that it was a revolution, and cite in proof the fact that not a single pane of glass was broken on the occasion. There was certainly nothing in the subsequent demeanour of the King to indicate that he regretted in the least degree the change of Ministers he was then induced to make. But the most material difficulties in the way of this theory are the dates. The dates were as follows:—The meeting at Rendsburg, demanding that Slesvig should be ceded to Germany, took place on the 18th of March. The news of the change of Ministry at Copenhagen, which took place on the 21st, did not reach Holstein till the 23rd of March. On the same day the Provisional Government was declared at Kiel. *The next morning*, quite early, the garrison of Rendsburg were surprised and overpowered by Holsteiners who had assembled from various parts of the country; and that same day (the 24th) the King of Prussia, at Berlin, wrote to the Duke of Augustenburg promising military support. Surely it is idle to pretend that all these various movements were caused by nothing else than the news of the change of Ministry at Copenhagen.

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respect it was peace, pure and simple. That one condition was, that Denmark should invoke the German Confederation in order to pacify Holstein. This promise to leave Holstein to Germany to pacify was the starting-point of all future complications. As far as Slesvig was concerned, Denmark had done this easily for herself. A brilliant victory had driven the revolutionists out of it, with the exception of a small corner that could only be attacked by violating the frontier of Holstein. But the pacification of Holstein, which Denmark was not allowed to do for herself, was a much more serious matter. At first, Denmark appealed to Prussia, which for this purpose represented the Confederation; but Prussia, unwilling to consent, and afraid to refuse, fought off for some time upon various pretexts. At last, Austria interfered on account of this and other matters: the celebrated protocol of Olmütz was signed; and, under its provisions, order was at last restored in Holstein by the appearance in that Duchy of a Prussian and Austrian army, in February, 1851. But these powerful allies, having once established themselves in Holstein, behaved towards the Danes, whom they came to assist, much in the same spirit in which their countrymen, Hengist and Horsa, are said to have behaved to Vortigern. They entirely declined to move out of it again, except for a consideration. They had come professedly to pacify the Duchy; but their idea of pacification apparently included the retention of it in their own possession until they had extorted from the lawful owner some concession in the nature of a ransom. This ransom, in the present case, was chiefly a guarantee against the incorporation of Slesvig and Denmark. Such a demand, put forward as a condition of doing that which they were bound to do without any consideration at all, was almost as gross a breach of public law as the invasion of 1848. But the Great Powers were thoroughly tired of the question, and Austria and Prussia were in a condition to keep Holstein as long as they thought fit. Denmark had, therefore, no choice but to give them what they desired.

It was a curious coincidence that Denmark should have had to yield to the reactionary and despotic Austria of 1851, some part at least of the same demands that had been made by the revolutionists of 1848. The truth was that Denmark was between two fires. Austria had no taste for Schleswig-Holsteinism, and probably abominated the National party as heartily as Denmark could do. But she cherished fears of a totally different character. She looked upon the sufferings of the German nationality in Slesvig with much philosophy: but the constitution of the legislative body in Denmark excited her liveliest apprehensions. The King of Denmark had granted to his Danish subjects a very liberal constitution

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constitution—rather more liberal than we in England should be inclined to approve: but, having granted it freely, he resolved to stand by it honestly. It was this constitution that made Austria nervous upon the subject of the incorporation of Slesvig. She was not sentimental upon the subject of the domination of a Danish over a German nationality. But she knew that if Slesvig and Denmark were incorporated, Slesvig must receive the institutions of Denmark; and consequently there would be a German community, as free as England, living on the north bank of the Eyder. Terrified at the prospect of an active Liberal propaganda, composed of exiles from every German State, conspiring, printing, haranguing, actually within earshot of Germany, she resolved to nip that danger in the bud: and it was intimated to Denmark that a guarantee against the incorporation of Slesvig must be a condition precedent to the restoration of Holstein. Thus Denmark's very virtues were turned against her. Her freedom was no merit in the eyes of the democracy when the democracy was dominant; for free institutions are counted as dirt beneath their feet by a democracy that is bent on conquest. But that freedom was a deadly offence in the eyes of despotism, when the democracy had run its appointed course, and the reaction had set in.

At the same time, as a kind of pledge that she had no territorial acquisitions in view, Austria offered, if Denmark would give the required guarantees, to join the Great Powers in settling beyond all possibility of cavil a question of succession to the Danish throne, which was even then looming in the distance, and which threatened to be dangerous. Thus pressed by present necessity, and tempted by the hope of a solid compensation, Denmark, after making many ineffectual efforts to escape, prepared to yield. Her statesmen had cherished the hope that the favourable opportunity might be used for cutting the knot of all future difficulties, and removing a sore temptation from before the eyes of her ambitious neighbour. If one homogeneous Danish kingdom could have been constructed north of the Eyder, all pretence for the interference of Germany in the internal affairs of the Danish monarchy would have been removed. But that was not to be. No aid was at hand: England was weary, and Russia adverse: Austria and Prussia were obdurate; and the chance of procuring for the Danish succession the guarantee of a European treaty was a set-off not to be despised. There was no help for it. The weak must yield. At last, therefore, the Danish Minister for Foreign Affairs betook himself to the composition of despatches, which were to satisfy the demands of Austria and Prussia. A correspondence followed, in which the scheme of government which the King of Denmark had consented to adopt was clearly explained;

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explained; and as soon as they were satisfied upon this head, the Austrian and Prussian Governments restored Holstein to the King. They even went a step further, and signed the treaty of London, under which the Danish succession was regulated according to a scheme unanimously approved by the Northern and Western Powers.

Now it is upon this correspondence that the reader who wishes to understand the Schleswig-Holstein question in its present phase must fix his attention. It is the pivot on which the whole controversy turns. In it are contained, if anywhere, the pledges on the part of Denmark, the fulfilment of which all Germany alleges to be a condition precedent to the performance of the Treaty of London. For what reason it was resolved to take these engagements in the vague language of a despatch, instead of in a formal treaty, it is not now necessary to discuss. The result has been an infinite addition to the perplexity of the dispute. It requires no little labour to ascertain what it was that Denmark really promised, and what it is on which the German Powers have now a right to insist. But still as it is to this correspondence that they appeal to justify them for dishonouring the signatures which they affixed to the Treaty of London, it is necessary for those who would master the intricacies of this question to consider the successive despatches somewhat in detail.

Fortunately there were only three despatches with which it is necessary to concern ourselves, and only one of these is of primary importance. The first despatch is one from M. Bluhme, Minister of Denmark to Austria, explaining the intentions of the King in respect to the Government both of Slesvig and Holstein. The next is a reply from the Prince Schwartzenberg, Austrian Minister, setting forth at length the interpretation which his Court, in behalf of Germany, placed upon the Danish explanations. The third is a reply from Denmark accepting this interpretation without demur. The dates of the three despatches are respectively, December 6, 1851; December 26, 1851; January 29, 1852.

The despatch of the Danish Minister Bluhme commences with a vigorous protest against the curious interpretation affixed by the Austrians to the word 'pacification.' Then it proceeds to state in detail what the King's intentions are with respect to the future government of his kingdom. He is willing to renew the declaration already made by his father, and also by himself, that he will not incorporate Slesvig with Denmark, and will take no step that has that end in view.* He also consents to maintain

* Noch irgend dieselbe bezweckende Schritte.

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certain social ties between the nobility of Slesvig and Holstein, consisting principally in some facilities for borrowing each other's money, and the privilege of mutual admittance to certain conventual institutions maintained in each duchy. At the same time he distinctly states that he 'definitively rejects the so-called Schleswig-Holsteinism'; and that he will not renew the tribunals of appeal which the Duchies had enjoyed in common, or the administrative system under which the local Government of the two Duchies was carried on by the same set of superior officials. This community of tribunals and of Ministers had been accorded to the two Duchies principally since 1834; but it had been made the pretext of rebellion, and therefore it could not be revived. The King further intimates his intention of introducing representative institutions for the Danish monarchy as a whole, and he proposes to do this with the co-operation of the Assemblies of the various Duchies.

M. Bluhme's despatch of course occupies a very much greater space than we have been able to give to it; but we have abstracted the substance of all the portions that are material to the present controversy. Prince Schwartzenberg, who was then at the head of the Austrian Government, replied to it on the 26th of December, 1861. This Austrian reply is, with the exception of the Treaty of London, the most important paper in the whole controversy; for it contains, in fact, the celebrated contract of 1851-52. It was acceded to by Prussia, the other commissary of the Confederation; it was sanctioned by the Diet, and therefore it is conclusive against Germany: it was formally accepted by Denmark; and it states in detail not only the meaning to be attached to the promises of Denmark, but also their binding character as a diplomatic instrument. It will be necessary, therefore, to extract the more important passages at length. First, we will range the two passages in which Austria distinctly declares that she regards the Danish declaration of intentions in the light of an international covenant, and that she will only evacuate Holstein, and sign the Treaty of London, in consideration of that declaration, when she learns that Denmark attributes to it the same binding character:—

'From our earlier communications your Excellency is fully acquainted with the points of view from which in general we regard these declarations of the Danish Court. You will therefore be prepared to learn, that, to hasten the termination of this affair, we are quite ready to express our opinions upon the views of his Majesty the King, which are now communicated to us, but that we, on our side, can only do this upon the supposition that we have before our eyes a declaration

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declaration which is looked upon by its author as binding, and whose accomplishment is therefore secured.'

This passage is plain enough; but there is another towards the end of the despatch which is more distinct still:—

'If, now, the Danish Government should be inclined to accept, as their own, that conception of its programme which we have set forth in this despatch and the annex to it—if they would, at the same time, secure to us, in the binding form of a declaration made by the command of his majesty the King, the real execution of the intentions which they have only as yet officially made known to us as a possible eventuality—and if they would take their measures accordingly, so far as the opportunity at present exists—then we might securely count upon an early and a friendly termination of the differences which have hitherto arisen between the various parts of the Danish monarchy, as well as between it and the Germanic Confederation. We would give back the mandate under which, in common with Prussia, we represent the German Confederation in this affair, and at the same time evacuate Holstein, and re-establish the full power of the sovereign in that duchy; we would answer in the Diet for the union thus effected; and at the same time we would hold the new internal foundation for the connexion of the combined lands under one ruler to have progressed sufficiently to allow us to take part in an international guarantee of the integrity of the monarchy by the recognition of a common succession.'

It is evident that if Denmark accepted this interpretation of her intentions, and if, in consequence of that acceptance, Austria did evacuate Holstein, and did sign the Treaty of London, an engagement was contracted by Denmark towards Austria as distinctly as words could contract it. Denmark did accept the Austrian interpretation. The following are the words of M. Bluhme, in a despatch dated January 29, 1852:—

'Under these circumstances it is with peculiar satisfaction that, in pursuance of authority given me by the King, I hereby make the following declaration: "That the King, our most gracious Lord, recognises as in agreement with his own, the interpretation of the intention communicated on his behalf to the Courts of Vienna and Berlin, which is contained in the despatch of the Austrian Cabinet of December 26, 1851, and in the Annex to the same—both in general, and especially that part of it which refers to the non-incorporation of Slesvig with the kingdom."'

It follows, therefore, beyond all question, that Denmark did covenant, in 1851-2, to fulfil the programme of domestic policy drawn out for her in the Austrian despatch. It has been necessary to make good this point, because some zealous Danes, acting on the principle that you should never admit anything, have called

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called these stipulations into question. So far is plain enough. But when we come to inquire what these stipulations are, we shall not find our path so clear. The vague language of a courteously-worded despatch is a bad vehicle for positive engagements; and the consequence of the form adopted is, that this informal contract between Denmark and Germany possesses a double quantity of the haziness which is apt to attach to all international agreements. However, this Austrian despatch is the only source from which any light can be obtained upon the subject; and therefore to the Austrian despatch we must return.

There is one point, and only one point, in these stipulations which has since become of international importance. It is the promise, so constantly repeated, not to incorporate Slesvig. Closely connected with this promise are the stipulations which relate to the nature of the united constitution which was contemplated, and the undertaking that the various parts of the country should be treated equally. The following are some of the most material passages:—

'The Imperial Court learns with satisfaction the resolution of H. M. the King of Denmark to revive not only in the Duchy of Schleswig but in that of Holstein, the Institution of Provincial Estates, which still legally exists: and when H.M. at the same time announces his intention of introducing an *organic and homogeneous constitutional connection* of all the parts of the country into one united monarchy (in a lawful and constitutional manner, and therefore after consultation with the provincial Estates of the said Duchies, and so far as concerns the kingdom of Denmark, by negotiations with the Reichstag, and in respect to Lauenburg with the co-operation of the Ritterschaft and Landschaft), the Imperial Court can only recognise this intention of the King as being directed to the fulfilment of a duty that cannot be declined. . . .

'H.M. The Emperor expresses his confident expectation, that the King, both in the future organisation of the monarchy, and in the provisional conduct of affairs, will know how, with equal solicitude for all, to preserve, by appropriate arrangements, to all the various parts of the country, the position which belongs to them *as members of a whole, in which no part is subordinated to another*. . . .

'The maintenance of *independent* (selbstständig) *constitutional administrative institutions* in the various parts of the country, without prejudice to the combined government of their common affairs at the centre, is, in our belief, an indispensable condition of the establishment of the internal tranquillity of the monarchy.'

There are a few words (they are italicised) in these paragraphs which were probably little weighed at the time when they were written, but upon which a gloomy pile of controversy and recrimination has been subsequently raised. What is signified

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by the promise to preserve to the various parts of the country in the construction of a common constitution, the position which belongs to them 'as members of a whole, in which no part is subordinated to any other'? In other words, in electing a common parliament, how many members is each part of the country to have, so as not to be 'subordinated' (*untergeordnet*) to any other? Most people, who think of the examples of Austria, Italy, Germany herself, would be inclined to say that the number of members should be distributed chiefly with reference to population. Such a constitution would best correspond to the phrase, 'an organic and homogeneous connection of all the parts of the country into one united whole.' As, however, we shall have occasion to see further on, Prussian ministers, Members of the Holstein Assembly, nay, Committees of the Diet itself, were found to maintain the startling doctrine, that the promise would only be satisfied when *each* of the Duchies, even little Lauenburg, should have as many members in the common Parliament as all the kingdom of Denmark. It is enough, for the present, to say that there is no hint of such an idea in these despatches.

The great point, upon which the despatches on both sides are very emphatic, is, that Slesvig shall not be incorporated with the kingdom of Denmark. As a set-off, the German powers were willing to concede that the political separation between the two Duchies should be marked as strongly as the King pleased. It must always be borne in mind that the time at which this correspondence was conducted was the very flood-time of the reaction; and that therefore the objects of Germany differed diametrically from those which it had sought three years before, or which it is seeking now. The imposture of Schleswig-Holsteinism, the dream of a great Teutonic republic, the wild nationality frenzy, were far enough then from the thoughts of German rulers. Their only care was to keep the ultra-Liberal institutions of Denmark at a safe distance from the German frontier. Therefore they were zealous in resisting the incorporation of Slesvig with Denmark; but they were wholly indifferent to the separation of Slesvig from Holstein. It is necessary to remember this, in order to understand why the Austrians in this despatch are so anxious that the constitution of Denmark should not be introduced into Slesvig, and why they consent so readily that the whole Schleswig-Holstein theory and the indissoluble union guaranteed by King Christian's 'Privileges' should be put aside as diplomatic lumber. The following are the passages which guarantee upon the one side the non-incorporation of Slesvig, and sanction on the other the permanent separation of Slesvig and Holstein:—

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'In the declaration of His Majesty the King of Denmark that neither shall any incorporation of the Duchy into the kingdom take place, nor any steps be taken having that for their aim, the Imperial Court sees with satisfaction a new confirmation of the promise which was given by the late King Christian VIII. to his subjects, and afterwards renewed by the present sovereign after the treaty of the 2nd July, 1850, and in accordance with the fourth Article of that treaty, was communicated to the Germanic Confederation as a resolution taken by the King for the pacification of the country. When, on the other hand, His Majesty of Denmark considers those other declarations which were spontaneously made in the Diet by his predecessor on the throne upon the 7th September, 1846, and which were acknowledged by it to be satisfactory by the resolution of the 17th September (according to which King Christian VIII. entertained no intention of introducing any change in the relations which then united the Duchy of Holstein to the Duchy of Schleswig) no longer in all points suitable to the present condition of affairs, and in particular has convinced himself that the connexion in respect to Administration, and Courts of Appeal, which has existed between the two Duchies chiefly since 1834, but which is now actually abolished in consequence of recent events, must be abolished also for the future. The Imperial Court upon its side admits that the said declarations of September 7, 1846, presupposed the then existing conditions of the Danish monarchy, and did not involve the legal result of making dependent upon the consent of the Confederation the resolutions which, under changed circumstances, in pursuance of his Sovereign rights, the King might take, and which do not affect the legal competence of the Confederation. The Imperial Court will therefore not object upon its own behalf to the abolition of the before mentioned connexion, and will use its influence, that this measure should not be objected to by the Diet.'

Thus the great Schleswig-Holstein fiction, which learned men had laboured for so many years to build up, was formally exploded. It is evident that whoever else believed in the Charter of King Christian, the Austrian Minister who composed the despatch did not, nor the other German Governments who, in Diet assembled, confirmed it. But there was another point upon which Austria and Germany looked with a great deal more interest at that time:—

'As His Majesty the Emperor sincerely desires to see the peace and prosperity of the Danish monarchy established as soon as possible by a definitive organization adapted to its needs, he allows himself confidently to hope that the Danish Government, in their efforts towards this important end, will perhaps not give an exclusive preference to those institutions which have been bestowed upon the kingdom of Denmark Proper in recent years, but that they will keep before their eyes, as their sole sure guide, the permanent relations of the collective

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monarchy, and the object of strengthening internally its union into a whole. *Once at ease upon this point*, His Majesty will not delay, in conjunction with other friendly powers, to exert himself to secure that union by an international guarantee of a common succession.'

This is a curious paragraph, for more reasons than one. It is common for German advocates to represent that the Treaty of London was signed by the German Powers in consideration of Denmark's promises not to incorporate Slesvig with the Kingdom. They find it, in these more liberal days, convenient to forget the plain wording of the despatch. The consideration is here categorically stated. Austria promises to sign the Treaty as soon as she is at ease upon one particular point; and that point is, that Denmark should refrain (as she has done) from introducing into the whole monarchy the ultra-Liberal institutions which had been recently granted to Denmark Proper. The other curious feature in this paragraph is, that the treaty which the Emperor undertakes to sign is a treaty, not of mere recognition, but of guarantee (*Verbürgung*). The Emperor, and through him all Germany, for Germany sanctioned the despatch, pledge themselves to *guarantee* the succession of Prince Christian of Glücksburg. In other words, Germany hereby promises, not only to acknowledge Prince Christian's title, but to maintain it against all the world. Does any Austrian or German statesman ever perchance take up this not very ancient document? And can the most hardened diplomatist among them repress a blush of shame for his country when he reads over again this pledge so solemnly, so recently made, and so shamelessly forsworn?

Such were the essential points of the celebrated stipulations of 1851-52. A constitution for the whole monarchy, passed in a constitutional and lawful manner, and dealing equally with the various parts of the country—no incorporation of Slesvig, no re-union of Slesvig and Holstein, and an abstinence in the reorganisation of the monarchy from an 'exclusive preference' for the existing institutions of Denmark—those were the main engagements contracted between the two nations in the correspondence of those years. We must now briefly follow the fate of these provisions during the ensuing period, and see how a weapon, forged and sharpened by despotic sovereigns, was skilfully wielded by the Democratic party for the gratification of that lawless lust of territory, which is the one great point upon which despotisms and democracies agree.

The Danish Government set to work in good earnest to establish a moderate constitutional system for the whole monarchy. They imagined that such a measure, if carried out with fairness and

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and equity, would be the truest pledge that they could give of their intention to fulfil loyally the agreements of 1851-52. But they very soon found that this was very far from being the intention of their late antagonists. In 1853, before the new arrangements had been elaborated, the Holstein Estates, acting under German guidance, voted the following remarkable proposition:—

'That a beneficial co-existence of all parts of the State could not be obtained, except by the re-establishment of *an absolute Government* with only consultative assemblies [*i. e.* assemblies that might give advice, but could not enforce it] in all parts of the monarchy.'

This curious resolution threw a glare of light on many obscure parts of the Correspondence. Those hints about not showing 'an exclusive preference' to the institutions that had been recently granted to the kingdom of Denmark, were no idle phrases. They were in reality meant to suggest that the King of Denmark should follow the example of so many German Sovereigns, and take back, under shelter of the reaction, the concessions which he had granted professedly of his own free will. The Committee of the German Diet betrayed, even so late as January in the year 1858, the feelings which actuated the German Governments in this matter, and the light in which they looked upon the Parliamentary liberties of Denmark:—

'That state of things [the Parliamentary Government of Denmark] which dates from a recent period, involves a limitation of the liberty of action of the Royal Ducal Government, scarcely reconcilable with the principles of the Confederation.'

Such were the motives which actuated the German Governments, and to which the puppets whom they moved in Holstein steadily conformed. If the King of Denmark would have yielded to their counsels; if he would have broken his kingly word, as others had done before him; and if he would have taken back the Constitution he had granted to the Danes, it is probable that for many a long year we should never have heard of the Schleswig-Holstein difficulty again. But his nature revolted from the ignoble part which it was proposed to him to play, and he paid the penalty which usually awaits those who aspire to an exceptional morality. The proposal of the Holstein Estates was rejected. A constitutional system was granted to the whole monarchy, upon the same plan as that which was afterwards applied by the Austrian Government to their heterogeneous empire. Deliberative Assemblies in each of the Duchies and in the Kingdom were entrusted with the management of the local affairs

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affairs * of each; and the affairs which were common to the whole monarchy, a common Parliament was elected to conduct.†

From this point Holstein, and the German Diet at its back, went into furious opposition. In point of liberty, the new charters were a great boon; for the Duchies, though they had possessed merely consultative assemblies for twenty years, had never before had a real voice in the conduct of their own affairs. It was a change, in fact, from Government by a sort of Elective Privy Council, to Government by a Parliament. At the same time the new Constitution was eminently calculated to give consistency and stability to the Danish Monarchy. But these two excellences did not tend to recommend it to Germany. An increase of liberty was in no way what the German Governments of that date desired; and any augmentation of the strength of Denmark, while it was not particularly pleasing to the Governments, was a sheer abomination to the democratic and "national" party. Agreed, therefore, in nothing else, these two bodies were entirely at one in their hatred of the Constitution of October, 1855, and no doubt their unwonted concord infused unusual vigour into their operations. The Diet, surprised to find itself popular, displayed an agility quite foreign to its ordinary movements, and a vigour and union which it had never been able to compass upon any other subject before. The popular party, delighted to find that there was one item of their programme upon which their Governments allowed them to speak and write to their hearts' content, made full use of a liberty to which they were perfect strangers. Just as Poland and Madagascar occupy a startling prominence in the French papers, in consequence of the prohibition that shuts them off from the discussion of home politics, so Schleswig-Holstein became the standing topic of every journalist or lecturer who desired to vent his feelings in political discussion without coming into an unpleasant collision with the police. The result was that an organized and systematic opposition was commenced against the Danish Government. Sometimes it worked through the Holstein Chambers; sometimes the Diet was its instrument; and whatever was the official mouthpiece employed by the assailants, the informal hostilities carried on by German newspapers and associations never flagged. The result of their ten years' labour may be seen in the two embittered and irreconcilable nationalities that confront each other now on the banks of the Eyder.

* For Lauenburg, Dec. 20, 1853; for Slesvig, Feb. 15, 1854; for Holstein, June 11, 1854.

† Oct. 2, 1855.

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The merely technical pretences under which Germany masked its harassing warfare during the eight years that followed, do not need to be described at any length. They were disguises which served their purpose at the time. They belong now to one of the driest chapters of a dead history. The Holsteiners began the war against the new Constitution by certain objections of form having reference to the manner of its promulgation. It was taken up by Prussia and Austria in a correspondence, and despatches were exchanged without result for about twelve months. The chief complaint was, that a sufficient influence over the common affairs of the monarchy was not given to the special assembly of Holstein. At last, after many fruitless proposals for an accommodation had been made by Denmark, Austria and Prussia invoked the interference of the Diet. The Diet took the matter up, and denounced the Constitution, on the ground that each of the Duchies had not an equal voice in the common Parliament with Denmark. The Danish Government interpreted the promise of treating them all equally as binding it to give them the same measure of power. They were allowed to send members to the Rigsraad in direct proportion to their population. Germany demanded that all considerations of population should be disregarded, and that each of the three Duchies should have an equal number of votes. In other words, Lauenburg, with a population of 50,000, and Denmark with a population thirty times as large, were to possess equal power in deciding upon the common affairs of the monarchy—upon peace or war, armament or disarmament, taxation or retrenchment. Such a demand was clearly inadmissible, unless the Danish majority was prepared submissively to give itself over to German government. In the mean time, the Diet insisted peremptorily upon the revocation of the Constitution, so far as Federal territory was concerned. Denmark resisted; a long and angry altercation followed; execution was threatened; and at last, under the pressure of the great Powers, who interfered to avert the danger of war, Denmark consented to give way. On the 6th November, 1858, the Constitution of 1855, so far only as Holstein and Lauenburg, the two German Duchies, were concerned, was formally revoked.

Possibly Denmark imagined, that with this concession, Germany would be satisfied; and at first at least this seemed likely to be the case. The Diet professed to receive the announcement of it "only with satisfaction." But, unluckily for her, just about this time a change came over the spirit of the chief German sovereigns. The present King of Prussia succeeded as regent to his brother; and at first took into his councils politicians of a more

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more liberal shade than those who had hitherto ruled. Their liberality did not indeed extend to according freedom to their own countrymen. It found a safer expression in giving full rein to the National party in their enterprise against the independence of Denmark. Ministers who wish to be supported by a liberal party, when their own views are in fact of the opposite hue, very commonly adopt the compromise of handing over foreign affairs to the Liberals, and adhering in home affairs to their own convictions. Such was the policy of the Ministry which followed the Prince Regent into power. A change in the same direction shortly afterwards took place in the Government of Austria, immediately after the Italian war. Thus it came to pass that the foreign policy of Germany passed out of the hands of the reactionary party into the hands of the National-Verein. From this time forward, the clouds around the path of Denmark began to thicken. The declarations of the German Courts assumed a more bitter tone; the demands made were more unreasonable; and the prospect of war becoming more imminent daily, drew in the non-German powers to a more active interference, for the purpose, if possible, of allaying the dispute. Under these circumstances, the concessions which Denmark had made by the decree of November 6, 1858, in no way served her. They were only treated by her embittered enemies as a vantage-ground, from which more might be obtained.

The German Powers insisted that Denmark should set to work to frame a new common constitution instead of that which had been so ruthlessly destroyed. Denmark was not unwilling to undertake the task: she had every motive for desiring to do so. A constitution forcibly cut in two was not a convenient instrument to work with. It was absolutely impossible for the Danes to carry out the ordinary business of Government, the levy of taxes, and the provision for common defence, if they were required to act on strictly constitutional principles, and yet had two independent assemblies to deal with. And whatever of difficulty there was naturally in the task was aggravated tenfold by the pertinacious and harassing opposition that was conducted from Frankfort. The Diet and its agents in the Holstein chamber threw every obstacle in the way of the Government that technical skill could devise. The Danes not only found themselves unable to obtain the supplies from Holstein necessary for carrying on the business of the monarchy, but no law affecting the general interests of the Danish monarchy in the most distant degree was allowed by the Diet to be carried into execution until it had received the assent of the hostile Assembly in Holstein. In other words, all legislation that affected the whole monarchy was prohibited. It was as

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as though the King of Italy should forbid the Emperor of Austria from fortifying the Gallician frontier until he had obtained the assent of the provincial Diet of Venetia. Such were the powers which the German Diet claimed under the stipulations of 1852, and such was the spirit in which those powers were exerted. Under these circumstances it may well be believed that Denmark was eager to put an end to the provisional state of things. Again and again she brought new proposals for an adjustment of the dispute before the Estates of Holstein. To make her proposals more palatable to the people of the Duchy, she offered them a charter granting to them an amount of civil liberty exceeded in no country in the world. Full freedom of the press—unlimited right of association—a Habeas Corpus Act of extreme stringency—responsibility of officials to the ordinary tribunals—these were the baits she offered to induce the Holsteiners to come back into the Danish constitution under a representative system of the ordinary type.* Those who know the attenuated liberties enjoyed in most German States will understand the full value of concessions such as these. But the National Verein, who by this time were masters in Holstein, and were formidable even at Frankfort, had no taste for pacific blessings of this kind. Their thoughts were bent on other triumphs besides those of civil liberty. The proposals of Denmark were summarily rejected by the Holstein Assembly.

There was one concession, indeed, which Denmark was fully resolved not to offer, and it was the one, unfortunately, without which neither Holstein nor Germany would treat. She would not consent to Count Bernstorff's demand that in the constitution of a central Parliament 'the existing principle of representation, according to population, should be abolished,'† and 'that the four parts of the monarchy, namely, the Kingdom, the Duchy of Schleswig, of Holstein, and of Lauenburg, should be on a footing of perfect equality.'‡ In sheer self-defence, as one fighting for dear life, she refused to consent to an arrangement which would have handed over two million Danes, bound hand and foot, to be the vassals of 800,000 Germans, and would have made Copenhagen a mere dependency of Vienna and Berlin. It is impossible to blame the Danish people for such a resolve as this: rather they would have been the most contemptible of nations if they had yielded to such a demand without a struggle. Nor had the Germans any show of argument by which to justify a proposal so monstrous as that Lauenburg, with one-thirtieth part of the population, should exercise over the destinies of the monarchy an

* March 6, 1861. † Parl. Corr., 1863, p. 298. ‡ Ibid., p. 204.

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influence equal to that of Denmark. It was a consequence drawn by the cunning jurists of Frankfort from a sentence in the Austrian despatch, already cited, which laid down that the King of Denmark was 'to preserve to all the various parts of the country the position which belongs to them as members of a whole, in which no part is subordinated to another.' The obvious meaning of this is, that each part should have equal rights and be subject to equal imposts—that both taxation and representation should be apportioned everywhere upon a uniform principle. No one would dream of imposing upon Lauenburg as many taxes as those which are paid by Denmark. And no one but a Prussian in search of a pretext for aggression would maintain that Lauenburg was to have an equal share in spending the revenue of which she had only contributed one-thirtieth. If she is only to be rated at a population of 50,000 for the purposes of paying, she cannot demand to be rated on a level with Denmark, that is to say at a population of 1,500,000, for the purposes of spending. Prussia would be somewhat surprised if Posen put forward a claim of the same kind. The German Diet itself would stare very much at the result, if its own mysterious logic was applied to its own constitution. The Federal Act of 1815, by which the Diet was created, has provisions in favour of the equality of its constituent parts far more strongly worded than anything in the correspondence of 1851-52. For instance, Article III. lays down that 'All the members of the Confederation have as such equal rights.' Take, again, Article II. of the Final Act: 'This union forms internally a community of sovereign independent states, with equal mutual rights and obligations.' There is nothing near so strong in the Austrian despatch. Yet the Diet would be startled if Lippe Detmold, or Reuss, or Lichtenstein, were to make his appearance at Frankfort and protest that, as 'gleichberechtigt,' he claimed a right to as many votes as Austria.

There were other counter-propositions put forward by Holstein and Germany; but by the side of the splendid effrontery of this demand, they pale their ineffectual light. Our space would be utterly inadequate to anything approaching to a full statement of the weary and intricate negotiations which occupied the eight years from 1855 to 1863. Even if we were able to do so, and our readers had courage to plunge with us into the labyrinth, their labour would be thrown away. We have indicated the irreconcileable difference upon which the negotiations really split. All the subsidiary disputes, infinite in their number and ramification, were, in truth, only parenthetical exhibitions of ingenuity or hate. As to the merits of the various questions raised,

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raised, something of an opinion can be formed, even by the most uninitiated spectator. It is the usual and the wisest plan when you are unable to study a subject for yourself to take your opinion from some better instructed person in whose impartiality of judgment thorough confidence can be placed. It is, fortunately, possible to find a guide of that character in respect to these transactions. There is one member of the Federal Diet, and one only, who is neither a German nor a Dane. A plenipotentiary from the King of the Netherlands sits in the Diet, as representative for Luxemburg and Limburg. So far as the sympathies of the King of the Netherlands would in any degree be determined by considerations of race or language, they would lean to Germany; for Dutch has a strong family likeness to the Low German which is spoken in Holstein and Southern Slesvig. So far as his interests go, both sides of the quarrel are a matter of absolute indifference to him. Holland will in no degree be affected, whether the links that bind Slesvig and Holstein to Copenhagen be or be not divided. Only one interest he has in the matter, and that is that the laws of the Confederation be truly observed, and that no injustice be done. For any evil or oppressive principle set up by the German Powers in the Diet, though applied to-day to Holstein, might be turned against Limburg to-morrow. To the judgment of the Dutch plenipotentiary, therefore, we look with no slight interest. And it must influence our judgment of the merits of these complicated questions in no small degree when we find that a spectator so minutely familiar with the case, and so far removed from the disturbing influence of any angry passion or national sentiment, gave his vote again and again upon the side of Denmark against the combined body of the German Powers.

The issue of this Holstein question, so far as any issue has been reached, will be fresh in our readers' minds. Wearied out by incessant altercation, and hopeless of conquering the difficulties incident to the 'dead-lock' which the Confederation had brought about, Denmark resolved to renounce the dangerous possession from which all this trouble flowed. As the Holsteiners were resolved not to be governed from Copenhagen, it was determined to let them have their way. On the 30th of March last year a patent was issued altogether separating the Government of Denmark and Slesvig from the Government of the German Duchies. If Germany had been sincere in the ostensible ground of her interference, and had merely desired good government for Holstein, this measure would have been cordially welcomed. But as Holstein was merely looked on as a handle wherewith to lay hold of 'the North-German Peninsula,'

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sula,' of course the Germans were furious at seeing their handle broken. They insisted that this step should be retraced; and under the pressure of those powerful allies who are prodigal of the valuable aid which consists exclusively of good advice, the Patent was accordingly revoked. Denmark's position, therefore, with respect to Holstein, at the present moment, may be looked upon as exactly analogous to that of the celebrated individual who is known in history as having caught a Tartar. He could not bring the Tartar along with him, because the Tartar would not come; and he could not come away and leave the Tartar, because the Tartar would not let him. Such is the exact description of the present relations between Denmark and the Duchy of Holstein as established by the good offices of the Germanic Confederation.

Before we leave the ground of past negotiations altogether, we must say a word about that other Duchy—the Danish Duchy of Slesvig—whose liberties the Germans, with a charity that has not begun at home, are so affectionately anxious to secure. Slesvig does not make its appearance till a very late date in the negotiations. It was not till the year 1860 that it was alluded to even by Prussia: and, till quite the most recent stage of the dispute, its name does not appear in the peremptory, but unintelligible mandates of the Diet. But it was present in the minds of those who inspired the Diet's measures at a much earlier period. Count Bernstorff distinctly admitted, two years ago,* that the Holstein sore was being kept open purely for the purpose of forcing Denmark to yield upon the subject of Slesvig. And there is no doubt that Slesvig has been the chief object all along of the popular leaders, to whose vigorous impulse the Diet owes the unwonted activity which has marked its proceedings during the last few years. Slesvig has been the point of attraction, both to those who calculate and those who sentimentalize. It is on the coast of Slesvig, or under its command, that the good harbours are to be found: it is the possession of Slesvig that will reduce Denmark to the condition of a dependency: and lastly, it is in Slesvig that the sublime and divine German language is being blasphemously excluded from village pulpits and parish schools. The compound word, Schleswig-Holstein, which is a patriotic watchword in Germany and the mark of a traitor in Denmark, accurately expresses the order in which the two Duchies stand in the affections of Germany. Had it not been for its connection with Slesvig, and the pretext for encroachment that could be manufac-

* Parl. Corr., 1863, pp. 196-99.

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tured out of that connection, the Diet would have paid about the same attention to the grievances of Holstein that it has paid to those of the Tyrol. And accordingly, though the sorrows of Slesvig came late upon the field of diplomacy, they soon overshadowed every other dispute. They are the portion of this tedious question with which the ears of Englishmen are most familiar; and to them ostensibly the impending European war, if it ever should break out, will owe its rise.

The grievances advanced on behalf of Slesvig fall chiefly under two heads. It is complained that the German nationality in Slesvig is being oppressed, and that Slesvig is being incorporated with Denmark. With regard to the first of these two charges, even if it were true, the title of Germany to interfere is not very obvious. There is no word concerning the German nationality in the correspondence of 1851-52. But yet it is alleged that Denmark has given a pledge to Germany that she will treat the two nationalities equally. The line of reasoning by which this pledge is established, is ingenious, and has, at all events, answered the purpose of convincing every one who desired to believe it. M. Bluhme's letter of January 29th, 1852, in which he accepts the Austrian despatch as a true exposition of the King's intentions, also encloses a proclamation, dated January 27, 1852, in which several of the engagements recently made to Germany are embodied in the form of a Royal Decree. M. Bluhme transmitted the proclamation to the German Powers, as an earnest that Denmark was sincere in the promises she had given. But the proclamation was not limited to a fulfilment of those promises. Being intended in the first instance for the information of the King of Denmark's own subjects, it contained several other provisions, not mentioned in the Austrian despatch. There was, for instance, an announcement that the Minister for Foreign Affairs would be named Prime Minister; that the King's uncle should be a member of the Privy Council; that the Directory of the Sinking Fund should be transferred to the Ministry of Finance. In company with these various provisions it is also stated that the King intended, in the projected draft of a charter for Slesvig, 'to secure to the Danish and German nationalities in that Duchy perfectly equal rights and protection.' Now, by what conceivable process of reasoning does Germany evolve from this state of facts that Denmark promised *to her* to protect the German nationality? The only contract Denmark made to Germany was contained within the four corners of the Austrian despatch, by which she herself consented to be bound. What is not in the Austrian despatch is not in Denmark's contract. The proclamation forwarded by her to Austria in proof that she was keeping

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keeping that contract, can only bind her to Austria as far as it refers to that contract. Parts of it do refer to that contract; parts of it do not. The German nationality clause belongs to the latter division, because the question of nationalities and languages is not even so much as touched upon in the Austrian despatch. Surely to say that because it happens to have been written upon the same parchment as those provisions on account of which the proclamation is communicated—namely, those which do refer to the Austrian despatch—that therefore it becomes a portion of the contract, is to argue only as the strong argue to the weak. In private life no one would venture to maintain such a position. A landowner contracts with one of his neighbours that he will not cut down a hedgerow upon a bit of land that lies near his neighbour's house. To show that he intends to fulfil his contract he forwards to the neighbour a copy of a letter to his own agent containing the requisite directions. In the same letter he also mentions to his agent that he wishes part of the land to be sown with wheat, and part of it with turnips. Would the most litigious attorney ever enrolled dream of contending that the landowner had thereby contracted with his neighbour to sow the wheat and turnips? If the case had not a Federal army at its back, it would not bear a moment's argument. Nor can it be said that this intention of protecting the two nationalities equally was put forward to induce Austria and Prussia to sign the Treaty of London. They had already pledged themselves to do so, as soon as Denmark had accepted the despatch; and Denmark having done so, any further inducement became superfluous.

Passing from this point, and fully admitting that Denmark, though in no way bound to Germany upon the subject, is yet bound, in regard to her own honour, to govern all races of her subjects equitably, the further question arises, are the Germans really oppressed? Considering the bitterness that years of mutual abuse have engendered, one would certainly expect to find that wherever Dane or German had the other in his power, the results would be unpleasant to the weaker party. But upon the actual facts it is difficult to get at any clear evidence. As far as regards what in England we should call oppression, the Danes must be acquitted. They have indeed exiled many of the leaders of the rebellion of 1848; and they undoubtedly suppress treasonable writings, and prohibit meetings which have for their object the annexation of Slesvig to Germany. But it does not lie in the mouth of Germany, or indeed of any other continental state, to cast these measures in her teeth. Beyond this the Government appears to be mild, and it seems that, with the exception of the language question

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question, there is no widely prevalent discontent: certainly there is no discontent sufficient to induce the people of the Duchy, as a whole, to desire a union with Germany. Upon this point the testimony of Mr. Paget, our able Minister at Copenhagen, is decisive:—

'I had been at some pains to ascertain the truth, and by your Lordship's authority I had employed a person to visit the Duchy, and report upon the real state of things. It appeared from this report that the populations of the mixed districts were in many instances subject to much petty annoyance and vexation on the part of the subordinate officials of the Danish Government; that there was much discontent respecting the language question: but that there was no inclination or desire, except on the part of some individuals suspected of being agents of the German party, for a junction with Holstein, and still less with Germany.'—*Parl. Corr.* 1863, p. 163.

A similar testimony has been given by more recent observers. It is quite true that civil liberty is not in a very promising condition in Slesvig. The police are armed with powers of repression, resembling only too closely those which they wield in Prussia and other German States. But this is not the fault of Denmark. She would gladly have communicated to Slesvig the complete liberty which she enjoys herself. But she insists that the liberty shall be complete; that if the executive is to be reformed, the legislature must be reformed too; that if the police are to be disarmed, the Assembly shall be so elected as fairly to represent the whole population, and shall not be, as now, so packed as to be only the mouthpiece of a disloyal section, which is in league with the foreigner. This complete liberty, however, she is disabled by Germany from granting. It would constitute that 'exclusive preference' for modern Danish institutions, which is so anxiously guarded against by the Austrian despatch. She has rigidly adhered to her contract; and no attempt has been made to introduce the institutions of Denmark Proper into Slesvig.

To do the Germans, however, justice, they do not much insist upon the necessity of Slesvig enjoying a liberty with which they are little acquainted at home. They prefer to rely upon the language grievance, which is more romantic, and exposes them less to distressing retorts; and it is that complaint which, as being the most intelligible, and at the same time the most singular, has fastened itself upon the minds of English people. It is, indeed, a very curious specimen of a microscopic grievance. Of the whole number of parishes in the Duchy of Slesvig, 117 in the Northern part are wholly Danish; while 110 in the Southern part are, or for the sake of peace are assumed to be, wholly

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wholly German. With respect to these two districts there is no difficulty whatever. The language of Church and School is Danish in the one and German in the other. But there remain 49 parishes, containing some 85,000 souls,* in which the population is mixed; and in these parishes the conflicting claims of the languages are adjusted by the simple arrangement that both languages shall be taught in the schools, and that a service in each language shall be celebrated in the churches upon alternate Sundays. It is difficult to imagine an ideal legislator contriving a more absolutely equitable plan—especially as the peasantry speak a kind of *patois* composed of bad dialects of both languages, and therefore have no room for indulging any sentiment about their native tongue. Complaints are, of course, made on both sides that some parishes are mixed which ought to be either Danish or German. But even if any mistakes have been made in the allotment, of which there is no proof, the consequences at any rate are not overwhelming. The only effect is that the aggrieved peasant hears one sermon a fortnight instead of two. We very much doubt if a great popular agitation could be got up in England upon this basis. The grievance, indeed, did make its appearance in the House of Commons this very last session. The English nationality are 'oppressed' in Wales, by being forced in some parishes to take their choice between a Welsh service and none at all: and one or two sufferers did invoke the aid of Parliament, not to abolish the Welsh service, but to allow the English to have a service of their own. But so dead are we English people to the sacred rights of our nationality and our Fatherland, that it was very difficult to keep forty members together to discuss the subject. They do not take privation in the matter of sermons so easily in Slesvig. There is something exquisitely humorous in the tragic tone in which this sermon-grievance is dwelt upon by the German members of the Slesvig Estates:—

'The religious services in the above-named parishes are to be held alternately in Danish and in German, although in most of the parishes scarcely any of the inhabitants understand a Danish sermon, but all understand well a German sermon. It is a notorious fact, therefore, that on the Sundays when a Danish sermon is preached, the church is almost always empty. Here is an instance of a grievous oppression of a whole population as to the use of the native German language.'

Happy are the people whose grievances are such as these! It is necessary, in order to avoid forming too mean an opinion of

* Some estimates have placed them much lower; but we believe these figures to be approximately correct.

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the mental calibre of the Slesvig Estates, to keep in view the vista in the background—the German fleet riding in the harbour of Kiel.

The language grievance has been kept chiefly for popular use. It has furnished an endless topic of declamation to platform orators and pamphleteers; but the official organs of the movement have been somewhat sparing of its use. It is possible that a recollection of certain passages in the history of Hungary and Posen have suggested to Austrian and Prussian statesmen some misgivings as to the expediency of laying down any broad, general principles concerning the treatment due to the language of a minority. The point which the official assailants of Denmark have chiefly urged is the alleged 'incorporation of the Duchy.' There is no question here about the promises of Denmark. Again and again, in the plainest language, was the pledge given that Slesvig should not be incorporated with Denmark. But there is a great deal more difficulty in proving that the pledge was ever broken. The interminable character of this dispute, and the disastrous consequences to which it threatens to lead, are owing in no small degree to the singular vagueness of the principal term employed. 'Incorporation' is a mere metaphor, and has no precise or technical meaning whatever. If these unhappy engagements of 1851-52 had been put into the form of a regular treaty, the word would have been more closely defined. As it is, we have to search for its definition by a process analogous to that which a law-court would apply to an eccentric will, or an Act of Parliament that had been much battered in Committee. What Denmark has actually done with respect to Slesvig is this: she has preserved to her a local legislature, local tribunals, and a special Executive. On the other hand, Slesvig elects members to a general Congress or Rigsraad, which decides upon those questions which concern Denmark and Slesvig equally. Holstein and Lauenburg did the same, until Germany required that votes should be assigned to them out of all proportion to their population, and except upon this condition refused to permit their entry into the common constitution. Now the question is whether the possession of a local constitution for its own affairs, combined with a participation in a common constitution with Denmark for common affairs, amounts to an incorporation of Slesvig with Denmark. For that is the precise position assigned to the Duchy by the Charters of 1854-5, and preserved to it by the Constitution of last November. The question may be answered, in the first place, by looking abroad. The link which, according to the recent Constitution, unites Austria and Hungary is exactly of the same nature. Is

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Hungary on that account incorporated into Austria? It is precisely the tie which unites Ohio and Pennsylvania. Would it be correct to say that Ohio was incorporated into Pennsylvania? Even in the constitution of the Germanic Confederation itself a proof might be found that the combination of a local constitution for local matters, and a common constitution for common matters, does not imply the incorporation of the communities which take part in the common representation. But a more conclusive argument may be drawn from the very documents under which this promise 'not to incorporate' arises. The promise was given in the correspondence of 1851-52, which we have so often quoted. That correspondence abounds in passages that distinctly contemplate the very combination in which the present tie of Slesvig to Denmark consists. The following passage from the Austrian despatch is conclusive upon the point:—

'The Danish Cabinet may convince itself that we are very far from wishing to stipulate for the unaltered and permanent preservation of the institutions of the Provincial Estates in the Duchies. On the contrary, we acknowledge the full legitimacy of the endeavours (by proper modification or enlargement) to adapt the existing political institutions of all the parts of the monarchy to the organization of the collective state to be established in the future upon Conservative principles.'

It is idle, in the face of paragraphs like this, to pretend that the connexion of Denmark and Slesvig, by the tie of a common constitution for purely common affairs, so long as the business special to each is managed separately, can be construed into an incorporation in the sense in which it is prohibited under the Austrian despatch.

The Constitution of November the 18th, 1863, has been vehemently objected to by Germany as tending to incorporate Slesvig; and, as we write, it is doubtful whether it will not be selected by the Diet as the pretext for war with Denmark. But so far as the question of incorporation is concerned, it stands upon precisely the same footing as the Constitution of 1855. Both agree in the principle of administering common affairs by a common constitution, and provincial affairs by a provincial constitution. The chief difference between the two is, that the Rigsraad or Central Legislature consists now of two chambers instead of one. No change is made in the relative powers of the Rigsraad and the Provincial Estates. We do not mean that the Germans are talking mere nonsense when they raise an outcry against the recent law. They have a very distinct meaning; but they do not like to express it in distinct language. They do not object to a common constitution as such. But they object to a common constitution

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constitution from which Holstein is excluded, because, of course, under such a constitution Germany has lost her hold over Denmark. It is their own fault that Holstein is shut out: for they will not allow her to enter in except upon condition that the German few shall govern the Danish many. But they quarrel with the exclusion of Holstein, because it is the formal mode of withdrawing Denmark from German intrigue and German domination. The Constitution of last November proclaims and ratifies the exclusion of Holstein, which the Diet has practically forced upon the Danish Government; and therefore it is that that Constitution is received with such especial indignation. But all these objections, whatever their value, have nothing at all to do with Denmark's promise not to incorporate Slesvig. The question whether B is, or is not, incorporated into A, cannot possibly be affected by the fact that C has been excluded from the combination.*

Such then are the materials of this stormy and complicated dispute. They are resolvable into one issue—whether the German is or is not to be master of the Dane, and of all the maritime advantages which the Dane possesses. This is the one end to which all the various pretensions of Germany tend, and it is the only aim which is in the least degree adequate to explain the unscrupulous vehemence with which these pretensions have been urged. That Holstein and Lauenburg should be represented in the common Rigsraad which governs the monarchy; that they should be represented there in a strength out of all proportion to their population; that without this condition being granted, no organization of the monarchy should be permitted; all these conditions are necessary to the result at which German patriots frankly confess that they are aiming. That the Danes should voluntarily abrogate their independence; that they should put their necks under a dominion which would crush out their nationality, and reduce their liberties to the level of Prussia or of Hesse, is not to be expected. The quarrel, therefore, is not one of misunderstanding, or which is likely to be appeased by compromise. It is that perpetual form of quarrel which, in its nature, is irreconcileable, and which must always exist between those who wish to conquer and those who desire

* It is curious that this plan of cutting off Holstein entirely, and combining Slesvig with Denmark upon the plan of separate Legislature for local affairs, and a common Legislature for common affairs, was actually proposed to France and Russia by Lord Russell in April, 1861; and so favourable to Germany did he think it, that he further proposed to reward Denmark for accepting it by offering to her a *guarantee* of Slesvig. Yet now that Denmark has done this for herself, it is treated as an atrocious breach of her engagements, a just cause of war, and an excuse to Austria for breaking her treaty pledges.

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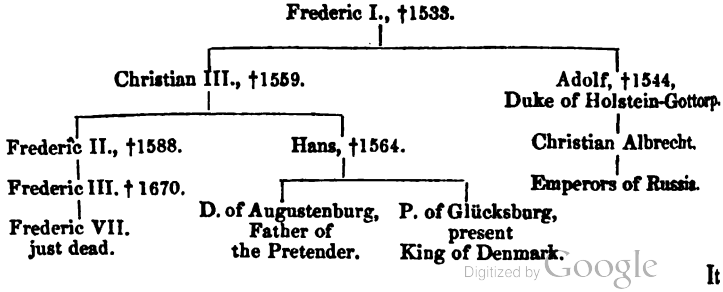
not

not to be conquered—between those who mean to eat and those who are averse to being eaten.

But yet this heap of combustible elements might have lain harmless for a considerable time, if no accidental spark had fallen on it. Though Federal execution had been decreed for some years—ever since 1858—and though the power of the National Verein was increasing year by year, yet the efforts of England might have sufficed still to defer the catastrophe indefinitely. Unluckily, just at the height of the crisis, when the new law for modifying the Constitution of Denmark and Slesvig had just passed the Rigsraad, King Frederic VII. died; and, to make matters worse, he died without male issue, and his death raised a most complicated and difficult question of succession. There is a fate attending the Danish monarchy, which collects round every question that concerns it every perplexity which the most unlucky concurrence of fortuitous circumstances could bring together. The Slesvig-Holstein question, as it existed a year ago, was confused enough; but it is left far in the shade by the complication which the intricacies of the feudal law, the undefined results of its abolition, and frequent changes of boundary, of constitution, and of tenure, in the territories under consideration, have heaped upon the question of the succession.

The simple statement of the case is in favour of the Duke of Augustenburg; but, like most simple statements, it is exceedingly misleading. Frederic I., who died in 1533, had two sons, Christian and Adolf; Christian had two sons, Frederic and Hans; Adolf had one son, Christian Albrecht. Now these three grandsons of Frederic I., viz. Frederic, Hans, and Christian Albrecht, were the progenitors of the lines with which we have to do. From Frederic came the royal Danish line, which in the person of Frederic VII. is just extinct, as far as male heirs are concerned. From Hans came two lines, that of Augustenburg, the eldest, and that of Glücksburg, the youngest. From Christian Albrecht came the House of Holstein-Gottorp, that is to say, the present Imperial House of Russia. To put the case into the shape of a pedigree it stands thus:—



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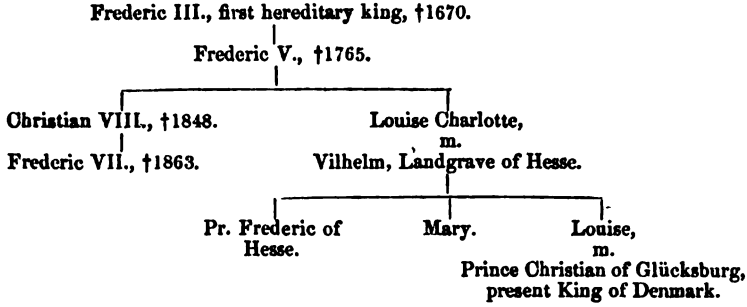
It

It is quite clear that, on ordinary principles of male succession, the line of Frederic II. failing, the eldest branch of the line of Hans, that is to say, the Duke of Augustenburg, has the right to succeed to the crown of Denmark. But there are some very material points which take this out of the category of ordinary cases. In the first place, the Crown of Denmark was not hereditary till a very modern date. In earlier times it was elective. It did not become hereditary until the year 1660, in the reign of Frederic III., that is to say, a good century after the line of the Augustenburgs branched off. When it was made hereditary, a law of succession (called the *Lex Regia*) was also passed; and by its provisions female heirs of Frederic III. could inherit the throne as soon as the male succession was exhausted. The title of the Augustenburgs to the throne of Denmark is therefore worthless, for two reasons. First, because when their progenitor branched off, the throne was not hereditary; Secondly, because the line of Frederic II. is not extinct, inasmuch as under the *Lex Regia* females may inherit. Under these circumstances the pedigree of the Royal Danish line stands thus:—



Under the female succession, therefore, established by the *Lex Regia*, Prince Frederic of Hesse was clearly the heir to the throne of Denmark. But he renounced his rights, and his sister Mary did the same. The crown, therefore, inevitably fell to his second sister Louise. She renounced her rights in favour of her husband, and Prince Christian of Glücksburg is accordingly the present King.

So far there is no difficulty. But did the *Lex Regia*, *i.e.*, the law admitting the female succession, apply to the other parts of the monarchy—to Slesvig, to Holstein, and to Lauenburg? Concerning Lauenburg there ought to be no question, for it was annexed to the crown of Denmark by the Treaties of 1815-16, and follows that crown, by whatever law of inheritance it descends. But,

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But, concerning Slesvig and Holstein, the complication is much more serious. The chief difficulty is that at the time this *Lex Regia* was passed—1665—Slesvig and Holstein were neither of them in their entirety a part of Denmark, and therefore, it is said, could not be subject to a law made for Denmark. Up to the Peace of Roeskilde, in 1658, Slesvig was a fief under the Danish crown, half held by the King, half by the Duke of Holstein-Gottorp. In that year an arrangement was made, by which each half of the fief was converted into an independent sovereignty. After some intermediate vicissitudes the Duke of Holstein-Gottorp's half was conquered by the Danish King, and the whole of Slesvig was solemnly united to the Danish crown in 1721. How did that formal union affect the succession of Slesvig? Did it leave Slesvig under its old Salic law,* or did it introduce the Danish *Lex Regia*, the law of female succession? The Duke of Augustenburg of that day took this latter view, and swore fealty to the 'King and his Royal successors, according to the tenor of the *Lex Regia*.' But the Duke of Augustenburg of the present day repudiates his great-grandfather's oath, and claims—or did claim—to succeed to Slesvig according to the Salic law. But what has become of the Dukes of Holstein-Gottorp in the meanwhile? Though ousted of their portion of Slesvig by force of arms, in 1713, they did not renounce their rights till 1773, and then they renounced them in favour of the King of Denmark and his successors. It may therefore be plausibly argued that, if Slesvig ceases to be held by a King of Denmark, the claims of the Duke of Holstein-Gottorp, that is to say, of the present Emperor of Russia, are revived.†

The difficulty in the case of Holstein is stronger still. When the German empire was dissolved in 1806, and Holstein ceased therefore to be a fief, the King of Denmark of the day, having it entirely at his disposal, united it to Denmark by Letters Patent, and declared it to be 'henceforth an unseparated part of this monarchy.' It may be argued that by that act it became subject to the Danish law of succession. But, if the opposite view be taken, and it be assumed that Holstein retained the Salic law of succession, which had applied to it while it was a fief, the difficulty then arises that the various portions of the Duchy could not be held together. Large portions of the present Duchy upon the

* What the old law of Slesvig was has been much disputed; but we assume the German view for argument's sake.

† This interpretation may be questioned, as the Act by which the Emperor Paul renounced his share in Slesvig is not so clearly worded, as that by which he renounced his share in Holstein. But it is as tenable as any other; and quite tenable enough for the Czar to adopt if he thought fit.

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western frontier, comprising one-fifth of its inhabitants, and including Altona, did not form part of the Duchy till they were united to it by those same Letters Patent of 1806. They were not fiefs at all at that time, but allodial possessions of the Danish crown, and therefore tied to it, to whomsoever it might descend. On the other hand, the renunciation by Paul of his territories in Holstein, as Duke of Holstein-Gottorp, was very distinctly made only to the male descendants of Frederic V.; so that unless the Duchy changed its character by the events of 1806 and 1815, it is quite clear that Kiel and the larger part of the Baltic shore of Holstein would fall to the Emperor of Russia. The Duke of Augustenburg, therefore, and those who claim through him, are placed in this dilemma—either the Duchy of Holstein was united to Denmark by the events of 1806 and 1815 in such a manner that it assumed Denmark's law of succession, or it remained subject to its old laws in that respect. In the first case, the Duke of Augustenburg would lose Holstein altogether; in the other case, he would have to take it minus Altona and Kiel, and with Russia for a next door neighbour.

The prospect of this tangle of disputes being brought to a practical issue convinced the Great Powers that it required an European intervention to fix upon some plan of succession to the Danish crown which should not expose the integrity of the monarchy to risk. Accordingly, it was resolved to fix upon Prince Christian of Glücksburg. His wife (after her brother's and sister's renunciation had been obtained) was the unquestionable heir, under the *Lex Regia*, to Denmark proper, and probably to Slesvig. He himself, as a descendant of Christian III., stood high in the male succession; and most of those who stood before him had been guilty of treason in 1848, and had rendered themselves liable to the forfeiture of all their rights. Accordingly, renunciations were obtained from Prince Frederick of Hesse, from his sisters, from the Emperor of Russia, and, finally, from the Duke of Augustenburg himself, who of course had fled the country. For this, and for the cession of all claim to his estates, which was of small value to him as he had forfeited them by rebellion, he received a sum of rather more than 400,000*l.** In consideration of this enormous indemnity, he made the following promise:—

'We moreover promise, *for us and our family*, by our princely word and honour, not to undertake anything whereby the tranquillity of his

* It is a curious coincidence that the Prussian plenipotentiary at Frankfort, who negotiated this renunciation with the Duke of Augustenburg, was Herr von Bismarck.

Majesty's

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Majesty's dominions and lands might be disturbed, nor in any way to counteract the resolutions which his Majesty might have taken, or in future might take in reference to the arrangement of the succession of all the lands now united under his Majesty's sceptre, or to the eventual organization of his monarchy.'

In the vocabulary of the Duke of Augustenburg it is to be presumed that the word 'family' does not include sons; for it is his son who is now revolutionising Holstein under the wing of the Federal army. It is right to say that the Duke's son has protested against the above renunciation. It is also right to add that he kept his protest to himself till six years after the deed had been signed and the money paid. The protest was issued on the 15th of January, 1859.*

The requisite renunciations having thus been obtained, the Treaty of London was drawn up and signed.† It is simply worded, and contains no other stipulations than that the Powers will recognise Prince Christian and his male descendants as successors to succeed to the whole of the states then under the sceptre of the Danish king.† They do this on the ground, alleged in the preamble, that 'the maintenance of the integrity of the Danish monarchy, being connected with the general interests of the equilibrium of Europe, is of high importance for the preservation of peace.' The Treaty is in the names of the Emperor of Austria, the Prince President of the French Republic, the Queen of England, the King of Prussia, the Emperor of Russia, the King of Sweden, and the King of Denmark. Other states were subsequently invited to accede; and Saxony and Hanover, among others, consented.

The case foreseen has come to pass. The male line of Frederick III. has died out. In conformity with the treaty, France, England, Russia, and Sweden have at once recognised Prince Christian as his successor. Austria and Prussia hang

* Parl. Corr. 1861, p. 82.

† 'Les Hautes Parties Contractantes s'engagent d'un commun accord dans le cas où l'éventualité prévue viendrait à se réaliser, à reconnaître à S. H. le Prince Christian de Slesvig-Holstein-Sonderbourg Glücksburg. . . . le droit de succéder à la totalité des états actuellement réunis sous le sceptre de. S. M. le Roi de Danemark.' The words 's'engagent d'un commun accord,' are important, as showing that the treaty is mutually binding between each and all, and not merely between each and the king of Denmark. It has been alleged in defence of the German Powers that they are released from the Treaty of London, because Denmark has broken the promises made in the Correspondence of 1851–52. We have shown in detail that that assertion is wholly without foundation. But even if it were true, it would be irrelevant. The Treaty of London was not a treaty between Austria and Prussia on the one side, and Denmark on the other. It was a treaty between each and all of the Powers that signed it. Austria is as much bound by it to England as to Denmark; and England was in no way concerned in the Correspondence of 1851–52.

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back. They are not shameless enough openly to repudiate their plighted word, but they refuse to keep it. They will not recognise King Christian, though as yet they have abstained from recognising the Pretender. Saxony and Hanover, overjoyed at being allowed to play a conspicuous part of any kind, be it ever so ignominious, loudly proclaim that they are not only willing, but eager, to dishonour the faith that they have pledged. Meanwhile, the great mass of Prussian and Austrian Radicals, with that curious indifference to morality which is characteristic of sentimental politicians, are furiously calling upon their sovereigns to enter upon the same dishonest course. They do not trouble themselves to argue. 'The London Treaty,' says Von Sybel, 'is *contra bonos mores* . . . . it proposes to rivet a German population to the poisoned chain of Danish rule;' and therefore, by the light of this convenient standard of 'good morals,' he proposes to break the faith which Prussia has solemnly pledged, and in which for twelve years past she has suffered us implicitly to believe. This habit of political repudiation appears to be ingrained in Prussian politicians. Along with his conquests and his glory, Frederick the Great has left them also the disastrous legacy of his treachery. Like most mere imitators they follow chiefly the defects of their model, and overlook its beauties. There is little enough in their recent history of his military prowess, or his political sagacity; but of his unblushing perfidy, of his cynical contempt for pledges given and treaties signed, they are admirable copyists.

The conduct of the Diet has been a curious medley of illegalities. When the administration of the affairs of Holstein was separated from that of the rest of the monarchy, the Diet complained that by that act the promise not to incorporate Slesvig, had been broken; though the institutions of Slesvig, and its relations to Denmark Proper, remained unaltered. To resist this alleged breach of an engagement that was unquestionably international, the Diet threatened to proceed, not by war—which is the mode in which nation exacts redress from nation—but by Federal Execution, which is nothing but a measure of internal government. The constitution of the German Bund is so anomalous that no exact parallel to its conduct can be found; but this proceeding is somewhat the same as if, England having cause of complaint against France for some breach of the Treaty of Commerce, the English Government were to obtain a verdict against the Emperor in the Central Criminal Court, and levy a fine upon the money he holds in the English Funds. After the Diet had made this threat, the King of Denmark died; and his successor—whose title for Lauenburg at least

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least was unquestionable—announced his accession to them, and claimed that his plenipotentiary should be admitted to their sittings. They refused to acknowledge him; but, having done so, they proceeded to act as if they had acknowledged him. If they had recognised some other claimant in his place, it would then have been competent for them to convey to him their demands, and to order execution if those demands were disobeyed. But they neither acknowledged King Christian nor anyone else; and yet, while they were thus assuming that the throne was empty, and that there was no Duke of Holstein, they ordered Federal Execution in Holstein because the Duke of Holstein had not complied with their demands. In fact, they have taken measures professedly to force the King of Denmark to fulfil his Federal obligations, having previously declared that there was no King of Denmark in existence. But this is not the worst confusion of which they have been guilty. Having occupied Holstein, to force the King to fulfil his Federal obligations—for that is the meaning of an Execution, they assumed the government of the Duchy temporarily until their demands had been complied with; and then, holding the Government under this tenure, they proceeded to give to a Pretender facilities for setting up a revolution under their protection. These strange irregularities are chiefly of importance as showing that the German Diet of the present hour is no regular Government moving by strict legal rules or traditional principles of policy. In fear of Revolution it has yielded itself up to be the instrument of popular passion, and its acts are inspired by a spirit not its own. Austria and Prussia would fain guide it into the path, if not of honour, at least of comparative safety. But the influence which their voices usually exert is lost in a moment such as this. One of those tempests of popular madness to which Germany is especially liable is sweeping over the land. No habits of self-government, no natural leaders are at hand to moderate the frenzy of ignorant enthusiasm; and the Sovereigns of the smaller States, despots in quiet times and cowards in Revolution, are bending in abject terror to the storm. What may be the issue a few months, or even a few weeks hence, it is impossible to say; but at the present moment negotiating with Germany is negotiating, not with a Confederation of regular Governments, but with an angry mob.

There is so far method in the German madness, that the excitement is wildest in some of the smaller States which are tolerably safe from punishment. Their wisdom in trying to precipitate a conflict in which, individually, they can hardly lose, and

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and may possibly gain, may perhaps be justified by the event. Saxony, for instance, will probably in any case reverse the fate of Francis I., and escape with everything except her honour. But it is not easy to understand how any reflecting men in the larger States can blind themselves to the danger upon which they are rushing. Germany has no friend on any frontier. All around her are lying enemies covetous of some possession that belongs to a German crown, and only waiting for an opportune moment to attack. The first sign that the lengthy Danish controversy was drawing towards actual war has brought out a proclamation from Garibaldi to the Italians, and from Kossuth to the Hungarians. Russia is probably in no mood to forgive Austria the base of operations which the Poles have found upon the Gallician frontier; and the Servians will have little affection for the staunch upholders of the Ottoman Empire. The hardihood of an Austrian statesman, who is eager to bring on war upon the Eyder, has something in it of antique grandeur. With the Quadrilateral to defend against an enthusiastic nation flushed with victory —with Hungary fretting and writhing under martial law—with a credit but just beginning to revive, taxation strained to the uttermost, and a large yearly deficit—with all these burdens to support, Austria sends her army to the extreme North to fight the Danes, and throws down the gauntlet to England, France, and Russia. But Austria will not be the only sufferer. On the left bank of the Rhine lie provinces of Bavaria and of Prussia, which for half a century have been at once a temptation and a reproach to France. They offer a prize to ambition, and at the same time they suggest memories of humiliation and hopes of revenge. The sovereign who should reunite them to the French Empire would build his dynasty upon a foundation which neither Liberal nor Legitimist could shake. They are already half-French in laws, and more than half-French in sympathy. They would be easy for the French to conquer; and the barrier of the Rhine would make it difficult for the Germans to regain them. Nothing is wanting but a pretext upon which, without too great a sacrifice of character, the treaties which sever them from France may be torn up. There seems to be no doubt that the Emperor is arming; and the condition of French politics pressingly requires that, by some gain of territory or of fame, he should recall the wavering affections of his people, and wipe out the memory of Mexico. Every symptom combines to indicate that if the opportunity should come, it will not be thrown away. The Germans comfort themselves with the few fair words he cast to "his cousin" the Pretender. In his present passive, and almost friendly bearing

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ing—if the power of reasoning were left to them—they should read their greatest danger. Nothing would be more fatal to his plan than to betray it by a premature movement. When the Germans have fairly plunged into war, and have renounced the protection of public law by shamelessly breaking it themselves, then his time will have come. Till then his policy is, by absolute quiescence and occasional hints of friendly sentiments, to fool them into security and into war.

And what will England do? It is a question that concerns us deeply; but it is humiliating to be obliged to confess that it is one with which the Germans do not trouble themselves much. Of the true policy of England there can be little doubt, for it has been upheld by statesmen of all sides in every age. As the greatest of commercial powers, she can never suffer the highway of nations to fall into hands that may close it. The Sound, the Bosphorus, and the Straits of Gibraltar, the Isthmus of Suez and the Isthmus of Darien, must never be subject to the will of a first-rate Power. Therefore, it is against the policy of England that Denmark should become the dependency of Germany. It is, of course, not possible to forecast the political form into which the seething mass of German populations will ultimately crystallize. But one of two alternatives may be safely predicted of the destiny of Germany as a European Power. Either the present subdivision which neutralizes her natural resources will cease, and she will become one of the most powerful Empires in the world; or else—a far likelier issue—the present enthusiasm will exhaust the energies of a people so unpractical, without leading to any definite result, and Germany will fall back into her old condition, more divided, more stagnant, more impotent than before, and more helplessly the slave of Russia. In either case it is not for our interest that Denmark should fall into her hands. It must never be forgotten that if King Christian IX. does not inherit Holstein, the claims of Russia—set aside by the Protocol of Warsaw only in his favour—revive in all their force. If, as Germany earnestly desires, the Danish King should cease to be Duke of Holstein, the Emperor Alexander is the indisputable heir of Kiel.*

But Denmark has a stronger claim upon our support than any

* The Protocol of Warsaw, signed previous to the Treaty of London, after reciting that the renunciations of the Emperor Paul were only made in favour of the male descendants of Frederic V., and declaring that the Emperor of Russia was then prepared to renounce his eventual rights in favour of Prince Christian of Glücksburg, goes on to provide 'That inasmuch as the renunciation of his Majesty the Emperor would have for its object to facilitate an arrangement called for by the first interests of the Monarchy, the offer of such a renunciation *would cease to be obligatory if the arrangement itself should fail.*' The 'Journal de St. Petersbourg' has just reprinted the Protocol of Warsaw, without note or comment.

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motives of mere self-interest can furnish. It was at the instance of England, more than of any other Power, that the Treaty of London was signed. It is not a treaty of guarantee, and therefore, in strict law, we are not bound. But a treaty so recent, so distinctly pointed at the contingency which has just occurred, cannot be lightly abandoned. If we refuse to stand by this engagement, which we took so large a share in negotiating, we may for the future spare ourselves the needless pastime of signing treaties altogether. Already our power to uphold the public law, which we take so prominent a share in making, is subject to doubts that are not flattering to our national pride. Lord Russell's fierce notes and pacific measures furnish an endless theme for the taunts of those who would gladly see the influence of England in the councils of Europe destroyed. The vigorous protests that have issued from the Foreign Office in the matter of Savoy, and of Poland, and of the American blockade, combined with the meek submission that invariably follows them, have caused the conviction to prevail extensively in Europe that, however she may write, England will never fight with any State that is able to defend itself. In the Eastern or the Southern seas, where there is no enemy that can resist her, she can still show her ancient prowess. She can exhibit great decision in Brazil, and burn down defenceless towns with wonderful vigour in Japan. But there is no danger that she will ever allow her martial ardour to betray her into any step more dangerous than a ferocious despatch, when she is confronted with an adversary of anything like equal strength. This is the character of us which any reader of foreign journals or foreign debates may find repeated with still less flattering comments, whenever the probable policy of England comes under discussion. It cannot be denied that the conduct of Lord Russell has given but too much point to these sarcasms. Even in this Danish matter, the fickle and trimming character of his policy has won for us little respect, and has destroyed the influence we might have previously possessed. When Denmark seemed in earnest, and Germany comparatively lukewarm, Lord Russell was a strong Dane. In return for a separation of Holstein precisely in the form in which it has been since effected by the constitution of last November, he volunteered, if the other Powers would consent, to guarantee Slesvig to Denmark. Shortly afterwards the aspect of the political horizon darkened. Germany became fearfully in earnest, and there was no doubt that if she was in earnest, Germany was the strongest power. Lord Russell's views underwent a salutary change. He became a decided German; and, in testimony of his conversion, he sent to Denmark a proposal that she should

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should reduce her Constitution to the concurrent action of four independent Diets, and that, to make everything work pleasantly with Germany, she should bring down her army and navy to the lowest possible point. The proposal was of course received with delight by Germany, and rejected with scorn by Denmark. It is hardly necessary to recal to the memory of the English reader, the unexampled insolence of the language in which this suicidal project was urged upon the acceptance of Denmark. There can be little doubt that the tone of that unfortunate despatch has largely contributed to bring about the present crisis. It encouraged the belief now popular on the Continent, that England is always upon the strongest side. Such vagaries have naturally produced that contempt of our power or our courage which the Germans have universally expressed, and upon which they are evidently acting.

But there is a stronger reason still why it will not consist with our honour to abandon Denmark. Unasked by her we have thrust upon her advice, by which her powers of self-defence will be seriously crippled if war should unhappily break out. At our request she has retreated from strong positions, which she might have held, and has foregone the opportunity of inflicting upon the ill-commanded troops of Germany a defeat, which would have gone far to cool that fervent patriotism which has selected Denmark from among all other lands in which Germans are held in subjection, because Denmark seemed the easiest prey. Such a policy binds us in honour as much as any guarantee. If we prevail upon a weak State, to whom we profess to be friendly, to abandon its sole and its best chance of resistance against an adversary of overwhelming numbers, we are bound to take upon ourselves the hazards of that advice. Denmark is but a weak State to struggle against the unwieldy but still huge enemy that menaces her independence. She needs every aid that chance, or promptitude, or strategical advantages can give her. If, in deference to our officious counsel she foregoes these aids, and then, abandoned by us, is crushed in the unequal conflict, a stain, which time could not efface, would lie upon England's honour. It is base to abandon the weak in the moment of their utmost need, and in the presence of a gigantic assailant. But there is a deeper baseness far in the wordy friendship, which, implying the promise of aid, without formally pledging it, beguiles the weaker combatant into a fatal trust in his ally, and then deserts him.

Happily in this case, as in most others, the policy of honour is also the policy of peace. The care with which the Germans have selected the weakest State upon their frontier for the exhibition of their irrepressible patriotism, shows of what metal it is made.

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made. The magnificent sentiments they are parading, the exhortations to courage, the appeals to the German honour, would be in place if they were undertaking to free Alsace from France, or Livonia from Russia. Their zeal for German nationality, if it appears to us hot, is at least invariably safe. Once convince them that the raid on Denmark is not safe, and the excitement will subside with a marvellous rapidity. If, by timid language and a false love of peace, Germany is encouraged to believe that she can set treaties at defiance with impunity, a Continental war will result, in which it is almost impossible that England should not be forced to take a part. Let Germany see distinctly that war with Denmark means war with England, and the Governments that are now weakly yielding, will draw courage to free their subjects from the imminence of a greater danger. But promptitude and courage are above all things necessary. In every portion of Europe the combustible materials lie scattered ready for the match. If they are kindled into war, no human power can set bounds to the conflagration, or predict the limits of its rage. Upon the action of England, who alone desires peace, the continuance of peace depends.

NOTE TO VOL. 114.

With reference to the statement made in the Quarterly Review, Vol. 114, p. 509, that one of the English chaplains in Italy had 'mixed himself up with a revival in which all sorts of sects took part,' we have much satisfaction in saying that we now believe the statement in question to have been founded on erroneous information.

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THE

QUARTERLY REVIEW.

ART. I.—1. *Forty Years of American Life.* By Dr. Thomas L. Nichols. 2 Vols. London, 1864.
2. *Three Months in the Southern States, April—June,* 1863. By Lieut.-Col. Fremantle, Coldstream Guards. Edinburgh and London, 1863.
3. *A Military View of the Recent Campaigns in Virginia and Maryland.* By Captain C. C. Chesney, R.E., Professor of Military History, Sandhurst College. London, 1863.
4. *Thirteen Months in the Rebel Army.* By an impressed New Yorker. London, 1862.

THERE are three systems or methods of book-building, of which any one may be adopted by Europeans who desire to give to the public their impressions in regard to the once happy and United States of North America. The first and most usual plan is that which has been followed without exception, and it may be added almost necessarily, by those English visitors to America who before their arrival had attained established fame as *littérateurs* in their own country. This was the fashion in which Dickens, Thackeray, Sir Charles Lyell, Anthony Trollope, W. Howard Russell, Miss Martineau, and many more saw America, giving afterwards with more or less of accuracy and force their portrait of what they saw to the civilised world. It was also to a certain degree in this fashion that Mr. Cobden, Mr. Baxter, Mr. Edward Ellice, Mr. Lowe, and many other English Members of Parliament took their observations of the Western Republic, although it is to be regretted that, with the exception of Mr. Baxter, they did not permit the benefit of these observations to reach the eye of their countrymen. It is hardly necessary to state that, according to the fashion or plan in question, the voyage of distinguished Europeans through America is converted into a kind of public progress or ovation. Immediately after breakfast the visitor is waited upon by the notables of the town in which he happens to find himself—he dons a pair of American spectacles, and is taken to see the sights, which are usually of a remarkably uniform character. His every question is answered by an agreeable, polished, and cunning diplomatist; compliments exquisitely attempered to his stomach are not wanting, nor

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need he fear if, like Wolsey's, his stomach be unbounded, that they will not be full-flavoured enough to suit his palate. The wealth, prosperity, greatness, enterprise, of what was three years ago, with all its faults, one of the happiest countries in the universe, are clearly demonstrated to be the work of Washington and Jefferson, and of Republican institutions. In the afternoon another emissary of the sovereign people is at our traveller's call. A carriage is at the door and he is taken out for a drive, or a steamboat is at the wharf and he is wafted out upon the river or lake. He returns to dinner or tea, and to a *conversazione* in the evening; agreeable and deferential men shake hands with him *ordine longo;* pretty, well-dressed, and sprightly women are delighted to discuss with him any topic from Miscegenation, or the blending of the black and white races (the latest craze of Mrs. Beecher Stowe), to the colour of Princess Alexandra's eyes, or the *tulle illusion* which the Empress lately wore at the Tuileries. If opportunity offers and the traveller's disposition invites attack on the side of his vanity, he is solicited, nay importuned, to take the stump and make a speech upon any earthly subject, from the eccentricities of the planet Venus to those of President Lincoln. Or, if he decline to make a fool of himself by lecturing, he is urged to have a public reception; or, in other words, to stand up at the end of one of the long gaunt rooms of an American hotel and shake hands with all comers for two or three hours, and respectfully to receive the oral communications of all the Elijah Pograms who have something to tell him. When at last he takes wing for another town his progress is announced thousands of miles off by telegraph over the length and breadth of the old Union. 'Mr. This passed Cleveland at 11, going west,' or 'Dr. That is expected at Indianopolis from the North at 3,' and such like bulletins, keep the people's interest in the illustrious stranger whetted. On arriving at his destination—say Cincinnati—the probability is that he will find a carriage awaiting him at the station, and a deputation from the Mayor and Corporation, or from the Knights of the Golden Circle, or from the Associated Pigmen, greeting him and offering him the hospitalities of the 'Queen City of the West.'

The effect of all this upon the traveller's mind may be imagined. It acts, of course, differently upon different temperaments, but the result, broadly stated, is generally intoxication. It does not necessarily follow that the traveller, when he writes his book, should have nothing but praise for the people who have treated him so well. He is often too clear-sighted to be taken in by the hollow and insincere incense of men who, in Miss Martineau's words, 'bandy the small change of praise, flattery, and compliment

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ment among each other upon the slightest provocation,' and who are too glad to amuse themselves and keep their hand in at the expense of a stranger, who is often not undeserving of a portion of the homage laid at his feet. But such is the subtlety of human vanity that it would be strange if a man, let him be as able as he may, could live in such an atmosphere, and preserve that unruffled and judicial temper of mind and that balance of judgment which are indispensable to the composition of a good book. We have but to glance cursorily at the American books of some of the well-known English authors we have named, in order to pronounce them far inferior to many of their other works. It cannot be pretended that the American Notes of Mr. Dickens (while they exhibit, although, perhaps, in a less degree than Martin Chuzzlewit, his unrivalled nicety and keenness of observation) are up to the ordinary high standard of that admirable author. Mr. Thackeray, with the fine intuition and delicacy of taste which were among his choicest attributes, perceived and shrank from the difficulties of an American book; but unquestionably his poorest novel, the 'Virginians,' is that of which the scene is laid across the Atlantic. It was only in such fugitive morsels as his Roundabout Papers that we were permitted to see his great familiarity with the country and manners of our cousins. If it had been possible for Mr. Anthony Trollope to have written during the last ten years a really bad book, most assuredly his bulky 'North America' would come within that category. It is with a feeling of undisguised disappointment that we turn from Mr. Russell's 'North and South,' and marvel that his sprightly and suggestive pen should instruct us so little about that mighty and interesting continent to which all our eyes are now turned. If it be true that humility is, as most men who have borne the burden and heat of a laborious life believe, the one inseparable condition of success, assuredly the first of the three systems we have noticed is the least likely, although espoused by all the established westward-bound authors of England, to give us a good book about North America.

To the second plan or system, far less popular and attractive than the first, though in our judgment far more commendable, we owe two of the best books on America which have seen the light in Europe. M. de Tocqueville and M. Chevalier travelled upon different occasions through the New World, obscure, unknown, and unnoticed. No one remarked their names when recorded in the hotel registers; no newspaper puff announced to the Americans that a chiel was amongst them taking notes, and requiring to be stuffed, and *fêté*, and tickled. With keen observation and intelligence, they journeyed thousands of miles

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by rail, in steamboats, on horseback, or on wheels. Unmarked themselves, they talked with men and women of every degree; they visited them in their homes, and saw them without varnish or disguise. M. de Tocqueville gave to the study of American character and institutions as many years as English tourists usually give months. The result was that his insight into and comprehension of his subject were unrivalled. We are far from saying that there are no meritorious English books which have been written in accordance with the principles of the second of our three systems. All that we say is that such books are so few as to admit of being counted on the fingers. At this moment we can recall none but Mr. Mackay's 'Western World,' Mr. Stirling's unpretending 'Letters from the Slave States,' and Mr. Grattan's 'Civilised America.'

The third of our systems is so uninviting and so difficult of attainment as to require brief notice. Yet we have been taught, and again by a Frenchman, that it is possible to write an admirable book about what Americans do, and think, and write, without the author's making any other voyage than one *autour de sa chambre*. Few Englishmen are acquainted with the work which many years ago M. Philarète Chasles put forth in Paris, entitled 'American Life and Literature.' In his familiarity with Transatlantic authors, and his just appreciation of their literary merits, M. Chasles has never, in our judgment, been approached by any other European critic. Yet, if we mistake not, he has never crossed the Atlantic. We commend his book heartily to those few and rare individuals who have courage to turn aside from the gossamer literature of the hour, and in accordance with Mr. Rogers's well-known advice, 'when a new book appears, to read an old one.' It is far from refreshing to reflect that out of the few French books on America there is hardly a bad one; while out of the many English books on the same subject there is hardly a good one.

The work which heads the list prefixed to this article, as being the work of an American, does not require to be measured by the Procrustean rule which we have laid down for European authors. Dr. Nichols, born in the Yankee State of New Hampshire, but wandering with the restless versatility of his countrymen into twenty-four out of the thirty-four States, possesses, of course, a knowledge of his country which can only result from such an experience as is given by 'Forty Years of American Life.' We have rarely read a book of its class which will better repay perusal. There have been English caricatures of America more racy and humorous, and written in more unexceptionable English, but none which disclose so deep an insight into the Americans.

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ricans. If we pursued the old fashion of reviewers, and set to work, scissors in hand, to cut out every noticeable passage from this book, the rest of this article would have to be abandoned to Dr. Nichols. But it may interest the reader briefly to be told that Dr. Nichols was, at the age of twenty-one, assistant editor of the 'New York Herald;' and in illustration of the enterprise which the editor of that journal exhibits, and which none have ever denied to him, the following incident as detailed by Dr. Nichols will be read with surprise:—

'Mr. Bennett was the first New York editor who had important public speeches reported, though delivered at hundreds of miles distance. He seized upon the telegraph as soon as it was established, and has sometimes incurred very heavy expenses in getting exclusive or the earliest information. When the Prince of Wales was expected at Niagara Falls, Mr. Bennett instructed his reporter to secure the telegraph. This could only be done by keeping it at work, on the principle of "first come first served;" but there was nothing to report. The reporter was at the end of his story, and asked what he should do. "Send on the Book of Proverbs," was Mr. Bennett's answer. The Book of Proverbs concluded, the reporter said by way of postscript, "No sign of the Prince—what next?" "Give us Ecclesiastes," was the answer; and the operators were kept at their long and unusual Scripture lesson, at a heavy price, until the cannon thundered, and the long-expected heir of England's throne came in sight of the great cataract.'

We cannot forbear adding another brief extract which well deserves, as it seems to us, the attention of our Government. Most Englishmen who visit America hurriedly, and who retain (as they almost invariably do) their inability to look at anything save through English spectacles, and taste anything save with English palate—an inability which is, after all, at once the strength and the weakness of our countrymen—never learn to prize those luscious and magnificent oysters which are not the least valuable of God's many gifts to that favoured continent, and with which Chesapeake Bay, the rivers of Virginia, the sheltered bays of the Atlantic, the Florida coast, the deltas of New Orleans and Mobile, are literally paved. But if an Englishman passes enough time in America to cease, in Mad. de Stael's words, to be an island, it can scarcely be but that he will learn to prize the American oyster more highly than Colchester natives or *huîtres d'Ostende*. In the belief that a hearty taste for American oysters would spring up, were they abundantly introduced into England, we invite the reader's attention to the following suggestion:—

'It is worth trying whether the American oyster will flourish in British waters. If it would attain to the same size, and retain its delicate

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delicate flavour, and Englishmen could forget their prejudices in favour of their little, sharp, coppery natives, a great addition might be made to the stock of healthy food in England. . . . . Really, I cannot help thinking that a few shiploads of American oysters and clams strewn along the coasts of England and Ireland might be one of the best investments ever made by a paternal government, some of whose children and subjects do not always get enough to eat.'

The water round the coasts of England is more saline than at the mouths of the immense American rivers. But an experiment of which the cost would be so trifling, and the possible consequences so considerable, is worthy of the attention of Mr. Frank Buckland, and of all who take interest in such subjects.

In conclusion, merely adding that Dr. Nichols's book has the venial faults of being somewhat too long, and badly grouped, we take leave of him, with a kindly feeling for the man through whose agency his countryman, Mr. Herman Melville, was first brought *en rapport* with a London publisher, whereby the British public was introduced under the happiest auspices to the exquisite conceits (for so we regard them) of Typee and Omoo.

In a remarkably natural and pleasing book Colonel Fremantle has given us a record of his too brief tour of 'Three Months in the Southern States.' Want of space forbids our saying more than that we heartily concur with Mr. Sargent, Colonel Fremantle's companion in a wild journey through Texas, in pronouncing that the Colonel must be 'a right good companion for the road.' We shall have occasion to avail ourselves of Colonel Fremantle's experience before concluding this article; but we trust that every Englishman who takes an interest in the great struggle on the Western continent will read Colonel Fremantle's book, and readjust the accuracy of his impressions by consulting so intelligent and trustworthy a guide.

In the few remarks which we shall offer to our readers in regard to the prospects at this moment of the Confederates, we utterly disclaim all pretensions to the gift of prophecy, or to any power of reading the future other than can be gained by observing and interpreting the past. He who has watched this gigantic American upheaval without noting how utterly human foresight has on both sides of the Atlantic failed to anticipate the magnitude and duration of the conflict, without perceiving how grossly all who have assumed Cassandra's robe have misled Europe and America, must be a singularly blind or singularly heedless observer. But at the moment when these words will meet the public eye, three years, almost to a day, will have passed since the reverberation of that first cannon-shot at Fort Sumter, which was so little heeded at the time, but which heralded the greatest and bloodiest war

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war of the century. It would be strange if the experience of these three momentous years could not be converted into a stepping-stone, from which to spring to a higher and more intelligent appreciation of the future.

It is not necessary to linger upon details, now no longer secrets, as to the destitution of the Southerners in gunpowder, muskets, and field-pieces during the first twelve months of the war. Undoubtedly at the same moment the Northern engines of offence, as compared with their present force by sea and land, were ludicrously inferior. But there never was a time when the disparity of strength between the two sections was so fearful as during the first year. Assuming that it is correct to estimate the present superiority of the Federals in resources over the Confederates as being in the ratio of ten to one,* unquestionably that superiority during the first year was in the ratio of one hundred to one. There has been, in our judgment, but one battle, since the war commenced, which might have been turned into a crowning victory, and that only on one side. If the Federals had won the battle of Bull Run, had driven their enemy headlong from the field, capturing a large amount of field-pieces and small arms, it can scarcely be doubted that Richmond would have fallen without another battle. Every musket in the Confederate States was on the field; no reserve of men could have been brought up, for there were no arms to put into their hands. Of all the eight 'On to Richmonds,' that which was presided over by General M'Dowell had, beyond doubt, far the best chance of success.

The Federals, after sustaining defeat at Bull Run, unconsciously frittered away the immense superiority of strength which still remained to them by selecting General M'Clellan as their new Commander-in-Chief. For months and months this Athelstane the Unready—a sensible and worthy man, but slow and cautious in the extreme—set to work to organise and discipline his army, nearly 200,000 strong, with a view to fitting it for a campaign 'in which there should be no more Bull Runs.' A few miles off in his front lay Generals Johnston and Beauregard, with an unruly and riotous army, little more than 30,000 strong, intoxicated with their recent victory, which was loudly celebrated in beakers of whisky, by dance and by song. It was not until the spring of 1862 came and Fort Donelson fell in the West simultaneously with the commencement of M'Clellan's advance against Richmond in the East, that the Confederates awoke to the magnitude of the task which still lay before them.

* We incline to the opinion that this estimate, the one usually made, is vastly too favourable to the Federals.

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But even during these long months of Southern confidence and unreadiness—months which might have been turned to precious account had one man of energy been in high place at Washington, or in command of the Federal Army of the Potomac—there was one prescient mind in the South restlessly at work preparing and organising means of resistance. It is useless for the Confederates now to regret, as is too much the fashion among them, that at this moment more was not done. It is easy now to see that it would have been a grand step if all the cotton in the country had been seized by the Confederate Government; but it is more to the point for Southerners to remember with gratitude that about this moment President Davis, besides encouraging by his personal efforts the large importation through the mock-blockade of gunpowder and muskets, called upon Colonel Rains (and a better selection never was made) to establish a large Government powder-mill at Augusta, in Georgia. Simultaneously Southern strength, ingenuity, and resource were unfolded and developed day by day and hour by hour. If the Northern power of offence grew a hundred fold, the Southern power of resistance grew a thousand fold. Richmond began at once to become the *umbilicus* of the rebellion—Richmond, which, if two more big battles had been forced by the Federals in August and September of 1861 (Bull Run was in July), must, if human judgment is worth anything, have fallen before Christmas.

It is not our purpose to weary our readers by an analysis of the long catalogue of battles which have made 1862 and 1863 the ghastliest years of this century. Fruitless battles we cannot call them; because, in such a war as that which is now devastating the American continent, the party acting on the defensive is substantially a gainer if it is merely able to keep the field. But the lessons taught by these battles should, if we read them aright, leave us in little doubt as to what may be expected in 1864. In the first place, let it be remarked that no large army of the Federals has ever got more than thirty miles away from its water base for any length of time. In his expedition against Richmond in 1862, M'Clellan established a large depôt at the White House, on the Pamunkey River, from whence he drew supplies along the York River Railroad. His difficulties in keeping open his communications with the White House, distant only twenty miles from the Chickahominy, are well known, and our readers will find them forcibly stated in Captain Chesney's little work. But there have not been wanting military critics (and among them, if we mistake not, the Prince de Joinville) who are of opinion that it is not possible to carry all that is requisite for 100,000 men (especially for such Sybarites as the Federals)

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Federals) along the single line of an American railroad. Be that as it may, let our readers mark the difficulty with which in 1862 M'Clellan kept open his communications along a line of railroad only twenty miles in length. The same difficulty has always militated against an advance upon Richmond by the line of railroad which connects Alexandria with Gordonsville, along which General Meade is attempting to feel his way. The main body of his army lies about thirty miles from his water-base, which is at Alexandria, on the Potomac. Burnside, goaded into activity at the end of 1862, dared not advance so far from Alexandria even as the spot where Meade now lies, but edged away down the Rappahannock River towards Fredericsburg, where he got a new water-base at Acquia, only ten miles off, and made his feeble effort against Marye's heights on December 13, 1862. We leave our readers to judge what Meade has to accomplish before Richmond (now surrounded by earthworks, compared with which Wellington's lines at Torres Vedras were child's play) can be approached. Let them further conceive how tremendous a task awaits General Grant ere he reach Atlanta, distant 138 miles from his water-base at Chattanooga, and ere he succeed in making and keeping open a railroad over the difficult and desolate country which divides these two towns.

Secondly, let it not be forgotten that the combatants advance to this fourth and (as seems likely) deadliest collision under circumstances of greater equality than have heretofore existed. It is idle to pretend that the Federals have 500,000 effectives, or anything like it, now under arms.* It is not denied at Washington that there are at least 250,000 Confederates in the field, and to this number, without exceeding the truth, might be added 50,000 more. It is hardly necessary to state that in cannon, small arms, and gunpowder the Confederates are now as well found as their opponents. Bearing these facts in mind, the reader will understand the force of the following passage in President Davis's recent address to the Confederate soldiers:—

'The enemy's campaign of 1864 must, from the exhaustion of his resources of men and money, be far less formidable than those of the last two years, when unimpaired means were used with boundless prodigality, and with results which are suggested by the mention of the names of Shiloh, Perryville, Murfreesboro', and the Chickahominy, Manassas, Fredericsburg, and Chancellorsville.'

* It is customary for Northerners in London and New York to talk loosely about the numbers of the Federal army. In most cases they are as ignorant on the subject as those to whom they are speaking. The above estimate is made on good grounds.

We

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We have confined ourselves to the broadest and simplest statement of Federal difficulties, which we have defined under two heads. But if space permitted, it would not be difficult to show that all the side issues of the war, such as the attack on Charleston, the attack on Mobile, the campaigns west of the Mississippi, the descent upon Florida, General Banks's costly expedition to the Rio Grande, his operations at New Orleans and in Louisiana, the atrocities of General Butler at tortured Norfolk, have really as little to do with the result as if they were conducted on another planet. It is within the power of the various Generals presiding over these expeditions immensely to aggravate the misery of the Confederates; but so long as Richmond and Atlanta are untaken the very first breach in the outward crust of the rebellion is as yet unmade. The attention of Europe has constantly been arrested by loud Federal pæans over the capture of Vicksburg, the impending capture of Charleston, the importance and promise of operations in Louisiana or Texas, in Arkansas or Mississippi. All these ostentatious exhibitions of Yankee force, which serve to amuse the thoughtless quidnuncs of Northern cities, have really no influence upon the rebellion, except so far as they augment and intensify to fever heat the growing bitterness of animosity and deathless energy of hatred which, over an area of 800,000 square miles, have turned Confederate milk everywhere to gall.

We have given a few words to the Federal difficulties; let us now briefly state those of the Confederates. They may be comprised under two heads: 1. Insufficient supply of men, horses, and food. 2. Jealousy between the armies of the Potomac and Tennessee, and general dissatisfaction with President Davis and the Confederate Government. Let us deal with these items one by one. First, insufficiency of men. It has always been the fashion to estimate the fighting population of the South as being, at the lowest, one million strong. Of these perhaps 200,000 have already perished, or been maimed for life. There remain 800,000 men subject to conscription. It is evident that at a pinch it will be possible to keep 400,000 men permanently under arms, a force which will be abundantly able to cope with the diminishing levies of a power which purchases its every soldier by a bounty of nearly 200*l*. Conceive an army of 400,000 men (a low estimate of the Federal strength) lashed into the field by golden thongs at this rate! Here we have at the outset an expenditure, to which there is no parallel in the Confederate States, of no less than 80,000,000*l*. Secondly, insufficiency of horses. It is our belief that this is the most serious embarrassment with which the Southerners have to cope. Of light horses, fit for cavalry purposes, there is still a sufficiency, but of heavy artillery horses

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horses the supply is beginning to be inadequate; nor can it be supplemented by any ingenuity. It will be apparent that great strategical moves, which entail large consumption of horseflesh, must be sparingly attempted. Let the armchair critics of London and Paris, who measure the operations of Generals Lee and Johnston by the rules of the art of war as they understand it, bear this material fact in mind. Thirdly, insufficiency of food. It may be at once stated that there is in the Confederate States ample food to support the armies in the field and the population at home. The only difficulty from the outset has been to bring the mouths and the food together. It is simply a question of transport. As food and forage have now to be brought from a greater distance than at the commencement of the war, this difficulty is enhanced. *Voilà tout.* There is not the smallest probability of the South breaking down under it. We shall not condescend to notice the money difficulty; for it is evident that any one who regards it as insuperable must be utterly unread in history, and can have given no earnest thought to the consideration of the question.

Turning now to the other head of Confederate perplexities, let us consult Colonel Fremantle about the jealousy existing between the two principal Confederate armies. He tells us:—

'It is evident to me that a certain degree of jealous feeling exists between the Tennesseean and Virginian armies. This one (where I am now writing) claims to have had harder fighting than the Virginian army, and to have been opposed to the best generals and best troops of the North.'

This last notion was entirely exploded at Chickamauga, where Rosecrans' army behaved as badly as the eleventh corps of the Federals at Chancellorsville. But it cannot be denied that Colonel Fremantle's perception was correct when he wrote the first words of the passage which we have quoted. We are of opinion, however, that there is less truth at this moment in these words than when they were written. It is a positive blessing to the Confederates that, under the tremendous pressure of this mighty war, internal jealousies, antagonisms, recriminations are necessarily repressed. We believe that when General Longstreet and his corps went out to join General Bragg in September, 1863, the blending of the two armies was like the junction of the Arve and Rhone, which flow on side by side, reluctant to amalgamate. But the gratitude of the whole Western army for the noble work done at Chickamauga by Generals Hood and Longstreet struck down the artificial barriers which had previously divided the Eastern and Western troops, and leavened the whole mass. The assumption of command by Johnston in the place of

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of Bragg tended further to allay differences, because an intimacy was known to exist between Generals Johnston and Longstreet which was wanting between the latter and General Bragg. In fine, the situation of General Longstreet near Knoxville, between the Western and Eastern armies, is an earnest of harmony, as he is equally beloved and trusted by Generals Lee and Johnston. It is not necessary to say more about the dissatisfaction entertained in regard to President Davis and the Confederate Cabinet than that it is wonderful, considering the duration and irksomeness of the war, that the insubordination is not greater. There are in the Southern States all the elements which induce impatience, if not mutiny, under unusual hardship—a high spirit in the people; a previous prosperity hardly paralleled on earth; an unfettered press; a republican indisposition to permit leading men to overshadow others by occupying pedestals: under these circumstances it would be strange if, in such an hour as this, President Davis and his colleagues were not fiercely assailed. But at the bottom of the heart of all thoughtful and earnest men lies an affectionate consciousness of Jefferson Davis's rare fitness for his post, accompanied by a passionate and overmastering hatred of the Yankee.

We have briefly stated the perplexities of either belligerent; let us now consider still more briefly their respective advantages. As regards the Federals, these advantages seem to us summed up in the personal qualities of four of their generals—Grant, Meade, Sherman, and Pleasanton. We are far from thinking that any one of these men is a match for General Lee; but they have all profited by the lessons of the past, and have learnt the value of two of General Lee's most admirable qualities, humility and silence. Further Federal advantages than the possession of these four good and energetic captains we are unable to discern. We believe the material of the Federal armies to be infinitely less good than it was in 1862, and that this is especially the case with the army under Grant. The increase of Federal strength at sea is not more than adequate to meet the increased demands for vigilance exacted by the multitude of vessels now engaged in the blockade-running business. The spirit of the fighting population has never been equal to the spirit and faith of the stay-at-home population; but we regard the spirit of neither as at this moment on the advance. The controlling brains at Washington are still Stanton, and Halleck, and Butler (whose voice is very potential), and Welles, and more than this it is not necessary to say.*

* While these lines are passing through the press we learn that General Grant has been called to the immediate direction of military affairs.

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On the Confederate side the advantages may be summed up under three heads :—1. The presence of the only two great men (we do not even except Stonewall Jackson) whom the war has produced. 2. The spirit, self-denial, and harmony of the entire population, male and female. 3. The possession of hidden and interior lines of communication. These advantages are so obvious that it is not necessary to enlarge upon them. It is too late in the day now to enter into a disquisition about the merits and qualities of men so well known as President Davis and General Lee. Their abilities and virtues are admitted and appreciated by all who really understand what they are, and what they have done.

We are tempted to pause for a moment ere we quit the subject of President Davis, and to notice a man who stands at Mr. Davis's right hand, and whose contribution to his chief's success will probably never be fully estimated or valued. Mr. Benjamin's is not one of those grave, weighty, and self-contained natures, which, when illuminated by brightness of intellect, never fail to impress their mark deeply upon all around them. Easily accessible, voluble, good natured, with a memory like Macaulay's, and singular grace and facility of expression, Mr. Benjamin has failed to win from his countrymen, and especially from the journalists of Richmond, one tithe of the respect and admiration which they who know him best conceive to be his due. As a speaker, though not as a statesman, he has probably, since the death of Webster, had no equal in the old United States senate. Let those who are curious in such matters read his speech there delivered on the Kansas Bill, in March, 1858, and contrast it with the ponderous and far more famous oration delivered on the same occasion by Mr. Charles Sumner. The latter has been laboriously puffed and sold by hundreds of thousands; Mr. Benjamin's argument is little known, and has scarcely been sold at all. Yet we confidently leave it to our readers to decide which is the more powerful and graceful speech of the two. To us we confess that there appears the same difference between the orations as that which, in one of his finest passages, Lord Mahon discerns between the character and speeches of Sir Robert Walpole and those of Lord Chatham. In the hope of exciting the curiosity of one or two of our readers, we cannot refrain from quoting a specimen extract from a speech which abounds in flights of the highest eloquence :—

'It will undoubtedly have struck any person on hearing this passage read from the speech of the senator from Vermont that the whole argument, ingeniously as it is put, rests upon this fallacy—that a man cannot have title in property wherever the law does not give him a remedy

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remedy or process for the assertion of his title; or, in other words, his whole argument rests upon the old confusion of ideas which considers a man's right and his remedy to be one and the same thing. I have already shown you, by the passages I have cited from the opinions of Lord Stowell and of Judge Story, how they regard this subject. They say that the slave who goes to England or Massachusetts from a slave state is still a slave—that he is still his master's property, but that his master has lost control over him, not by reason of the cessation of his property, but because those states grant no remedy to the master by which he can assert and exercise his control.

'There are numerous illustrations upon this point—illustrations furnished by the copyright laws, illustrations furnished by patent laws. Let us take a case, one that appeals to us all: there lives now a man in England who from time to time sings to the enchanted ear of the civilised world strains of such melody, that the charmed senses seem to abandon the grosser regions of earth, and to rise to purer and serener regions above. God has created that man a poet. His inspiration is his—his songs are his by right divine—they are his property, so recognised by human law. Yet here in these United States men steal Tennyson's works and sell his property for their profit; and this because, in spite of the violated conscience of the nation, we refuse to give him protection for his property.'

Surveying the mighty field of the American war, so far as it has hitherto advanced, and perceiving with dismay how small a portion of the limited space allotted to this article still remains, we pause, bewildered and embarrassed by the multitude of subjects which press for comment or illustration in connexion with it. But, turning to Captain Chesney's able little work, we recognise the paramount importance of addressing a few words of warning to our countrymen on the subject of passing hasty and premature judgments upon the strategy of General Lee or his Federal rivals, upon the indecisiveness of battles, and the incomprehensibility of movements which, to those who have watched them on the spot of their execution, and known the circumstances which dictated them, seemed nothing more nor less than inevitable necessities. There probably never was a war upon which, during its progress, more commentaries were written. Let not our readers imagine that they are on this account in a position rightly to interpret its issues, or to judge the combatants upon either side. We will give an illustration of our meaning, taken from the *histoire inédite* of the battle of Antietam or Sharpsburg.

Let us begin by saying that Captain Chesney's volume, considering the circumstances under which it was written, appears to us deserving of high commendation. He has shown much patience and sagacity in unravelling the tangled skein of narration

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narration which has reached him through Transatlantic newspapers, private letters, and personal recitals of scenes which his informants had witnessed. His description of the battles on the Chickahominy is, in our judgment, more accurate and instructive in a military point of view than that which purports to have emanated from the French Princes, or than the 'Seven Battles around Richmond,' which is the popular version accepted by the South of the incidents which accompanied that momentous work. Captain Chesney is, however, less accurate in his description of the battle of Sharpsburg, and still less accurate (as he warns his readers to expect) in his conception of Chancellorsville. The only marvel is that he should have approached anywhere near to the truth. The circumstances of General Lee's advance into Maryland, just before Sharpsburg, in September, 1862, are correctly and forcibly given; the account of the resuscitation of heart and vigour among the Federal troops upon M'Clellan's resumption of command after Pope's disastrous discomfiture could not have been more truthfully stated. But Captain Chesney has fallen into subsequent errors, from which nothing but fuller knowledge of the incidents which actually happened could have preserved him. Hard indeed is the task of the historian who endeavours, without free access to the Generals on both sides, to interpret and delineate battles. The following incident is a specimen of the difficulties which beset him.

Captain Chesney describes, in the main accurately, the advance of M'Clellan's army from Washington, his occupation through Burnside of the town of Frederic, and the retrogression of Lee's army before the superior weight of Northern troops pressing him back. The narrative continues,—

'Lee did not propose to retreat from Maryland and give up the territory north of the Potomac without a struggle, but it was necessary for him to delay the fighting a general action as long as possible, so as to give time for the divisions which surrounded Harper's Ferry to complete their work there and rejoin him. He moved therefore eastward with some of Longstreet's troops, who had been detached for purposes of supply to Hagerstown, and passed through Boonsborough towards the South Mountain, where he had stationed D. Hill and his 10,000 men as a rearguard to check the Federal pursuit as long as possible.'

All this is true, but before D. H. Hill fell back upon South Mountain it is now notorious that a momentous incident had happened. It will be necessary to give a few words to the character of this general. It should be premised that the wives of D. H. Hill and Stonewall Jackson are sisters, and it is generally believed (we know not with what truth) that Mrs. Hill had long urged

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urged her husband to do something whereby some portion of Jackson's lustrous fame might be acquired by and accrue to D. H. Hill. Personally there is not in the Confederate army a man of more dauntless courage than D. H. Hill, but he has always been regarded (in Captain Chesney's words) as 'impatient of control,' and this he manifested upon the occasion in question.

The orders of General Lee respecting the battle which was now imminent were placed in General Hill's hands. These orders, according to General Lee's invariable practice, were full, precise, and unreserved. It was, according to General Lee's view, very desirable to gain a few days, in order to permit General Jackson to finish his task at Harper's Ferry, and to allow some of the many stragglers to get to the front. General Hill was therefore instructed to take up a strong position at South Mountain. These orders, as it happened, were displeasing to General Hill. He flung them, after reading them, indignantly from him, in the belief (as has been urged in his defence) that they would be picked up by one of his staff, and carried safely to his quarters. Be this as it may, they were left lying where they fell; the ground was shortly afterwards evacuated by the Confederates, and occupied by the Federals; General Lee's orders were picked up by a Federal soldier, and, their value being recognised, quickly carried to M'Clellan. No wonder that M'Clellan, commanding according to his own statement 87,164,* and according to other Federal statements 110,000 men, promised himself an assured and easy victory over the worn and weary troops which he knew to be before him, and as to whose movements and intentions he now had full information. That this knowledge was in his possession is confirmed by the testimony which he gave when examined before a Congressional Committee some months later at Washington.

Viewed by the light of the fact that General Lee's orders were in General M'Clellan's hands several days before the battle of Sharpsburg was fought, the imbecility, inertness, and want of enterprise of the latter general are, we submit to our readers, incontrovertibly established, to the utter annihilation of his fame. He dared not make any use of his large reserve under Fitzjohn Porter in the battle of the 17th, he dared not resume the attack on the 18th, and allowed his enemy to retire unmolested on the morning of the 19th, leaving, as the sole trophy for Washington and New York to exult over, 300 desperately wounded Confederates who fell into M'Clellan's hands. Captain Chesney observes,—

* This is General M'Clellan's estimate of his own force actually engaged at Antietam.

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'The only excuse which can be made for M'Clellan's timidity as to the use of his reserve, must lie in the ignorance he laboured under as to the great numerical inferiority of Lee. But, at the best, there seems something wanting here; and we must judge the event to have shown that his caution at Antietam, as in former instances, was so excessive as to rob him of any chance of brilliant success.'

What will be said when Captain Chesney's sensible strictures are pointed by further knowledge of the fact that the movements and intentions of General Lee were as well known to M'Clellan as they were to Lee himself?* Let our readers beware of comments based upon learned comparisons between Lee and the great Frederic, or Stonewall Jackson and Napoleon, but which lack that insight into the details and incidents of each of these great battles which can alone entitle the commentator to pass judgment upon them. Enough for us that General Lee, who for two years has been the greatest living authority upon the subject of the American war, points proudly to the battle of Sharpsburg as the brightest flower in his wreath.

It has been the consistent endeavour of this Review to show that whatever be the origin and causes of this war (and we believe them to be very multifarious), it is little less than mockery to ask us to believe that the Northerners are fighting solely to extinguish, and the Southerners solely to perpetuate, slavery. There is, however, a small, and, as we believe, diminishing, sect of English men and women who are enthusiastic about Mr. Charles Sumner and Mrs. Beecher Stowe as being enlightened apostles and beneficent philanthropists. We might pause, and ask the admirers of this gifted pair in what philanthropy consists. Does it include self-denial? If so, what sacrifices has either made for the negro? How will their record read by the side of Stonewall Jackson's and Robert Lee's? And yet there are scenes in which a loving, earnest woman might find scope for her efforts such as Florence Nightingale never knew, and in which a day-labourer would wring conviction as to his or her sincerity from outside spectators far more powerfully than by writing dozens of articles in periodicals, or reading ponderous essays aloud to the United States Senate. In a recent article upon 'the Negro Race in America' in the 'Edinburgh Review,' we are told that—

'for some time after the opening of the war the freed (or escaped) negroes were as miserable in their circumstances as could well be imagined. In their eagerness to escape from bondage they cast them-

* M'Clellan's extravagant estimates of the strength of his opponents were simply ludicrous: 97,445 is his estimate of the Confederate forces previous to Antietam. It is absolutely certain that only 35,000 Confederates were engaged in that battle.

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selves upon the mercy of camps and cities by tens of thousands, and they found, for many weeks and months, little enough of mercy anywhere but among people of their own race. It should be remembered for ever, that long before any sort of provision was made for these destitute creatures, and before either the Government or general society in the North took their case into consideration at all, they were fed, clothed, comforted, and assisted to get into work by the despised free blacks of the Northern cities. . . . . The state of things was truly appalling at the beginning of 1862. Nothing can be said in justification of the Washington Government for its apathy and its delays in making up its mind what to do with the multitude of negroes who were sure to come into its hands when the war was carried into the South. . . . . Where the commanders refused to open their lines to negroes at all, the poor creatures fled wherever river or rail or their own feet would carry them. The worst spectacle of all seems to have been at Cairo, where, at the best, residents ought to bear a charmed life to escape the perils of damp and malaria. On that comfortless point of land, at the junction of the Mississippi and Ohio, the fugitives sickened immediately, and died very fast.'

It is not positively affirmed in this article that the Washington Government, which is censured for its culpable negligence *at first*, has mended its ways, but we are left to infer from many pages of misty writing about the proceedings of General Banks at New Orleans, and the attempts to cultivate cotton on the Sea Islands of South Carolina by free negro labour, that the misery of freed negroes is greatly abated, if not entirely checked.

Let us consult the latest advices on the subject which have reached us from Northern, and in some cases from Abolitionist, sources. They disclose the condition of the hapless sufferers at the very moment when this article in the 'Edinburgh Review' was written. We quote from divers recent New York journals, including the 'Tribune' and the 'Evening Post,' the principal Abolition organs of New York. The 'New York Church Journal' commences:—

'The sufferings of the freed negroes are so terrible, and to so great a degree beyond the power of individual action to remedy, that one can hardly read the accounts given even in the papers that most strongly support the Administration, without shuddering at the responsibility of the whole nation for so disgraceful a state of things. The Rev. Mr. Fiske, army chaplain, says,

'"Out of an average number of 4000 blacks under my charge at Memphis during the months of February, March, and April, 1863, there died during that time 1200. Three-fourths of them had no change of raiment; probably one-fourth of the women had but one garment between them and utter nakedness. Many children were kept night and day rolled in the poor blanket of a family—its sole apparel. Multitudes had no beds. There were no floors in their leaky

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leaky tents, and no chance for fires. The wonder is not that so many died, but that so many lived. The suffering of this people is our national dishonour. If they are not rescued, History will run thus—The American people enticed within their lines tens of thousands of slaves, alluring them with promises of liberty. They proceeded to pick out all the able-bodied men to reinforce their armies, huddled the rest together in great camps, and left them to perish of hunger and nakedness by the hundred. How will that page of history read?" '

A correspondent of the 'New York Evening Post' gives the following account of the freed negroes on the plantations confiscated by the Federal Government, where the negroes have been taken and set to work under their new masters, the Northern lessees. We commend this extract, as well as some of our subsequent quotations, to the notice of those who are enamoured of General Banks's proceedings at New Orleans, which are so much to the taste of the Edinburgh Reviewer. The correspondent in question writes :—

'I wish to make some statements in regard to the workings of that plan during the past season, having been in a position to observe its management and its results. Having visited nearly all the leased plantations in the district of North-eastern Louisiana, where the plan has been tried, I know whereof I affirm, and I set down the management of these plantations, and of the freedom of them, as an unmitigated piece of villainy, in which the capitalist reaps all the profits at the expense of the negro whom he hires; and I have no hesitancy in saying that the negro of this district has suffered more privations, and has been far more in a state of servitude, if that were possible, during the past six months, than when under the rule of his Southern master. And for this there is no occasion save the cupidity of the lessee. Nor can the Commissioners appointed by the Government be exonerated from great blame when such abuses are practised.

'But the barest necessities for keeping body and soul together have been furnished them. The scant ration of meal and meat has been doled out to them as if every ounce were gold; the sick have suffered and died for want of medicines and nourishing food, and what little clothing has been furnished has generally been at exorbitant prices. But one leased plantation has a school upon it, and that is taught by an infirm negro. The care which these people have received is amply shown by one look at the burial-grounds of the plantations, in any one of which can be found from twenty to two hundred graves of the victims of this inhuman system. The terms of contract itself are all in favour of the lessee; but even these have not been complied with, and the intention of the lessee seems to be to absorb all the negro's wages in the clothing and rations furnished him at advanced prices. At the end of the year he will find himself with bitter recollections of the past and gloomy forebodings of the future.

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'The worst feature of the whole affair is that the Commissioners, who have the authority, have taken no measures to alleviate those evils, or bring the perpetrators to account. They themselves are among the heaviest lessees in the district—are interested parties in the system; and, as a matter of course, cannot be made to see its evils, while one at least is a man whose loyalty many call in question. Was it the meaning of the President when he proclaimed freedom to the enslaved that they should be placed under such masters, and barely allowed the necessaries of life, to say nothing of the rights of freemen? To the negro in this district the emancipation proclamation is a mockery and a farce. Was the end intended by Government in leasing these plantations the filling of the pockets of unscrupulous speculators, who are not only willing to oppress the coloured race, but are ready to sell their country for gold?'

The 'Episcopal Recorder' writes:—

'A committee of the New England Freedmen's Association informs us that one-half of the emancipated slaves on the Southern Mississippi have died since their emancipation. Are we, it may well be asked, to abolish slavery by destroying the slave?'

Mr. James E. Yeatman, President of the Western Sanitary Commission, has visited the camps in which the freedmen are gathered, from Cairo to Natchez, and his testimony, extracted from the 'New York Tribune,' is to the following effect:—

'Within the city of Memphis, not directly connected with any of the camps or with the coloured regiments, there are some three thousand freedmen and women, mostly freedmen, who are employed in various ways and at various rates of compensation. Those employed by Government receive but 10 dollars per month, while many could readily earn 30 to 50 dollars per month. Those thus employed are outside of the military organization.

'To give an instance: one quartermaster told me that he had in his employment a harnessmaker, to whom he could only pay 10 dollars per month, while they were paying white men doing the same work 45 dollars per month; and that the coloured man could readily procure the same wages were he allowed to seek a market for his labour in the same town. I saw a number of coloured men pressed into the service (not military), to labour at the rate of 10 dollars per month, one of whom petitioned to be released, as he had a good situation at 30 dollars per month. The firemen on the steamboat on which I was a passenger from St. Louis to Memphis were all coloured, and were receiving 45 dollars per month. These men were afraid to go ashore at Memphis, for fear of being picked up and forced into Government employment at less than one-fourth of their existing wages. Besides the fact that men are thus pressed into service, thousands have been employed for weeks and months who have never received anything but promises to pay.

'This negligence and failure to comply with obligations have greatly

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greatly disheartened the poor slave, who comes forth at the call of the President, and supposes himself a free man, and that by leaving his rebel master he is inflicting a blow on the enemy, ceasing to labour and to provide food for him and for the armies of the rebellion. Thus he was promised freedom, but how is it with him? He is seized in the street, and ordered to go and help unload a steamboat, for which he will be paid, or sent to work in the trenches, or to labour for some quartermaster, or to chop wood for the Government. He labours for months, and at last is only paid with promises, unless perchance it may be with kicks, cuffs, and curses. Under such treatment he feels that he has exchanged one master for many masters; these continued abuses sadden and depress him, and he sighs to return to his former home and master. He, at least, fed, clothed, and sheltered him. Something should be done, and I doubt not will be done, to correct these terrible abuses when the proper authorities are made to comprehend them.'

The testimony of Dr. Littlefield, who is the physician to what are called the Infirmary Farms (intended for women and children and men of colour unable to do ordinary work), can scarcely be read without mingled sorrow and indignation. We will not rend the heart of our readers by quoting his most revolting revelations, which are evidently wrung from a man full of love for the hapless blacks, and who is nobly working to ameliorate and mitigate the terrible misery through which the descendants of Ham are now passing. Here is a portion of what he says:—

'The poor negroes are everywhere greatly depressed at their condition. They all testify that if they were only paid their little wages as they earn them, so that they could purchase clothing, and were furnished with the provisions promised, they could stand it; but to work and get poorly paid, poorly fed, and not doctored when sick, is more than they can endure. Among the thousands whom I questioned, none showed the least unwillingness to work. If they could only be paid fair wages they would be contented and happy. They do not realize that they are free men. They say that they are told they are, but then they are taken and hired out to men who treat them, so far as providing for them is concerned, far worse than their "secesh" masters did. Besides this, they feel that their pay or hire is lower now than it was when "the secesh" used to hire them. This is true.

* * * * *

'The parties leasing plantations and employing these negroes, do it from no motives either of loyalty or humanity. The desire of gain alone prompts them, and they care little whether they make it out of those they employ, or from the soil. There are, of course, exceptions; but I am informed that the majority of the lessees were only adventurers, camp followers, "army sharks," as they are termed, who have turned aside from what they consider their legitimate prey, the poor

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poor soldier, to gather the riches of the land which his prowess has laid open to them.

* * * * *

'Lessees are now allowed to lease as many plantations as their cupidity may lead them to grasp. I was informed that two parties had each leased four plantations and another five. No one party should be permitted to lease over one. Lessees of more than one plantation are unable to give their personal supervision, and so employ the old overseers whom the former masters had employed. Whether these men can ever be brought to regard as freemen those whom they had always known and treated as slaves is very doubtful.'

We might prolong these quotations indefinitely, but enough has, we hope, already been said to convince our readers that the sun nowhere shines upon scenes of such hopeless, sickening, and revolting misery as on the plantations which Northern men are leasing, nominally for the amelioration of the status of the black race, but really for the sake of perhaps the filthiest lucre that was ever amassed. Nor do we see that the black man gains much by the alternative offered to him by the tender mercies of his Federal patrons, of being put into the post of danger in a cause that is not his own, and presented as food for the powder of the Confederates.

In conclusion, we cannot help remarking that, voluminous as have been the fugitive writings about this war, the mass of unwritten history (some portions of which will never see the light, while in regard to other portions vast floods of ink will be shed) is already such as to surpass belief. It is impossible to look forward to the rank crop of wrangles, recriminations, contradictions, and explanations which, immediately upon the cessation of fighting, will spring up in both sections, without uttering a prayer that America may be allowed to keep all this raw material, strictly of native growth, to herself, and to work it up for herself. But in regard to unwritten history, there is perhaps no subject upon which Europe and the great mass of Northerners are left in more benighted darkness than the actual expenditure which in divers ways the Washington Cabinet has during these last three years incurred. As an illustration of our meaning, we may mention that the bill which the Federal steamer 'Vanderbilt' paid for coals during one of her unsuccessful cruises after the 'Alabama' amounted to no less than 400,000 dollars, or 80,000*l.* This item is given on the authority of Mr. Fox, Assistant-Secretary to the Treasury. Let our readers infer from this specimen brick what must be the mighty fabric of Northern expenditure, as it swells and heaves upwards day after day! If wonder had not

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not long ago toiled after America in vain, well might we stand aghast at the huge mountains of money which this yet unchecked rebellion has swallowed. Let us endeavour, before concluding an article which is meant to be mainly prospective, to take brief note of the dim headlands of new empires which are already looming darkly up out of the yeast of stormy waves into which the wreck of the old Union is sinking.

It will be patent to any one who gives to the subject five minutes of earnest thoughtfulness, that this mighty war is but the first scene in by far the grandest revolutionary drama which the present century has witnessed. We will not do more than speculate briefly and simply about facts which seem to us to necessitate the further disintegration of the Republic after the South has torn itself free. Is it possible, we ask, that in the National Senate, wherever it meets (be it at Washington, or, as some suggest, at Chicago or St. Louis), the great State of New York, with its population of four millions, will be satisfied to have two Senators, when the six States of New England, with a combined population of only three millions, are represented by twelve? Will four Senators for the seven millions of New York and Pennsylvania be considered a fair makeweight against fourteen Senators representing about three and a half millions of souls in New England and New Jersey? Will Illinois, when she no longer carries along her great Central Railway the cotton of the South, be content to send her breadstuffs to the Eastern seaboard by the Erie Canal, and to pay the interest on the debt of the State of New York by the tolls exacted on her cereals *in transitu*? Will California, with her purely metallic currency, allow her treasure to be poured into the lap of New York, and take flimsy greenbacks in exchange? Infinite are the questions of this nature which might be asked; there is probably hardly one of our readers to whom the few which we have touched will not suggest a hundred more.

It is our hope and belief that the world at large, and America in particular, will be infinite gainers by the introduction of a balance of power upon that continent, when the unholy dream of universal empire shall have passed. Heartily echoing Dr. Nichols's words, that—

'the stranger who becomes really acquainted with the American people will see much in their private character to disapprove and regret, but still more to approve, admire, and love,'

we echo still more heartily his hope—

'that, purified as in the fire, America in the future may be worthy of the promise of the past.'

ART.

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ART. II.—1. *Pompeianarum Antiquitatum Historia, &c. Nunc primum collegit indicibusque instruxit.* Jos. Fiorelli. 2 Vols. Naples, 1860.

2. *Giornale degli Scavi di Pompei.* Publicato da Giuseppe Fiorelli. Naples.

3. *Le Case ed i Monumenti di Pompei disegnati e descritti da* Fausto e Felice Niccolini. Folio. Naples, 1864.

4. *Murray's Handbook for Southern Italy.* 4th Edition. 1862.

ON the 24th of August, A.D. 79, when Titus ruled over the Roman Empire, a town was basking in the bright sun upon the shores of the lovely bay of Naples. Its inhabitants were following their different callings—buying and selling, feasting and mourning, fitting out their galleys for distant seas, bringing their various wares to the crowded markets, and eagerly preparing for new shows and gladiatorial fights after the long interdict against such theatrical amusements under which Nero had placed their town. Wealthy Roman patricians—weary of the great city, and seeking a cooler and more wholesome air—were enjoying a grateful repose in the gay villas which covered a mountain slope amidst vineyards and gardens, and which were so thickly scattered that they seemed to form but one continuous city.

Sixteen years before, indeed, an earthquake of extraordinary violence had shaken to their foundations the temples, the forum, and other public buildings, had overturned their statues, had thrown down the walls of many a humble dwelling, and had even upset parts of the more solid defences of the town. The inhabitants of Pompeii had then fled in terror from the falling edifices; but, lulled into security by a calm of several years, they had now returned to their homes. They were busy repairing their shattered dwellings, replacing the fallen statues upon their pedestals, and ornamenting afresh their public monuments. The terrible mountain which hung over them was silent. Those who lived at its foot had inherited no other traditions from their forefathers concerning it than those which extolled the fertility of its soil, the exquisite richness of its vegetation,* the luscious nature of its wines, and the beauty of its flowers.

The deeper student of nature read in this very soil the history of the mountain itself. It told him of fires once active, and that in some distant age that quiet, verdure-clothed summit was

* See Martial, IV. 44.

a destructive

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a destructive volcano, which had overwhelmed with lava and ashes the country at its foot.

Pompeii had been founded long before the Romans had extended their empire to the Tyrrhenian Sea. It might have been built by the Oscans, or by a colony from Etruria, or even by the more polished Greeks. They have each their advocates. But, like most of the cities on this coast, it had fallen into the hands of the Samnites. Although it had become a Roman town, it had retained up to the time of the great earthquake much of its early character, and a large part of the population may still have spoken the Oscan tongue. The inhabitants, proud of their Roman citizenship, and desirous to render their town more worthy of its imperial connexion, had seized the opportunity when restoring its crumbling buildings to introduce the new fashions from the capital, to ornament their dwellings more after the Roman taste, and to decorate their public edifices with greater luxury and splendour. The streets, too, worn into deep ruts by the rude wheels of the country cars, had become almost impassable for the elegant chariot of the Roman patrician. The ancient pavement was about to be removed, and fresh slabs to replace it had been cut from the hardened lava-streams which were found in the immediate neighbourhood.

The inhabitants, moreover, were engaged in the struggle of an election of their municipal officers. New ædiles and duumviri were to be chosen for the town. Influential citizens and voters were canvassing for their favourite candidates, and party spirit ran high. The owners of the neighbouring villas and the population of the villages had gathered to the town to take part in the contest, and the moment being one of public excitement, the forum, the temples, and the theatres were thronged with an eager multitude.

Suddenly, and without any previous warning, a vast column of black smoke burst from the overhanging mountain. Rising to a prodigious height in the cloudless summer sky, it then gradually spread itself out like the head of some mighty Italian pine, hiding the sun and overshadowing the earth for many a league. The darkness grew into profound night, only broken by the blue and sulphurous flashes which darted from the pitchy cloud. Soon a thick rain of thin, light ashes, almost imperceptible to the touch, fell upon the land. Then quickly succeeded showers of small, hot stones, mingled with heavier masses, and emitting stifling mephitic fumes. After a time the sound as of approaching torrents was heard, and soon steaming rivers of dense black mud poured slowly but irresistibly down the mountain-sides, and curdled through the streets—insidiously

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sidiously creeping into such recesses as even the subtle ashes had failed to penetrate. There was now no place of shelter left. No man could defend himself against this double enemy. It was too late for flight for such as had remained behind. Those who had taken refuge in the innermost parts of the houses or in the subterranean passages were closed up for ever. Those who sought to flee through the streets were clogged by the small, loose pumice-stones which lay many feet deep, or were entangled and overwhelmed in the mud-streams, or were struck down by the rocks which fell from the heavens. If they escaped these dangers, blinded by the drifting ashes and groping in the dark, not knowing which way to go, they were overcome by the sulphurous vapours, and, sinking on the highways, were soon buried beneath the volcanic matter. Even many who had gained the open country at the beginning of the eruption were overtaken by the darkness and falling cinders, and perished miserably in the fields or on the sea-shore where they had vainly sought the means of flight.

In three days the doomed town had disappeared. It lay beneath a vast mass of ashes, pumice-stones, and hardened mud, to which subsequent eruptions, occurring at intervals during eighteen centuries, added fresh materials. Gradually above them there accumulated, from year to year, the rich vegetable mould, formed from the volcanic soil, in which were again tended the vine and the olive-tree.

The miserable inhabitants who survived the catastrophe returned, after the eruption had ceased, to the site of their buried homes. Many dug into the ruins to find the property they had abandoned in their flight. That which was most valuable was thus, in many cases, recovered. At a later period the statues were carefully sought for in the public places and were removed to adorn other sites, and the richer marbles and hewn stones were carried away for the construction of other edifices, the ruins affording to many generations a rich mine of building materials. But no attempt was ever made either to rebuild the town itself or to construct another upon its site. As years rolled on all traces of it passed away, except perhaps the upper part of some vast building, such as the amphitheatre, which rose above the surrounding soil. Its ruins lay deep beneath the cultivated fields, and Pompeii slept for seventeen hundred years wrapped in its shroud of lava-mud and ashes. And so it remained, forsaken and forgotten, until the middle of the last century.

Such is the tale of the fall of this now celebrated town, as written in its ruins brought to light in our days. Every incident we have mentioned is recorded in them. The history of

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of Pompeii and of its inhabitants, neglected by contemporary writers, and the story of its destruction, may be restored from its remains. It is not our intention to describe these remarkable and interesting ruins. The buried city—the awful catastrophe by which it was overwhelmed—its marvellous resurrection after the lapse of so many centuries—have formed the theme of many an able and poetic pen. Nor are we about to enter into any abstruse archæological disquisitions upon the many curious questions connected with the ancient history of the people, their manners and customs, and the arts and domestic life of the Romans in general, suggested by the objects discovered. We must refer those who are disposed to inquire into such matters to the still standard works of Mazois and Gell, to the more recent labours of Overbeck and Niccolini, and to the excellent topographical description in Murray's 'Handbook for Southern Italy.' Moreover there are few persons of education who are not familiar with these things, and in these days of travel many have examined for themselves the unrivalled collection of antiquities gathered together from the buried town, which has given a wide renown to the Museum of Naples. Our object is to avail ourselves of the important additions recently made by the Cavaliere Fiorelli to Pompeian literature, and to notice some interesting details in the history of the former and more recent discoveries. This gentleman, who has lately been placed by the Italian Government at the head of the Royal Museum, and who was previously the director of the works at Pompeii, has collected together and published the notes and journals kept by those employed in the excavations from the first discovery of the ruins in the last century down to the present time. They consist, for the most part, of detailed reports made at short intervals, sometimes from day to day, of the progress of the works, and upon the various objects found amongst the ruins. Many of these documents had been stolen, but were traced into private hands by Signor Fiorelli. The larger number are carefully preserved in the archives of the Museum. They furnish a variety of new and interesting information which had been before inaccessible to those who wrote upon Pompeii. The full, and in some cases carefully-recorded details they contain enable us to restore, in many instances, the buildings which have perished since their discovery, and to understand much which might otherwise perplex the antiquarian. Signor Fiorelli has thus rendered an important service to archæology, and has added to the literary treasures of his country.

We learn from these records that the excavations which led to the discovery of Pompeii were made during the reign of Charles

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Charles III., the first Bourbon king of Naples. The earliest journals of the proceedings are written in Spanish. In the year 1748 a certain Colonel Don Rocco Alcubierre had been sent to examine a subterranean canal which had been constructed by the Spaniards in the sixteenth century for the purpose of supplying water to a powder-manufactory in the small town of Torre dell' Annunziata, on the Bay of Naples. He heard from the inhabitants of the place that the remains of a buried house had been discovered about two miles off, and that statues and other objects of antiquity had been taken from them. It occurred to him that these ruins must belong to the ancient city of Stabiæ, which had been overwhelmed, like Pompeii, by the great eruption of A.D. 79, and whose site had been sought for in this neighbourhood. It was well known that beneath the soil, between the foot of the mountain and the sea, there lay buried more than one town. Remains of antiquity had been frequently discovered near this spot. The watercourse we have mentioned had been dug through the very centre of Pompeii, and had laid bare the foundations of many ancient edifices.

It may be well, before proceeding further, to remind the reader how Pompeii was buried. It is commonly but erroneously supposed that the town was overwhelmed by lava ejected from the crater of the volcano. Such lava-streams, like broad watercourses of black rock, may be traced down the sides of Vesuvius: some may be of the date of the great eruption which destroyed the town, but it is certain that none of them reached the town itself. Pompeii owed its destruction to two causes. Ashes and small pumice-stones, like white cinders, were thrown out of the crater and fell in dense showers over the surrounding country. They were probably carried to a considerable distance by the wind, but the greater part seems to have fallen on the coast between the foot of the mountain and the sea on which Herculaneum, Pompeii, and Stabiæ stood. The Italians call these pumice-stones 'rapillo,' or 'lapillo:' in the earlier records the former word is used. In addition to the 'lapillo,' torrents of mud, formed by ashes, lava, and other volcanic matter, mingled with water abundantly ejected from the crater, rolled down the mountain side, and spreading in broad streams as they reached the lower country, completely covered everything within their reach. This thick mud, called by the Italians 'lava bavosa,' accumulated wherever it was checked, and penetrating into every nook and cranny, soon hardened and encased every object with which it was brought into contact. In its hard state it is called 'tuono.'

In uncovering the ruins, the mode in which they were buried is distinctly traceable. The small loose pumice-stones or 'lapillo,' and

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and the hardened mud, are found in well-defined strata or layers, sometimes running one into the other, like what geologists call 'faults.' The 'lapillo' usually forms the lowest stratum, covering the pavement of the streets and the floors of the lower rooms to the depth of many feet, thus proving that the town was first overwhelmed by the showers of pumice-stones. The cellars and places into which the 'lapillo' could not penetrate are filled with the hardened mud which succeeded to the pumice-stones, and above which it lies in distinct layers. It cannot be ascertained precisely how deep the town was buried by the eruption of A.D. 79. Some of the strata of volcanic substances above the ruins came from subsequent eruptions. The height of the various strata from the level of the plain upon which the town was built to the present surface appears to vary between twenty and forty feet.*

According to the account of the eruption given by Pliny the younger, it seems to have lasted for three days. Ample time was thus given for escape to those who immediately left the town. It is probable that by far the larger number at once sought safety in flight. Of those who lingered behind hoping that the eruption would soon cease, some did not fly until the streams of mud reached the town: this is shown by the number of skeletons found on the surface of the lapillo in the stratum of hardened mud which lies immediately above it.

It is said that nearly 600 skeletons have hitherto been discovered in the ruins. We cannot find any record of more than about half that number. Of these, sixty-three, supposed to be those of soldiers, were together in the barracks. Sir W. Gell, taking those found when he wrote—160 in 1832—as an average of the number which might still be buried in the part of the town not then excavated, calculated that about 1300 persons were destroyed. As the population of Pompeii was probably about 20,000, a large portion of the inhabitants would thus appear to have effected their escape.

The records of the discoveries at Pompeii open with a propo-

* Gell (vol. i. 1st series, p. 9) thus describes a section of the strata near the Amphitheatre to the height of twenty feet:—'Separating the whole into five portions, we shall find the first three to consist of pumice-stone in small pieces, resembling a light white cinder, and covering the pavement to the depth of twelve feet; the next portion is composed of six parts, beginning with a stratum of small black stones, not more than three inches in thickness; to this succeeds a layer of mud or earth, which has been mixed with water, and appears to have been deposited in a liquid state; upon this lies another thin stratum of little stones, of a mixed hue, in which blue predominates; a second stratum of mud, separated from a third by a thin wavy line of mixed blue stones, completes the fourth portion; while the fifth or highest division consists entirely of vegetable earth, principally formed by the gradual decomposition of the volcanic matter.'

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sition made on the 23rd March, 1748, by Colonel Alcubierre to Charles III., that excavations should be undertaken where the ruins of the house had been discovered, and that an order should be given to the governor of Torre dell' Annunziata to assist as much as possible in the work. It was not, however, until the 2nd of April that he succeeded in collecting twelve workmen together. His researches were soon rewarded. On the 6th of the same month he announces with great satisfaction the discovery of a painting representing festoons of fruit and flowers, a man's head—very large and of good style—a helmet, an owl, various small birds, and other objects. The house containing this painting stood in the street afterwards known as the 'Strada della Fortuna.' On the 19th the first skeleton was found, lying upon the 'rapillo' in the lava mud. Near it were eighteen bronze coins and one of silver. The first public edifice uncovered was the Amphitheatre. By the month of December it had been sufficiently cleared of rubbish to enable the delighted Spaniard to complete a plan of the building, the magnificence of which he extols, declaring that it could accommodate 15,000 persons. The first inscription, the discovery of which is officially mentioned, is the one, still preserved, which announces that one Marcus Crassus keeps salt and fresh water baths.

The reports continued to be made in Spanish until June, 1764, when the Italian language is used. The name of Pompeii occurs for the first time eight years after the discovery of the ruins (1756). Up to that time they were still believed to be those of Stabiæ. An inscription containing the name of Pompeii was found in the year 1763,* and settled the doubts as to the town, the site of which had been discovered.

The excavations were carried on for many years on a very limited scale, and with very varying success. The workmen employed were chiefly condemned felons, who worked chained in pairs, and Mohammedan slaves taken from the Barbary pirates. The greatest secrecy was maintained, and no stranger could obtain admission to the ruins. No regular plan seems to have been made of the part of the town uncovered, nor was there any attempt to restore or keep up the buildings. The reports contain accurate descriptions of the discoveries—the statues, paintings on the walls, and the various objects in gold, silver, and other metals. Such things were diligently searched for, and were sent off to the Royal collection as soon as discovered. Copies were taken of the most important paintings, which were then de-

* An inscription with the name of POMPEI . . . had been discovered in 1689, but had not served to identify the site of the town.—Giornale degli Scavi, No. 2.

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tached from the walls, and transferred to the Museum, the edifices in which they were found being left to perish, or being again covered up with the rubbish removed from adjoining excavations.

Many of the statues found during the early period of the excavations retained the colours with which they had been originally painted, thus affording a conclusive argument to those who maintain that the ancients were in the habit of colouring their sculpture. These colours are always particularly noted in the reports. Thus, on the 18th February, 1765, we have recorded the discovery of a statue of Venus leaving the bath and wringing her tresses. 'She is naked from the waist upwards; her hair is tinted yellow; round her neck is a gold necklace; she has also her breasts and the upper part of the stomach gilt; the drapery which covers the lower part of the figure is painted red (*turchino*).' Again, in 1766, behind the cella of the Temple of Isis, in a niche adorned with ornaments in stucco, was found a statue of Bacchus. His hair was partly gilt and partly tinted, as also his eyebrows and eyes. The bunches of grapes in the garland encircling his temples were painted. Around his neck, arms, and wrists were golden ornaments. The goat-skin which hung from his left shoulder was spotted with gold, and his buskins, formed of two skins, were partly gilt and partly tinted. The trunk of the tree against which he leant and the tiger by his side were also coloured. Many other parts of the statue appear to have been originally gilt and probably coloured, but the gilding had yielded to time, and only faint traces of it could be seen.* A female figure in marble, discovered in the same temple, had the upper half of the drapery above the girdle gilt; and the lower part painted red, and studded with various ornaments in gold.

In December, 1766, were discovered the barracks of the gladiators, identified by many inscriptions containing the names of gladiatorial families, and by the rude drawings of combats upon the walls. One of its numerous chambers was a prison, the contents of which are still amongst the most curious relics preserved in the Museum of Naples. The skeletons of four prisoners were found with their feet in iron stocks. A lock fastening the bar which confined their ankles still remained, and on the ground was the key, which had probably been left by the guards when they fled, abandoning their wretched charge. Four vizored helmets, several

* This beautiful statue had been broken into several pieces, and had been repaired by the ancients with iron brackets. It had probably been thrown from its pedestal during the earthquake of A.D. 63. In 1853 a colossal statue of an emperor in marble was discovered—the hair of which was painted red, the mantle purple, and the buskins black. Another statue, supposed to represent Cicero, had the hair, face, and eyes painted, and the toga coloured purple.—Gell, vol. i. p. 77, 2nd series.

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pairs of greaves, and other portions of armour, of bronze, and of exquisite workmanship, had fallen from the nails to which they had been hung against the wall. Some antiquaries are of opinion that they were not intended for use, but were prizes given to successful gladiators. Their size and weight and the singular beauty of the embossed figures and ornaments with which they are covered may confirm this conjecture. One or two coins of small value, an earthen pot, and a broken oil-lamp, were the only other objects found in the place, except a bottomless wine-jar, in which were the bones of a new-born child. Were these the proofs of a crime committed by one of the miserable inmates of the prison?

The 6th April, 1769, was a great day for Pompeii. The superintendent of the excavations was at that time Signor la Vega, an intelligent antiquary, who appears to have been the first to make anything like a detailed plan of the ruins. He had prepared a 'scavo' (an excavation) for the King. His Majesty arrived accompanied by the Queen, the Emperor of Austria, Joseph II., with his celebrated minister Count Kaunitz, and the English representative at the Neapolitan court, Sir W. Hamilton, with his antiquary, M. d'Ancrevil, who, at the command of the King, became the cicerone of the distinguished party. The 'scavo' was unusually successful, and a large number of interesting objects in bronze and other metals, in glass, in terra-cotta, and in bone, were extracted from the 'lapillo.' So rich was the find that the Emperor, who seems to have been the most sagacious of the party, suspected a trick, which had probably already been played, as it has frequently been since, upon royal visitors. He desired to know whether these curious relics had not been artfully concealed before his arrival. Signor la Vega hastened to prove to him that his suspicions were unfounded, and to pay courtier-like compliments to his royal master, for whom alone, he declared, of all living sovereigns, such a fortunate chance was reserved. His Imperial Majesty was but little satisfied with the manner in which the works were carried on, and proceeded to take his royal brother roundly to task for his neglect. Being told that only thirty workmen were employed, he asked the King how he could allow so great a work to go on so languidly. His Majesty replied, after the true Neapolitan fashion, 'that little by little everything would be done.' This did not satisfy the more eager Emperor. 'Three thousand men, at least,' he exclaimed, 'should be put to such a work. Why, there is nothing like it in Europe, Asia, Africa, or America, and these discoveries are the special honour of your Majesty's kingdom.' When shown the plan of the ruins, he asked for several buildings which he had not

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not seen. On being informed that they had been covered up by the rubbish taken from other parts of the excavations, he turned to the King, and inquired, sharply, how he could have permitted this to be done. His Majesty, of course, threw the blame upon 'his late august father.' Signor la Vega endeavoured to furnish further explanations and excuses, which were probably considered but little satisfactory by the Emperor.

One of the most interesting discoveries recorded in the journals was made on the 12th December, 1772. For some weeks workmen had been employed in clearing out the ruins of a house of considerable size, evidently the residence of a man of wealth, outside the gate leading to Herculaneum. After exploring many rooms, containing various objects of value, they came to what appeared to be a long subterranean passage. Here encased in the hardened mud they found a group of skeletons, consisting of eighteen full-grown persons, mostly women, a boy, and a very young child. It is conjectured that these were the remains of the family of the owner of the house, who is supposed, without sufficient grounds, to have been a certain Diomedes, from a tomb inscribed with that name discovered in the street hard by.

These victims of the eruption had sought refuge in a vaulted corridor, forming a square, which, from the number of wine-jars found in it, is supposed to have been a wine-cellar. They had hoped that the strong stone vault would have protected them against the shower of pumice-stones and ashes, and the falling masses which first issued from the black cloud that covered the heavens, and which they vainly believed would last but for a little time. They were not, however, beyond the reach of the insidious mud, which, entering by the small windows and oozing through every opening, gradually gathered round them. There were no means of flight. The entrance was closed against them by the accumulating 'lapillo.' Huddled into a corner, and nestled in each other's arms, they were, little by little, covered by the rising mud. We may hope that they were not exposed to a lingering death, but that, overcome by the sulphurous fumes, they were soon lost to consciousness.

The mud rapidly hardened round the bodies, and preserved almost a perfect mould of the unhappy victims as they had clung together in the last agony of death—a more touching group than ever sculptor has invented. The flesh and all the more delicate parts of the human frame had long perished; but the bones were left in the hollow mould which the limbs had formed. In some instances the hair was still attached to the skulls; and it was noted that a young girl had her long tresses twisted in elaborate plaits. The clothes they wore had been carbonised;

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but there were remains of them, which, with the impression they had left upon the mud, served to show their texture, and to prove that of those who had perished some were clothed in much coarser garments than others. The superintendent, who was present at the discovery, was even able to ascertain that most of the women wore over their heads linen drapery, which fell to their shoulders; that their dresses consisted, in most cases, of several gowns, as it were, one over the other; that their lower limbs were clothed in linen or cloth trousers, 'cut in the form of long drawers;' and that whilst some wore shoes or sandals, the feet of others had been naked. One lady was distinguished by the richness of her jewelled ornaments and the fineness of her linen. The whole story was thus told; the servants and dependents of the family had died in the same struggle with their master and mistress.

Fragments of the singular casts we have described were cut from the surrounding soil. The perfect mould of the bosom of a girl, of exquisite form, with the thin drapery which partly covered it, has long been one of the most interesting objects in the Naples Museum. It has now almost crumbled away. Unfortunately the happy idea which afterwards occurred to Signor Fiorelli, and to which we shall hereafter allude, had not suggested itself to those who then had the direction of the excavations.

Many ornaments in gold and silver, such as armlets, bracelets, necklaces, and finger-rings, a few engraved gems, twenty-eight coins, chiefly of Vespasian and Sergius Galba, bronze candelabra and vases, parts of a casket—probably the jewel-case of the lady of the house—a bunch of keys, a wooden comb, a piece of coral, and some other objects, were discovered near this group.

In the early part of this century the excavations were allowed to languish. No discoveries of any importance are recorded in the reports. The authorities appear to have confined themselves to preserving some of the most important buildings already uncovered, and to keeping them free from rubbish. The grass had been allowed to grow in the streets and in the deserted ruins. The remains were so ill guarded that frequent complaints are made of robberies of interesting objects. Few strangers of distinction appear to have visited Pompeii in those unsettled times. In the records of March, 1806, Prince Joseph Bonaparte is mentioned as a visitor; and it is duly noted that he generously bestowed two louis d'ors and forty-eight carlini on the soldiers who had the custody of them.

In the same year the intelligent minister of Murat, Saliceti, gave some impulse to the work, by undertaking excavations at his own expense; but his success does not seem to have encouraged

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couraged him to persevere, for the experiment was soon discontinued, as we are told, 'a motivo di mancanza di denaro.' In the Government excavations only eight men were employed, and even these did not receive their pay. It is hinted that there was consequently much difficulty in keeping them at their work.

After the restoration of the Bourbons, the excavations were carried on with more activity. The King and the Queen frequently visited them, and the superintendent always contrived to have a good crop of antiquities ready for the royal party. The reports of the discoveries now began to excite great interest throughout Europe. The ruins of Pompeii were amongst the principal objects which attracted the stream of travellers flowing to Italy after the Peace. The visits of persons of distinction are frequently recorded in the journals. When any such appeared at Naples they were usually honoured by a special 'scavo.' The presence of the Princess of Wales and of Canova are specially noted, and that of many crowned heads and royal personages from different parts of Europe.

In October of 1818 we find the record of a somewhat curious discovery. Two soldiers of the guard of veterans whose duty it was to take care of the excavated monuments—a duty, by the way, which they very ill performed, as frequent complaints of robberies and of the defacement of paintings still occur in the official reports—were walking on the ancient walls of the city, when they were startled by a fox. The animal took refuge in a small secret staircase leading into a subterranean passage beneath the walls, through which the Pompeian garrison is supposed to have issued when intending to surprise an enemy investing the town. Our two gallant veterans, it is declared, did not hesitate to follow, forcing their way through the rubbish into a vaulted chamber. Instead of finding the fox they discovered parts of a bronze figure, of beautiful workmanship, lying among human skulls and bones. These fragments proved to belong to a statue of Apollo, other parts of which had in the previous year been taken out of a cistern in the centre of the town, and a mile distant from the walls. Still the left arm and leg were wanting. These were found shortly after, amongst a mass of fragments which had been collected during former excavations, and placed in a magazine. The whole statue was thus restored, and is now one of the chief treasures of the Royal Museum. This discovery shows that before the town was overwhelmed the inhabitants had attempted to carry off many of their most precious things. It is probable that this bronze statue had been thrown down and broken up for the sake of the metal. Those who sought to bear part of it away had endeavoured to

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escape by the secret passage. They had found the concealed outlet leading into the open country already blocked up by the pumice stones. They retraced their steps, but the entrance had in the meanwhile been closed against them, and they perished miserably. These little episodes in the excavations give a singular interest to the buried ruins. They bring before us in a vivid manner the horrors of the catastrophe, and chronicle as it were in a book, the events of that fatal day.

In 1821 the Austrians had occupied the Neapolitan States. They were not less merciless to the treasures of Pompeii than they have ever been to other monuments of Italian genius. One of the principal causes of the intense and unquenchable hatred of the Italians against their former oppressors arises from the contempt which the Austrians have shown for those great works of art which are the pride and glory of the Italian people. The policy of the Austrians in Italy appears to have been to destroy, as far as they could venture, all traces and memory of the former greatness and prosperity of the country which they held in subjection—as if by such means they could trample out the traditions of the past, which had for generations formed the only hereditary wealth of the Italian nation. They quartered their soldiers in the fresco-painted chapels and town-halls; turned the convents, full of the marvels of art, into stables and military magazines; and billeted their uncouth and filthy Croats in the lordliest mansions, where the most splendid furniture and the richest decorations of the Italian classic age served for firewood or were wantonly destroyed. It is singular that a Government boasting of its refinement and civilisation, and not insensible, north of the Alps, to the influence of the fine arts and to the good opinion of Europe, should have committed this egregious blunder in Italy. In the journals of the excavations at Pompeii we have such entries as this:—'June 30 (1821). Yesterday a party of Austrian soldiers in garrison at Torre dell' Annunziata, having penetrated into various parts of this royal domain, committed serious impertinences (*delle serie impertinenze*). Amongst other things they broke in pieces a fine amphora of terracotta, and even threw down the columns which formed the peristyle of the ancient public edifice, supposed to be a Lycæum, and were connected with the Temple of Isis.'

During the reign of the Bourbons the principal object of those who had the care of the ruins seems to have been to make sufficient discoveries of interest to attract strangers, and thus to increase the resources of the establishment and of the State. Nothing was done for the real love of art, or in that liberal spirit which should characterise it. The excavations at Pompeii, like

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like everything else in the kingdom, became a vehicle for jobbery and public robbery. They were given over to such persons as were able to bribe those about the King, or could command influence at Court—at one time to a favourite scene-painter. The object was to make as much as possible out of them. Strangers were only allowed to visit them under the most stringent regulations. To draw, to copy, or even to take the roughest notes, was strictly forbidden. The mere traveller was not even allowed to make from the ruins a hasty sketch of the beautiful scenery which surrounds them. It was only when a painting or an object of interest had been discovered for some years that—after going through all manner of forms and waiting many a day—the archæologist or the artist could obtain permission to make a drawing of it. These illiberal rules were extended to the collections in the Museum. No one was exempt from them, except the small knot of persons who had obtained the exclusive privilege of publication, and who looked upon it as a profitable monopoly. Even Sir W. Gell, whose first work upon Pompeii had done so much to call attention to the ruins and to make them known to the most profitable of visitors at that time, the English, and who, himself a resident at Naples, was ever ready to open his rich portfolios and his valuable collections and library to students of all nations, was not allowed to execute drawings for the second series of his work—the importation and sale of which were actually interdicted under a heavy penalty. It was only by stealth that he succeeded in obtaining his illustrations, and in preserving the record of many valuable monuments which have since perished.

As in every other public department of Naples, a crowd of hungry hangers-on fed upon the traveller. The principal ruins were kept under lock and key by one of these harpies, who pounced upon the visitor, and extorted a fee before he would open the gate. Of course they robbed every one alike. Some of the most interesting objects discovered in the ruins were stolen by the guardians themselves, and were sold to those who supplied the various public and private museums in Europe. Many of the choicest specimens of ancient art in the valuable collection of Greek and Roman antiquities brought together by Sir W. Temple, long our Minister at Naples, and so munificently bequeathed by him to the British nation, were obtained from dealers, who openly offered the plundered property for sale. It was even suspected that the Government officials themselves shared in the profit.

During this period, however, many precious discoveries were made. Probably the most remarkable was that, in 1831, of the great

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great mosaic, supposed to represent the battle of Issus, forming the pavement of a chamber in the so called house of the Faun. This was one of the most charming residences in Pompeii, and no doubt belonged to a man of wealth and rare taste. It had suffered from the first earthquake. Its owner was repairing it when the eruption took place. The remains of more ancient frescoes may be detected under the newly-executed paintings. Piles of bricks, a long frieze in terracotta, covered with stucco bas-reliefs representing Nereids riding on sea monsters, and a large collection of various marbles for the pavements, were found in the house ready for use. In the midst of a courtyard, surrounded by a portico, there had been a flower-garden; in its centre stood a graceful marble fountain; at the four corners were placed vases and statues. Opening upon this garden was a small chamber, the entrance to which was formed by two elegant columns and two pilasters of the Corinthian order, painted red. Between the columns was a pavement in coloured mosaic, representing the course of the Nile. Various Egyptian animals, a crocodile, a hippopotamus, an ichneumon, and many gay birds floating on the stream, typified the river. This was the antechamber to the rich peristyle in which the pavement was formed by the great mosaic, probably the most important work of this nature preserved to us from the ancients. Its subject is a battle between Greeks and barbarians who, from their costume, may be presumed to be Persians, or of some other Oriental race. A youthful warrior, clothed in Greek armour, his head bare, charges with his couched spear through a mass of fighting men in flowing garments and lofty head-dresses. He seeks to reach an Eastern king, who sits on a high chariot. We recognise in the two Alexander and Darius; and the battle may be one of those great victories which decided the fate of the Eastern world. The mosaic is of the finest execution. The tesseræ are all, we believe, cut from natural stone, and are most skilfully and artistically laid. It is highly probable that this mosaic is a copy of some well-known picture of antiquity, Greek or Roman. So elaborate and important a design could scarcely have been made for a pavement, for which it seems but ill-adapted. Moreover we can trace in it an attempt to imitate, in very inadequate materials, the peculiar qualities of a picture. As a work of art it is of great value, as affording the best insight we possess into the knowledge and proficiency attained by the ancients in painting. Not that there is any reason to doubt that a people so skilled in two of the highest branches of art, in architecture and sculpture, should have been deficient in the third. But owing to the far more perishable nature of pictures, no great work of that class has reached

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reached us. We can only judge of the perfection attained by the ancients in painting through very imperfect copies, or by the still less satisfactory means of written descriptions. Worthy of particular remark in this battle-scene are the admirable grouping and expression of the figures, the spirit of the composition, the correct drawing, the knowledge of foreshortening, and the just application of the laws of light and shade. Even these qualities can give but a faint idea of the beauty of the original, of which this pavement was probably one of many reproductions.

This mosaic appears to have been injured by the first earthquake, and it was under repair when the great eruption overwhelmed the town. It has suffered further injury by long exposure after its discovery, and by its subsequent transfer to the Museum at Naples.

Several other mosaic pavements of considerable merit, and many rooms ornamented with elegant painted decorations, were discovered in this house, which forms a block or 'island,' as it is technically called, between four streets. Only two human skeletons were found in it, those of an old man and a girl, who had taken refuge in an oven near the kitchen. They were probably servants who had been left in charge of the house whilst their master and his family had wisely taken to flight at the commencement of the eruption, carrying with them their most valuable property. But one of those touching little episodes which are so full of interest and give a living reality to Pompeii, is connected with the house of the Faun. The skeleton of a dove was found in a niche overlooking the garden. Like the sentry, who still stood as if in watch and ward at the city gate, she had been true to her duty to the last—she had sat in her nest whilst the burning shower fell around, and beneath her was the egg which contained the tiny bones of her yet unborn young one.

In 1848 the arrival of Pope Pius IX. at Naples led to the foundation of a short era of pious morality. As the ladies of the ballet were condemned to wear green under-garments, so the 'camera riservata' of the Museum was closed with brick and mortar, and all female statues with scanty clothing, and notably Venuses, were banished into an apartment only accessible to proved antiquaries of advanced years and irreproachable reputation. The few remaining paintings at Pompeii, in which subjects of too tender a nature were treated, were carefully covered up. When the Holy Father visited the ruins and the collections, the righteous Neapolitan Government could boast that there was nothing to offend the chastest gaze.

In 1850 Garibaldi became dictator of Naples. Amongst the many

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many extravagant acts of that honest but easily-misled man, none was more extravagant than the decree which appointed M. Alexandre Dumas head of the museums and excavations of the kingdom. This was the reward granted to the importunities of that eccentric individual for the services he had volunteered as the historiographer of the memorable expedition to Sicily and Calabria, which ended by the triumphant entry into the capital of the Italian hero as a first-class passenger by the railway. The writer of romances received as his official residence a royal palace standing upon one of the most lovely parts of the bay of Naples. He was entertained at the public expense, and forty 'couverts' a day were furnished to him by the municipality for the entertainment of the strange guests he had gathered round him. We are willing to give no ear to the rumours which prevailed in Naples as to what passed within the walls, and which astonished even the inhabitants of the freest city of free Italy. At any rate the charms of this royal life were such that M. Dumas was loth to resign them without a struggle, and it was only after 'much pressure' that he gave up to the new Government the palace, which had been declared national property.

It must be admitted, to the credit of M. Dumas, that no one was more fully alive than himself to the notable absurdity of his own promotion to the chief archæological and scientific distinction in Southern Italy. He only once, we believe, visited Pompeii. He did not interfere either with the excavations or with the direction of the Museum, but dropped so imperceptibly out of his functions that he ceased to exercise them without his appointment, as far as we know, having to this day been cancelled.

The new Government sought for the best man to fill the office of superintendent of the excavations at Pompeii. The public voice justly pointed to the Cavaliere Giuseppe Fiorelli as the one. This gentleman belongs to a class of men which has not been rare in Italy even in her darkest days. He was learned, a ripe scholar, and deeply versed in the archæology of his country, yet withal singularly modest and retiring, supporting life upon the scantiest of means, enthusiastic in the pursuit of his favourite study, and eloquent in teaching its results, loving the memories and traditions of his great country, and of liberal but moderate political opinions. At the early age of twenty-three he had been elected vice-president of the congress of learned men from all parts of Italy who had assembled at Genoa. He had already attained a European reputation. This was just the man to be treated with every cruelty and ignominy under the priest-ridden Government of Naples. On his return he had been appointed one of the directors of the works at Pompeii. His first

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first endeavour was to establish something like an honest administration, and to put an end to the system of robbery and extortion which prevailed there. He was at once denounced as a dangerous Liberal to the Government by those with whose unhallowed gains he interfered. As a matter of course, he was thrown into one of the filthy prisons of Naples. There he remained a year. His innocence was so complete that even a Neapolitan tribunal could prove no charge against him. He was of necessity released, but was not less an object of persecution by the Government. A MS. history of the excavations at Pompeii, which he had prepared with great labour, was seized by the police, and was never restored to him. Deprived of his place, and driven to absolute poverty, he was compelled to earn his daily bread by laying asphalte pavements on terraces. The King's brother, the Count of Syracuse, himself a lover of archæology, and a seeker after buried treasures, had heard of Fiorelli's fame, and was not the less inclined to him because he had been denounced as a Liberal. He sent for him, and named him his private secretary. But this did not screen Fiorelli from the persecution of the Government. On the contrary, he had now to bear, with his own sins of Liberalism, those committed by his friend and patron. The police received orders to arrest him wherever he might be found; and his literary labours were stopped by the seizure of a printing-press which he employed. He remained hidden for some time in the house of the Prince, who at last saw him safely on board a steamer which conveyed him to Leghorn. After the union of Naples with the rest of Italy, M. Farini named Fiorelli Inspector of the Excavations at Pompeii, the place for which he was so eminently qualified.*

With the appointment of the Cavaliere Fiorelli a new era commenced at Pompeii. Hitherto the excavations had been carried on without definite or intelligible plan. The aim of those who directed them was to find as many objects of value as possible to add to the already magnificent collection in the Royal Museum. No very careful or accurate observations were consequently made whilst the earth and rubbish were being hastily and carelessly removed. Important and interesting facts were left unrecorded, and the means of restoring many of the architectural details of the buildings discovered were neglected. Signor Fiorelli had perceived how much could be done by removing the volcanic deposits with care, and upon a

* We are indebted for this sketch of the Cavaliere Fiorelli to an interesting article on Pompeii, contributed by M. Marc Monnier to the 'Revue des Deux Mondes' (vol. xlvii.). We may add, that as far as his modesty would permit, it has been confirmed by Signor Fiorelli himself.

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regular system, taking note of every appearance or fragment which might afford or suggest a restoration of any part of the buried edifices. The plan he pursues is this:—The excavations are commenced by clearing away from the surface the vegetable mould in which there are no remains. The volcanic substances, either 'lapillo' or hardened lava-mud, in which ruins of buildings may exist, are then very gradually removed. Every fragment of brickwork is kept in the place where it is found, and fixed there by props. When charred wood is discovered, it is replaced by fresh timber. By thus carefully retaining in its original position what still exists, and by replacing that which has perished, but has left its trace, Signor Fiorelli has been able to preserve and restore a large part of the upper portion of the buried houses.

One of the first and most interesting results of the improved system upon which the excavations are thus carried on has been the discovery and restoration of the second story of a Pompeian house, and especially of the *mœnianum*, a projecting gallery or balcony overhanging the street. This part of a Roman building, which is frequently represented in the wall-paintings, but the existence of which at Pompeii had been doubted or denied, was built of brick, and supported by strong wooden beams and props. The masonry is still in many cases preserved; the carbonised wood has to be restored. Some of these galleries seem to have been entirely open, like a modern balcony, and as they are represented in the frescoes; others formed part of the upper chambers of the house, and were furnished with small windows, from which the inmates could see the passers-by. In the narrow streets of Pompeii these projecting galleries must have approached so nearly as almost to exclude the rays of even the midsummer sun, and to throw a grateful shade below. The upper stories, which appear to have been sometimes more than one in number, were reached by stairs of brick or wood. Some of those in brick are still partly preserved. Those in wood have perished; but the holes for the beams are there, and the charred beams themselves can be renewed.

By Signor Fiorelli's careful and ingenious restorations, we can now for the first time picture to ourselves the appearance of a Roman town. Previously we only had the bare walls, forming nothing but a collection of shapeless ruins. Had his plan been adopted from the commencement, had the position of every fragment been noted at the time of its discovery, and had the doors, windows, and other wood-work been restored by the process we shall describe, instead of wandering amidst a confused mass of crumbling walls, we should have found ourselves in

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in a Roman town, the houses of which might still have almost harboured its population. As far as we can now judge, Pompeii must have nearly resembled in its principal features a modern Eastern city. The outside of the houses gave but little promise of the beauty and richness of the inside. The sudden change from the naked brick walls facing the narrow street to the spacious court-yard, adorned with paintings, statues, and coloured stuccoes, ornamented with flower-beds and fountains and surrounded by alcoves and porticoes, from which the burning rays of the sun were warded off by rich tapestries and embroidered hangings, will remind the Eastern traveller of Damascus or Ispahan. The overhanging galleries, with the small, latticed windows; the mean shops—mere recesses in the outer walls of the houses; the brick-built counter, with the earthen jars and pans let into it; the marble slabs on which the tradesman exposed his wares, and received his cash; the awning stretched across the street (the holes by which it was fastened are still visible); the caravanserai or khan outside the city gate, with its many small rooms opening into a stable behind and a court-yard in front (the skeletons of horses and their metal trappings were found in the ruins of such an hostelry on the Herculanean Way), are all characteristic of a modern Eastern town.

We must now notice another and a not less interesting result of the careful investigations and the ingenuity of Signor Fiorelli. It has been mentioned that the destruction of Pompeii was owing to two distinct causes—showers of small pumice-stones (lapillo), and streams of thick mud descending from the mountain. The 'lapillo' lies loosely against the walls and round the objects over which it accumulated. In some instances the colours of the frescoes which it covered have changed—the red having become black, for example—whilst in others no alteration is visible. This change may be attributed either to the effect of heat or of those sulphurous vapours which, according to Pliny, issued from the hot cinders and proved so destructive to human life. The lapillo buried objects of metal, marble, glass, and ivory, without injuring them; but it appears to have produced that peculiar greenish-blue oxidation on copper and bronze which is well known to connoisseurs as the 'patina' of Pompeii. The ash-mud, on the other hand, soon hardened, forming, as we have already mentioned, a perfect mould of any object round which it had gathered. Signor Fiorelli had frequently observed hollows in this hard volcanic matter, in which were found human bones or fragments of charred wood mixed with ivory and bronze ornaments. The happy idea occurred to him of pouring liquid plaster into these hollows—in fact, using them as a sculptor would a mould. The result

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result far exceeded his expectations. Amongst the first casts that he thus obtained were those of four human beings. They are now preserved in a room at Pompeii, and more ghastly and painful, yet deeply-interesting and touching objects, it is difficult to conceive. We have death itself moulded and cast—the very last struggle, the final agony brought before us. They tell their story with a horrible dramatic truth that no sculptor could ever reach. They would have furnished a thrilling episode to the accomplished author of the Last Days of Pompeii.

These four persons had perished in a street. They had remained within the shelter of their homes until the thick black mud began to creep through every cranny and chink. Driven from their retreat, they sought to flee when it was too late. The streets were already buried deep in the loose pumice-stones which had been falling for many hours in unremitting showers, and which reached almost to the windows of the first floor. These victims of the eruption were not found together, and they do not appear to have belonged to the same family or household. The most interesting of the casts is that of two women, probably mother and daughter, lying feet to feet. They appear from their garb to have been people of poor condition. The elder seems to lie tranquilly on her side. Overcome by the noxious gases, she probably fell and died without a struggle. Her limbs are extended, and her left arm drops loosely. On one finger is still seen her coarse iron ring. Her child was a girl of fifteen: she seems, poor thing! to have struggled hard for life. Her legs are drawn up convulsively. Her little hands are clenched in agony. In one she holds her veil, or a part of her dress, with which she had covered her head, burying her face in her arm, to shield herself from the falling ashes and from the foul sulphurous smoke. The form of her head is perfectly preserved. The texture of her coarse linen garments may be traced, and even the fashion of her dress, with its long sleeves reaching to her wrists. Here and there it is torn, and the smooth young skin appears in the plaster like polished marble. On her tiny feet may still be seen her embroidered sandals.

At some distance from this group lay a third woman. She appears to have been about twenty-five years of age, and to have belonged to a better class than the other two. On one of her fingers were two silver rings, and her garments were of a finer texture. Her linen head-dress, falling over her shoulders like that of a matron in a Roman statue, can still be distinguished. She had fallen on her side, overcome by the heat and gases; but a terrible struggle seems to have preceded her last agony. One arm is

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is raised in despair; the hands are clenched convulsively. Her garments are gathered up on one side, leaving exposed a limb of beautiful shape. So perfect a mould of it has been formed by the soft and yielding mud, that the cast would seem to be taken from an exquisite work of Greek art. She had fled with her little treasure, which lay scattered around her—two silver cups, a few jewels, and some dozen silver coins. Nor had she, like a good housewife, forgotten her keys, after having probably locked up her stores before seeking to escape. They were found by her side.

The fourth cast is that of a man of the people, perhaps a common soldier. He is of almost colossal size. He lies on his back, his arms extended by his side and his feet stretched out as if, finding escape impossible, he had laid himself down to meet death like a brave man. His dress consists of a short coat or jerkin and tight-fitting breeches, of some coarse stuff, perhaps leather. Heavy sandals, with soles studded with nails, are laced tightly round his ankles. On one finger is seen his iron ring. His features are strongly marked; the mouth open as in death. Some of the teeth still remain, and even part of the moustache adheres to the plaster.

The importance of Signor Fiorelli's discovery may be understood from the results we have described. It may furnish us with many curious particulars as to the dress and domestic habits of the Romans, and with many an interesting episode of the last day of Pompeii. Had it been made at an earlier period we might perhaps have possessed the perfect cast of the family of Diomedes, as they clung together in their last struggle, and of other victims whose remains are now mingled together in the bone-house.

But the casts of human forms are not the only casts obtained by Signor Fiorelli's simple process. The mud has moulded in the same way objects in wood and other perishable materials. Doors, the frames of windows, the sliding leaves of the shop-shutters, like those in modern use, elegant trellis-work, with bronze and ivory ornaments, which surrounded the little garden-plots in the courtyards, chests, and many other things, have been thus restored, and we are almost able to fit up the interior of a Pompeian house. As so much of the town still remains to be uncovered, it is impossible to conjecture what interesting and important discoveries may yet be made.

The most remarkable objects in metal, glass, and marble discovered at Pompeii and placed in the Museum at Naples are so well known that it is not necessary to mention them. One or two recently found, and consequently as yet seen by few travellers, require,

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require, however, some notice. The most important of these is an exquisite statuette in bronze, conjectured to represent 'Narcissus listening to Echo.' This is perhaps the most precious work of the class hitherto obtained from the ruins, and is a masterpiece of ancient art. It was, curiously enough, dug out of what appears to have been the house of a washerwoman—judging from the number of deep earthen basins and leaden tubs found on the ground-floor. As it was found in the 'lapillo' several feet above the level of the pavement, it had stood in an upper chamber, which must have fallen in during the eruption. Like most statuettes of this kind from Pompeii, it is probably a reduced copy of some statue of great renown amongst the ancients. The figure is nude, with the exception of a goat-skin thrown over the left shoulder, and the hunter's cothurni, or boots, of exquisite workmanship, laced round the ankle and reaching to the calf of the leg. The expression of the face is very earnest, and the head is bent over the right shoulder in the act of listening. The hair is bound with a simple branch of ivy or myrtle, to which some berries are attached. The right hand is raised, and the first finger points to the spot from whence the distant sound is wafted. The left hand rests daintily on the hip. The sockets of the eyes, which had once been filled with silver or ivory, are now empty.

This statuette is probably of Greek workmanship, and is marked by that elegance, grace, and voluptuousness of form which distinguish the sculpture of Pompeii. The execution is delicate, the chiselling vigorous and sharp, as in the hair and sandals, the forms round, and the anatomy well studied, with a sufficient deviation from the strict rules of proportion to give character to the figure. The feet, for instance, may be thought somewhat too large, the sandals helping to produce this effect. The story is admirably told. It is impossible to represent more naturally and vividly the act of an earnest listener. Who can doubt that the distant wail of the amorous nymph has struck upon the ear of the obdurate youth?

About the time of the discovery of this beautiful statuette, a lamp of solid gold weighing 33½ ounces, and a small figure in amber representing Cupid wearing a wig, were also dug up. The lamp was found without its cover, and is of considerable intrinsic value. The amber figure seems to have been considered a precious object, and one of great rarity, as it was carried away with a small collection of silver coins by one who fled from the eruption, and whose skeleton was discovered hard by. No similar object had previously been obtained from the ruins.

It would be difficult to spend a more pleasant and interesting day

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day than in watching a 'scavo' at Pompeii. There is at all times an excitement and a delight, only to be understood by those who have experienced them, in opening ancient tombs and in digging for ancient remains. It is the excitement of a lottery with many blanks, but with an occasional prize which makes up for many disappointments. This is especially the case at Pompeii. You never know what the spade may turn up—what object of exquisite beauty or of extreme rarity it may expose. Then there is the speculation as to its nature when uncovered. What new phase of Roman life may it illustrate —what purpose may it have served? Add to this the wonderful ruins around you, and the lovely scenery beyond—Vesuvius rising majestically in the background, with its purple shadows and its thin column of white smoke capped by a broad capital of spreading vapour; the stone-pines, and the white convents on its dark sides; the calm blue sea washing the rocky shores of Sorrento; the distant isles rising from its tranquil bosom; the soft, balmy air breathing upon you, and above the clear, bright, azure sky of Southern Italy! Search the globe, and you will not find such a scene as this.

Signor Fiorelli is ever ready to gratify a traveller, who has any claim to the favour, with a 'scavo;' several chambers are generally kept in readiness for this purpose. Experience has shown that objects of interest are usually found on the pavement of the ground-floor in the 'lapillo.' Such as have been discovered at a higher level have fallen in from the upper chambers, which appear to have been usually occupied by servants and persons of an inferior class, and rarely contained anything of much value. The 'scavo' is consequently prepared by removing all the volcanic substances which cover the building to within about four or five feet of the floor. The entrances to the chambers are then carefully closed with stones, and no one is allowed to go in until the final excavation takes place.

On the appointed day, Signor Fiorelli, with his usual courtesy, accompanies the visitor to Pompeii. Twelve or fourteen workmen, under a superintendent, who narrowly watches their proceedings to prevent petty thefts of coins and other small objects, are ready for the day's work. They usually include two experienced excavators, who have to remove, with great care and caution, using spade or pick, the deposit of loose pumice-stones or hardened mud, in which the antiquities are searched for. The remainder of the party consists of women, girls, and boys, who are employed in removing the rubbish. The mode of proceeding is as rude and primitive as that followed by Mr. Layard in the excavations at Nineveh. When the earth is loosened by

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by the diggers, it is shovelled into baskets, which are carried away by the swarthy, black-eyed boys and girls, either on their heads or under their arms. Singing and laughing, with their naked feet and tattered garments, they toil up the steep bank and empty their loads into carts ready to receive them. Formerly, the rubbish was thrown into parts of the ruins already uncovered, or even upon the ground not yet examined. Amongst the many improvements introduced by Signor Fiorelli is a tramway, by which the excavated soil is removed to a distance from the ruins.

On reaching the 'scavo,' the first thing to be ascertained is whether the former owners or the ancient robber excavators have dug there before us. This is easily learnt. If the pumice-stones are unmixed with bricks, pottery, or other remains, and if they lie in well-defined alternate strata with the lava-mud, then the soil is declared to be 'virgin,' and we may hope for interesting discoveries; but if the strata are not well marked, but are broken into each other, and the small pumice-stones are mingled with fragments of bricks and pottery, then we may be sure that others have been there before us at some remote period, and we must make up our minds to disappointment. No object of value, at any rate, is likely to have escaped the earlier explorers. Sometimes the partition wall has been broken through, and a hole shows where the owners of the house, or, more probably, some treasure seekers, have forced their way into the chamber. The director having given the order to commence, the diggers work vigorously. The girls and boys hurry away with their baskets. The superintendent, whose keen, well-practised eye detects the smallest object, now and then picks up a coin or a fragment of metal. Suddenly the excavators stop and call the attention of the director to a discovery. The colour of the 'lapillo' tells us if an object in bronze or iron is about to be uncovered. If of copper or bronze, the blue oxidation, peculiar to Pompeii, tints the soil; if of iron, the secret is betrayed by the reddish-brown hue which marks the presence of that metal. The basket carriers are now put on one side. An experienced workman, with a kind of trowel, removes the 'lapillo,' which lies so lightly that it can be almost brushed away with the hand. He is so dexterous, and so well accustomed to his work, that he quickly uncovers the object of which he is in search without injuring it. It may be a bronze vase of beautiful form, or an iron utensil of extreme rarity, or a glass urn of exquisite workmanship. If the thing discovered is of bronze, or lead, or glass, it is generally in the most perfect condition; if of iron, it is frequently so much decomposed as to fall to pieces on exposure to the air. The object

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object is carefully removed by the superintendent, placed on a tray, and a note at once made of the place and position in which it was found, and of any peculiar circumstances attending its discovery. It is then sent to a receiving room, where a clerk enters all these particulars, and a more detailed description in a register. Later it is transferred to the Royal Museum at Naples, or added to the small collection now being formed at Pompeii.

The diggers and basket carriers return to their work until the discovery of another object is announced. At length the chamber is entirely cleared. It forms part of the house of a wealthy citizen. We are in the 'tablinum,' a small recess opening upon the great hall or atrium. The walls are elaborately painted after the usual Pompeian fashion. If they are found to be falling, they are at once strengthened by iron brackets, or, if necessary, sustained by wooden props or by masonry. If the paintings are of more than ordinary merit, they are carefully removed, by detaching the plaster from the wall. A varnish is laid over those which remain to preserve them from the effects of exposure. The ancients themselves were careful to keep them from damp, and many of the most richly painted walls have, for this purpose, a sheet of lead between the 'intonaco' and the wall itself. The pavement is either of mosaic, sometimes rich with flowers, fruit, masks, or figures, in bright colours; or of simple patterns in white and black tesseræ. On removing from it the last layer of rubbish, we come upon a perfect skeleton; it is that of a woman, probably the mistress of the house. She had attempted to fly on that fatal night, and had thought to save her jewel-case—the 'mundus muliebris'—'the woman's all'—enclosed in its wooden casket or pyxis. We find the hinges, the lock, and the ornamental fittings, which, being of bronze and ivory, have been preserved, whilst the woodwork has perished. Scattered around her are its contents—her golden ear-rings, bracelets, and a necklace hung with curious amulets, such as objects in coral, supposed to bring fecundity, a closed hand with the two fingers extended to ward off the evil eye, a bee in onyx of exquisite workmanship, as an augury of good, and little bells whose sound drives away contagion, her jewelled rings, a fragment of her ivory comb, her bronze looking-glass, the ivory pins that gathered up her tresses, and a few small glass and alabaster vases and bottles which held her ointments and perfumes. If the lava-mud has penetrated into the chamber, the mould of the casket itself may be preserved, so that a perfect cast may be taken of it, and even the impression of the linen garments which formed part of her wardrobe may be plainly seen. Near her lies a terracotta lamp,

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with its elegant dolphin-shaped cover. It had fallen from her hand when she sank exhausted, after in vain groping her way through the thick darkness.

But the excavations at present carried on are mostly confined to a part of the town which seems to have been inhabited by the poorer classes. The ground-floor of the houses consists of mean shops, with an outer room entirely open to the street, and an inner, small and dark, in which the stores were probably kept.

These humble dwellings are, however, by no means devoid of interest. They afford us a curious insight into the manners and mode of life of the inhabitants of Pompeii. Many trades and crafts still well known to us were carried on in them. Some have their appropriate sign, such as we see over modern shops. A kind of eating-house was recently discovered. In the front room was the usual slab of white marble, upon which the smoking meats, and probably the stewed gourds, and such like delicacies, were exposed, as in Naples at this day. On it stood an earthen pipkin containing small fish, which had apparently been cooked in oil with raisins and onions, and had been ready to serve up when the sudden cloud gathered over the town. Let into a kind of brick dresser were deep basins of earthenware and metal, beneath which were small, open fire-places to keep the soup and other messes warm. Upon it were lying the ladles which had been used to distribute the contents of the vessels. A rude iron tripod stood upon the floor, supporting an iron pot or kettle for boiling water; and in the middle of the room was a portable iron cooking stove, such as Soyer himself might have envied. Ranged against the walls were a number of deep bronze trays of various sizes, fitting one into the other. Such trays are still used in the East to serve up a meal. A few glass wine-jars were scattered over the floor, and one or two square panes of real window-glass, showing that the Romans were not ignorant of what, until recently, antiquaries declared to be a modern invention.* In the inner shop half-a-dozen earthen jars or amphoræ of various sizes stood upright against the wall. They had contained select wines, for which, no doubt, the host enjoyed a local reputation. Each bore its mark, and the name of the wine it held; some the year of the vintage fixed by the consular date. Thus, on one amphora we read 'FRVT. T. CLAVDIO. IIII. L. VITELLIO. III. COS.' The contents were consequently thirty-two years old when the town was overwhelmed, having been 'bottled' in the fourth year of the consulate of

* In one of the public baths a window with its frame and four panes of glass was discovered not long ago, and there are many such panes above 18 inches square in the Naples Museum.

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Tiberius Claudius and the third of Lucius Vitellius, or A.D. 47.* One wine, from the island of Cos, is called 'COVM. GRANATVM.' The epithet 'granatum' is supposed by Signor Fiorelli to indicate some peculiar flavour which was specially esteemed. It is noted that it was bought from the cellar of Aierius Felix at Rome,—no doubt a celebrated wine-merchant 'of the period.' Another jar is marked 'KOR. OPT.'—the very best Corcyra—the island was well known for the produce of its grapes. One contained a wine which was evidently considered very choice: it is called 'Old Luna,' and we are informed that it was bought by one Cornelia out of the cellar of M. Valerius Abinnericus (a very Eastern-sounding name—perhaps he was a Jew), and had been kept four years in bottle.

LVN. VET
AIIIIR
XIIIIS
CORNELIA
M. VALERI. ABINNERICI

The letter R may indicate that it was red. The number preceding the letter S may mark the price paid for it, or the measure of the amphora. At the bottom of this inner room was a baking-oven. The mouth was still closed with an iron plate. On the floor beneath lay the iron shovel with which the loaves had been placed in the oven, and with which they were to be taken out when fit for use. When the iron door was removed it was found that it had so completely closed the entrance, that neither ashes nor mud had entered the oven, which was as it had been left by the baker after he had placed his loaves in it for baking eighteen hundred years ago. Within were the loaves themselves, eighty-three in number, black and charred, but still retaining their shape, that of a modern double loaf scored on the top. Scattered about the room were found olives, onions, beans, nuts, and the bones of fish. Near the oven were other bronze trays; and various vessels in metal were on the floor. Two large leaden tubs, in a corner of the room, had probably been used for slops and refuse. Squalid cook's shops, not unlike that discovered at Pompeii, are to be seen in many a back street of modern Naples.

At a short distance from this humble restaurant is a small mean house, opening by opposite doors into two narrow and secluded streets. Its character is sufficiently indicated by the

* Signor Fiorelli conjectures that 'vinum fruttum' may have been wine boiled or otherwise prepared, 'vino cotto,' in order to preserve it. All the amphoræ mentioned in the text were not found in one house.

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sign placed over the entrances. It was a 'lupanar.' It consisted of two floors—the lower a nest of small rooms or rather closets, over the doors of which were obscene paintings; the upper more decently decorated. It had been previously rifled, and nothing was found in it, except the bronze bell which was hung up in such places, and a metal vessel filled with beans and onions, the dish which had been prepared for the frugal supper of the unhappy inmates of the place on the 24th of August, A.D. 79. The curious antiquary should not fail to visit this singular building. Judging from the inscriptions scratched upon the walls of the rooms, it was chiefly frequented by gladiators. These rude inscriptions are called 'graffiti' by the Italians. Signor Fiorelli has published a valuable comment upon them. They are of considerable interest as illustrating the manners of the people, but are for the most part too coarse to be quoted. A lady, whose charms had made many victims, is appropriately and elegantly saluted as 'Victrix victorum'—conqueress of the conquerors. One inscription is a terrible record of the brutalising effect of the scenes of the Amphitheatre upon the Roman character. A gladiator, apparently a rude country youth and new in his profession, and hence called 'Puer rusticus,'* had slain his adversary, and had sought his mistress fresh from the bloody arena. He thus recorded his visit—'Victor cum Attine hic fuit. Africanus moritur . . . Condisces qui dolet pro Africano?' Africanus is dead—Prithee, who will mourn for Africanus?

Such 'graffiti' are constantly found at Pompeii, and are amongst the most curious illustrations of the customs and every-day life of its inhabitants. In one street a school-boy has rudely scratched his Greek alphabet upon the wall of a house. We may conjecture that he was a very small boy, as his little hand could scarcely reach above three feet. Some idler has elsewhere scribbled part of the first verse of the Æneid, writing the words as they were probably pronounced in the dialect of the South of Italy,

ALMA VILVMQVE CANO TLO . . .†

On another wall may be traced a verse from Ovid's Art of Love. These are the only fragments from any known classic authors which, as far as we know, have been discovered at Pompeii. On the wall of the Basilica itself some disappointed and spiteful lover has written what we trust was a scandalous libel upon a faithless

* Scratched on a wall in the barrack of the gladiators was 'RVSTICE FELICITER,' probably the same 'Rusticus' who, with the good wishes of his companions, had proved successful in the arena.

† In another inscription we find PARMAM FERET for 'palmam feret,' showing that *r* and *l* were interchangeable letters.

mistress—

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mistress—LVCILLA EX CORPORE LVCRVM FACIEBAT. On the wall of a room the mistress of the house or her cook had noted that on the 15th July she had laid in part of her household stock, two hundred pounds of 'Axungia,' which Signor Fiorelli conjectures to have been a kind of lard, and two hundred and fifty handfuls (manuplos) of garlic—not uncommon contents of a modern Italian larder. In many parts of the town we find sentences and words in Greek, Oscan, Etruscan, and other ancient characters. The great room of the baths, the Spoliatorium in which, as in the modern Eastern bath, the bather reposed and gossiped, is very rich in these 'graffiti.' In one may be detected, in ill-shaped Hebrew characters, the Jewish proper name of 'Sirach.' People of all nations, from the East and the West, congregated in these public places.

The inscriptions painted on the outer walls of many houses in black and red colours are not less interesting than the 'graffiti.' They refer chiefly to the periodical elections of the Ædiles and Duumviri, which were taking place at the time of the eruption. Each householder had a favourite candidate, and solicited the votes of the electors in earnest terms, painting his name and qualifications at the sides of the house-door after the fashion of our election placards. 'I beg you,' writes one, 'to choose Capella for one of your duumviri.' Another entreats his friends to vote for Cneius Helvius, 'for he is worthy.' Another declares that Pansa, who seems to have had many supporters, is 'dignissimus.' One Popidius, a youthful candidate, and, from the frequent occurrence of his name, evidently very popular, is pronounced 'verecundum adolescentem'—a modest youth, and 'egregium adolescentem.' An elector asks Proculus to vote for Sabinus, promising that Sabinus shall vote for him in return. 'SABINUM . AED . PROCULE . FAC . ET ILLE . TE . FACIET.' Other inscriptions refer to the protection which the inhabitant of the house claimed as the client of some powerful patrician.

Amongst the several inns recently discovered, one has the sign of the elephant rudely painted on the pilaster which divides two doors. The animal is in the folds of a huge serpent, and is led by a pigmy. An inscribed tablet states that one Sittius had recently restored the tavern—SITTIVS RIISTITVIT IILIIRANTV. (for elephantum), and our host informs travellers that he has a triclinium with three beds, and every comfort—

HOSPITIVM . HIC . LOCATVR
TRICLINIVM . CVM . TRIBVS . LECTIS
IIT . COMM . . . .

Other inscriptions announce the performances of gladiators, and

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and inform the public that there will be combats with wild beasts, and that the amphitheatre, open to the sky, will be supplied with awnings—'VENATIO ET VELA ERUNT.'

Space will not permit us to dwell any longer upon many other new and interesting discoveries which have been made at Pompeii since the Cavaliere Fiorelli has directed the excavations, but we must not omit to mention what he has done for the greater comfort and convenience of the traveller. Those who visited Pompeii in former days will not easily forget the swarms of hungry 'custodi,' or guardians, who infested the place, and pounced, like a spider upon an entangled fly, upon the helpless traveller. In every building of interest there lurked one of these plagues, who, keeping its treasures under lock and key, exacted his fee before he opened the door.

This curse of the sight-seer in Italy has been abolished. The ruins are now entered at two points,—by the Street of the Tombs, as formerly, and by the Gate leading to the Forum, which is close to the railway-station, and to which a road has recently been cleared. The number of visitors is checked by a turnstile. Each pays an entrance fee of two francs, and no further gratuity is required. A guide is then selected to conduct him through the ruins. A very intelligent class of men has been appointed to this office. The visitor further receives a printed plan of the excavations and a list of the principal buildings, those of peculiar interest being marked with a star, so that he may either examine all that is to be seen, or, if his time should be limited, may make the most of it. He is left, as much as possible, to himself. It is expected that a sense of propriety will restrain him from injuring any of the monuments, and from indulging in the low habit of writing his name upon the walls. Signor Fiorelli has devised a method of bringing to shame those who are guilty of this breach of good manners. He has ordered the names thus written to be published weekly in the Naples paper which has the largest circulation. He has been requested to furnish a list of those of our own countrymen, that they may be similarly exposed to public reprobation at home. Notices in several languages are placed at the entrances and in different parts of the ruins, calling upon visitors not to give gratuities, and threatening with instant dismissal those who venture to receive them. And these rules are rigorously enforced, and have already had a salutary effect upon this formerly demoralised race of Italian custodi. A bright-eyed, smiling boy, who had been employed for a whole day in carrying the drawing materials of a sketcher and in performing various little services with that singular quickness and intelligence which distinguish the Italian peasant, resolutely refused the 'buona-mano'

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mano' to which, it was believed, he was fully entitled for his extra work; and this instance of his virtue was the more remarkable as no superintendent was near. It is impossible to overrate the effect that these seemingly trifling rules—now enforced in all the public institutions in Naples—will have upon the character of the people. Where but a short time ago there was everywhere corruption, from the throne to the beggar—where every public officer, from the highest to the lowest, lived upon the bribes which he exacted—this attempt to inculcate principles of honesty deserves the highest praise and should meet with every encouragement.

The illiberal and foolish rule which formerly prevented a stranger from making the slightest sketch of the ruins or of any object discovered in them, and even from taking a few hurried notes, has now been abolished. Every one, under necessary regulations, may draw, describe, and publish as he thinks fit. A small museum has been opened at Pompeii to contain such objects as may specially serve to illustrate the ruins and the manners and mode of life of the former inhabitants; and a collection of the remains of various animals—such as dogs, horses, goats, tortoises, and a sucking-pig still in the baking-pan—and of various edible objects, adds much to its interest. In addition, Signor Fiorelli has established a library, which is destined to contain a complete collection of works on Pompeii and of such as illustrate the arts and manners of the ancients. The student of archæology and history, as well as the mere tourist, may thus spend many profitable and pleasant hours amongst the ruins.

The nomenclature of the houses and streets has been changed. Formerly, the principal buildings were named after some distinguished person who may have been present when they were discovered. There was the House of the Queen of England, the House of the Grand Duke, &c. Signor Fiorelli has endeavoured, by consulting the inscriptions painted on the walls, and from other sources, such as seals and relics found in the ruins of the house itself, to restore to it the name of the owner. When this cannot be done, the house is numbered and the occupation of the owner is noted: we have, for instance, the house and shop of the dyer, in which his pans with the remains of the dye in them are still seen, of the baker, of the colourman, of the jeweller, the eating-house, the inn, &c.

Many important statues and other objects, such as furniture, which have been taken to the Museum at Naples, have been replaced by plaster casts, so that their original site and the use for which they served may be understood.

We must not conclude without alluding to the magnificent work

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work on the ruins of Pompeii, the title of which we have placed at the head of this article, now in course of publication by Signor Niccolini, the Secretary to the Royal Museum, and the son of the original editor of the 'Museo Borbonico.' Thirty-three numbers, forming half of the entire work, have already been issued. Coloured lithographic plates represent with great fidelity, and in the most pleasing form, the paintings, architectural decorations, statues, and various objects in glass, metal, marble, and other materials, discovered in the principal buildings. Each house and its contents are separately illustrated. The plates are mostly executed from the faithful and spirited drawings of Signor Abbate, an artist of great merit and experience, well known in this country from his admirable restoration of a Pompeian house in the Crystal Palace.

This work will furnish a much better idea than any yet published of the extreme beauty and elegance of the houses of the richer classes in a Roman city. There is no doubt much at Pompeii opposed to the purest taste, as shown in remains of the best period of classic art. The ornamentation is sometimes coarse in execution, inharmonious in colour, wanting in purity of design, defective in drawing, and perhaps ill calculated for interior decoration. But at other times it is of a very high character, and singularly pleasing and effective. It must be remembered that after all Pompeii was but an unimportant provincial town, in which probably there was no school of art of any merit, and where the common workman sought to imitate, to the best of his means, the skilled and highly trained artists of Rome, or to copy and reproduce those remains of more ancient art which had even in those days been accepted as the standards of the highest taste and perfection. It is probable that the paintings on the walls of the houses of Pompeii, like the mosaic pictures of the pavements, are for the most part copies from well known Greek or Roman works which were esteemed by the refined and cultivated citizens of Imperial Rome as masterpieces of art. This is especially so with regard to those beautiful groups of figures representing familiar subjects taken from the Homeric poems and from the classic writers of Greece. However, to some of the frescoes discovered the ancients themselves must have attached considerable value, for we find an instance of one representing Bacchus and Silenus, which had been very carefully removed from another site and so neatly fitted into the wall with iron cramps and cement that it was almost impossible to detect that it did not originally form part of it. The subjects are limited in number, generally Bacchus and Ariadne, with groups

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groups of fauns and nymphs, Hermaphroditus with Silenus, Bacchantes and Satyrs, Hercules and Omphale' surrounded by Cupids, who are sporting with his club and shield, Achilles discovered by Ulysses amidst the maidens of Lycomedes, Orestes and Pylades, Thetis obtaining from Vulcan the arms of Achilles, &c. The treatment is singularly simple, the disposition of the figures reminding us of a bas-relief, and conveying the impression of having been suggested by a sculptured frieze. The execution is almost always inferior to what the Germans call the 'motive'—that is the attempt to tell the story by the general composition, and the attitude and expression of each person represented: this is a sufficient proof to the practised eye that the work is a copy, or that the painting has been made up with figures or groups taken from other pictures. Even in technical execution, however, many of these paintings have no ordinary merit. There is a richness and glow in the colour, a subtle gradation in the flesh tints, a rich and voluptuous harmony of tone, and a vigorous outline, which remind us of the finest productions of the Venetian school, and especially of Giorgione. In violent and picturesque contrasts of light and shade they are wanting. No attempt is made to produce those striking and exaggerated effects of chiaro-oscuro which distinguish the Italian and Dutch schools of the seventeenth century. Everything is represented in the broad glare of day, and is beaming with sunlight. The colours have faded after a lapse of eighteen hundred years, but when the soil which covers a painting is first removed they are still bright and luminous, and produce a magical effect in the clear Italian atmosphere. Some have changed completely after long exposure to the air,* and this must be borne in mind in examining the paintings detached from the walls and preserved in the Naples Museum. The details of the decoration of the rooms are frequently marked by the greatest elegance of outline, and the most exquisite harmony of colour, as in the dancing fauns and nymphs, set in borders of beautiful design or introduced into landscapes and architectural scenes, and the wanton Cupids sporting amidst festoons of fruit and flowers. This graceful ornamentation was in harmony with the furniture of the room and the rich hangings, and must have produced the most pleasing effect. But if the dwelling of a country gentleman at Pompeii was such as we have described, what

* See, for example, Gell's account of the change of colour which had taken place in parts of the beautiful picture of Leda presenting her infant progeny to Tyndareus—vol. i. 2nd series, p. 173.

must

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must have been the magnificence and luxury of that of the proud and wealthy patrician in the capital itself?

It has been the fashion of late years to underrate the style of decoration employed in the private dwellings of Pompeii. There is much in it which might, in our opinion, be advantageously introduced into our own domestic architecture. It is true that at the beginning of this century, when an affectation of classic taste prevailed in Europe, the experiment was tried and failed. But the reason was obvious. Too much was attempted. The true principles of application were misunderstood. The walls were overladen with colour and gilding, and comfort and utility were sacrificed to classic forms. Furniture, fire-irons, teapots, and the various objects of daily domestic use, made after the manner of the ancients, could scarcely be turned to their legitimate purposes, however well adapted they may have been to the sacrifices and ceremonies of a Greek or Roman temple. Chairs and sofas strictly made upon the model of the sella curulis, and the bronze bisellium, might have been comfortable in the forum, but were execrable in the drawing-room. We were at last fairly driven out of the classic mood. We could neither eat, drink, nor sit in comfort. As things are rarely done by halves with us, we rushed into the other extreme, and hailed the Gothic regeneration. We have not gained much. The narrow seat and knobby back of a Gothic chair are not more pleasant to our persons than the ancient sedilia. Nor have we derived much advantage, as far as our comfort is concerned, from the ponderous furniture and the terrible domestic instruments, which distinguish the Gothic dwelling, constructed on unexceptionable authority after the true fashion of our ancestors. Neither has our national taste been improved by the hideous deformities in the shape of human and bestial monsters which inhabit our modern mediæval buildings. We shudder as we think of the Houses of Parliament, where honest Joe Hume plaintively protested, in the name of the expectant mothers of England, against the monstrous shapes which peep in at the windows and sprawl over the walls.

But to return to Pompeii. The simplest style of ornamentation of the Pompeian house—the border of graceful patterns in stucco, or painted, running round the room, or forming panels; the enframing lines of bright and well-selected colours; pictures, and especially those in water-colours, not hung with tarnished wire, or a dirty cord, but let into the wall, and forming, as it were, part of it; the walls themselves of stucco, hard and polished as marble, cream-coloured, or of some other grateful tint—forms neither

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neither a very expensive nor a very elaborate style of interior decoration. We have seen the experiment tried with complete success in English houses of no great pretensions. It can be carried out at not much greater cost than is frequently expended on a vulgar papier-mâché cornice and paper-hangings, the meanest and most perishable covering for a wall that was ever devised. Imagine what the ruins of Pompeii would have been had the houses been lined with our fashionable papers! We may form some idea of the effect they would have produced by contemplating a modern dwelling which has been deserted for a few months, with its shabby walls hung with tattered strips of tawdry hangings.

Nothing conveys a loftier conception of the grandeur, might, wealth, and civilisation of the Roman empire at its most flourishing period than the remains of its provincial towns, and especially of its colonial cities. It is not the public edifices of Rome herself, unequalled as they are for vastness and magnificence, which impress us most with her former power. They are such monuments as we might expect from those who peopled the capital of the world. But it is the third or fourth class towns, such as Pompeii, with its two theatres, its amphitheatre, its temples, its basilica, and its forum, all upon a scale of singular splendour, adorned with hundreds of statues in bronze and marble, with exquisite paintings, and with the most precious marbles; it is the distant colonial cities of Palmyra, Philadelphia, Gerasa, and others whose names are almost unknown to history, with their long avenues of graceful columns, their shrines of marble carved with an unrivalled luxury and richness of detail, their stupendous granaries of hewn stone, and their vast edifices directed to political and religious purposes, or to public amusements, now rising in solitary grandeur amidst the wastes of the Syrian desert,—that fill our minds with wonder, and enable us to form some conception of the greatness and power of that mighty people.

Of these great colonial cities but the principal bones, as it were, have been preserved to us. We must restore them to the mind's eye as the geologist does the primeval monster from a few scattered remains found in the hardened rock. Fortunately, however, Pompeii furnishes us to a certain extent with the means of doing so. There we have more than the mere skeleton, we have such traces of the flesh and muscles as will enable us to build up the living form, and to obtain some insight into the manners, habits, and daily life of that great Roman people. And there is still much to be done, and much to be discovered. But one-third of the town has yet been exposed to view. Twenty years must elapse,

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elapse, if the works are carried on as they now are,* before the whole is uncovered. It is impossible to conjecture what additions may be made to the treasures already discovered. It is true that the most important edifices, and consequently the more wealthy quarters of the town, have been explored; but there still remain a vast number of private dwellings which are in many respects even more interesting than the public buildings, because not found elsewhere, and likely under the skilful direction of Signor Fiorelli to furnish us with new and most reliable particulars relating to the domestic life of the Romans.†

We are thus indebted to Vesuvius for the preservation of the most perfect monument of the ancient world. The terrible mountain whilst it destroyed has also saved Pompeii; and when the shroud of lava-mud and ashes shall have been altogether raised from it, the traveller will gaze upon the almost perfect form of a Roman city.

ART. III.—1. *Correspondence relating to Affairs in Mexico.* Parts 1, 2, and 3. Presented to Parliament. 1863.

2. *Convention between Her Majesty, The Queen of Spain, and the Emperor of the French, relative to combined Operations against Mexico.* Signed in London. 1861.

3. *Le Mexique, Ancien et Moderne.* Par M. Michel Chevalier. Paris, 1863.

4. *Le Mexique Contemporain.* Par Le Baron de Bazancourt. Paris, 1862.

5. *Mexico, Ancient and Modern.* By M. Michel Chevalier. Translated from the French. London, 1864.

6. *Anahuac: or Mexico and the Mexicans, Ancient and Modern.* By Edward Tylor. London, 1861.

7. *Notes on Mexico in* 1861 *and* 1862. By Charles Lempriere, D.C.L. London, 1862.

IT is remarked by Humboldt, as one of the most singular anomalies to be met with in the history of the world, that one of its hemispheres should, until the middle of the sixteenth century of the Christian era, have been as completely concealed from the knowledge of the other as one half of the moon is, and

* During the winter months about 500 men, women, and boys are employed in the excavation; during the summer, owing to the unhealthiness of the place, only 50.

† The most recent discovery is that of the entire skeletons of two horses, which had taken refuge in the porter's lodge of a very elegant mansion, leaving the car to which they had been attached in the court.

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ever must be, concealed from the inhabitants of the earth. The revelation of the New World, as it was enthusiastically called, certainly took the nations as much by surprise as if the averted face of the globe's satellite had been suddenly presented to them; but the astonishment was unbounded when it came to be known that the portion of the world thus, as it were in the revolution of ages, suddenly presented to the gaze of science, possessed a civilization in some respects as elaborate as that of Europe, and probably as ancient as that of Asia. That portion of the new continent which was the first to excite the curiosity of the old possessed pyramids which bore a startling resemblance to those of Egypt; palaces characterized by a melancholy beauty peculiar to themselves, and a stately grandeur unsurpassed even by the stupendous structures of Nineveh; roads of Roman solidity; pictures representing the chief events of Mexican history; sculptures exhibiting the various phases of its civilization; and hieroglyphics possessing striking affinities with the Egyptian, yet distinguished by differences peculiarly American. There was a government which had been founded on the ruins of a more ancient dynasty, and a religion of sacrifice which had usurped the ritual of a more simple creed. There were displayed the proofs of a degree of astronomical knowledge so advanced as to excite the astonishment of Laplace, and a public economy which would have scarcely discredited the intelligence of the nineteenth century. This wonderful political fabric in the zenith of its pride and power vanished, nevertheless, like a dissolving-view, at the touch of a rude Spanish adventurer. The history of Mexico, from the day on which Cortez bound its sovereign in chains and degraded him in the eyes of his subjects, reflects no honour either upon Christianity or civilization. How Spain treated the vast dependency which she had acquired almost by accident, is but too well known; and the annals of the emancipated colony from the day on which it threw off the dominion of its European rulers present only one uniform tale of turbulence, anarchy, and blood.

A change has at length taken place in the prospects of this great country, of which the magnificence has been equalled only by the misery. Hitherto it cannot be said to have constituted a state, scarcely a society. In one of the finest regions of the world industry, commerce, and civilization have for forty years steadily retrograded. It has been plundered rather than governed by its rulers. The first necessity of mankind is now about to be bestowed on a people who have been unable to originate it for themselves. We propose, therefore, to take a cursory view of the

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the resources and probable future of Mexico, which has now become an object of peculiar interest and importance.

No territory in the world is more richly endowed with all that can minister to the support and gratification of man than the one which has been so long the scene of such deplorable disorder. Its physical characteristics are very peculiar. An enormous table-land occupies the greater part of the interior, commencing at the Isthmus of Panama, and extends north-westward to a distance of 1600 miles, equal to that from the northern extremity of Scotland to Gibraltar. It contracts towards the south, but expands towards the north-west, and attains its greatest breadth of 360 miles in the latitude of the city of Mexico. The most easterly part of this enormous plateau is 7000 feet above the sea, from whence it rises towards the west to the height of nearly 9000 feet near the capital, and gradually diminishes to 4000 feet towards the Pacific. Its coasts are washed by two great oceans; and although the descent from this immense table-land is rapid and precipitous, wherever the surface of the interior is not traversed by mountain ranges it is almost as level as the sea.

One of those great lines of volcanic action which furrow the surface of the earth extends from the Gulf of Mexico to the Pacific, directly across the table-land before described, to within about sixteen miles from the city of Mexico; and there exists a very remarkable series of extinct or dormant volcanoes, through which the internal fires of the globe formerly found a vent. Popocatepetl, the loftiest of these volcanic cones, and, indeed, the loftiest mountain in Mexico, being 17,884 feet above the sea, has not been in eruption within recorded time, but over its crater is still frequently suspended a cloud of sulphurous vapour, and smoke is still occasionally seen to issue from its summit. Within its cavernous recesses are inexhaustible deposits of sulphur which have been the source of considerable wealth. One was discovered by accident. A despairing bankrupt merchant, who had determined to put an end to his existence by descending into the crater of Popocatepetl, persuaded his guides to lower him into it by ropes. He believed that he had only to breathe the sulphurous fumes and die. Passing rapidly into the vast chasm, he suddenly felt all oppression cease, and he found himself in a spacious hall ornamented by fluted columns of a glassy lustre, and supporting a dome of glittering yellow crystals lit up by countless flickering jets of gas. For a moment he believed that he had passed the portals of death, and had entered another but not a better world. He stood in a sulphur cavern where the air was pure, the ascending vapours being condensed at the top of the crater. Giving

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Giving a concerted signal to the guides, he was rapidly drawn to the surface. He had made a great discovery, and he instantly perceived that it might be made a source of incalculable wealth. The sulphur mine thus singularly found speedily restored his fortunes, and he became one of the richest merchants in Mexico.*

The great central mass of the Mexican plateau consists principally of a trachytic porphyry, and is in many places abundantly rich in veins of silver ore. The tops of the hills are often crowned with basaltic columns, but a soft porous amygdaloid characterises the high lands near the coasts. Extinct craters abound along the whole line of volcanic action, and fields of lava frequently occur, which have not yet been disintegrated by the action of the elements into a cultivable soil. Limestone deposits repose on the slopes of the great volcanic masses towards the coast, and in a still lower region the sandstone formation displays itself at no great elevation above the plains. This peculiar geological formation has given to some of the scenery of Mexico a very striking character. In the mountainous region, and clustering round the great snowy peaks, are multitudes of sombre hills of wild and varied outline. Glens, bounded by perpendicular precipices, glow with the brilliant vegetation of the tropics; crags, piled one upon another in tiers, support in their crevices gigantic oaks which balance themselves as it were by their outstretched arms over gorges of frightful depth, while the summits, like the capitals of stupendous columns, are crowned with graceful firs.

On almost the edge of the great table-land stands the noblest city erected by the Spaniards in the New World, and in a situation unrivalled by any on the surface of the globe. Long the capital of New Spain, and the residence of the great Spanish viceroy, no metropolis has ever presented a more striking spectacle of opulence and splendour than Mexico. The mansions of great Spanish families were built of porphyry. Public fountains, refracting all the prismatic hues under a brilliant sun, sparkled in every street; noble squares, broad lakes, stately avenues, and gardens dazzling the eye by the profusion and splendour of their flowers, formed a combination of magnificence and beauty calculated to overpower the imagination, and to throw a spell over the senses. Notwithstanding its moral desolation, this gorgeous capital still possesses attractions which few others on earth can present, and with the exception perhaps of Rio de Janeiro, the scenery which surrounds it is unrivalled in the Old World and in the New.

* This story is narrated circumstantially by Von Tempsky, who adds that he himself saw projecting over the crater the poles from which the merchant had been let down, and which remained there as a memorial of the event.

Vegetation

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Vegetation in Mexico varies with the temperature, from the burning shores of Vera Cruz and Mazatlan to the icy summit of Popocatepetl. There are three distinct and well-defined climates, giving a nomenclature to as many different regions, namely, the hot, the temperate, and the cold; and a traveller may in a single day pass from the region of perpetual snow to the heat and vegetation of the tropics. No country possesses a richer flora. The cactus everywhere displays its gorgeous scarlet or bright yellow blossoms, either bursting from rocky crevices or rising from the sandy soil on stems growing to a height of twenty feet. Convolvuli, which oppress the senses by their heavy perfume, grow in such wild profusion as to stifle the growth even of the sturdy maize. A passionate admiration which amounted almost to an idolatry of flowers was strangely blended in the Aztec people with a religion of blood.*

Of all the vegetables which furnish nourishment to man, the banana is the most prolific. A single cluster often contains 160 to 180 pods, and weighs from sixty to eighty pounds. A piece of land 120 yards square, Humboldt says, will produce 4000 pounds weight of fruit, while the same area will rarely produce more than thirty pounds weight of wheat, or eighty pounds of potatoes. Maize is, however, the most important of the cereal productions of Mexico. It is indigenous, and thrives even at an elevation of 8,400 feet. It is the principal food alike of human beings and of the lower animals—the luxury of the rich and the necessity of the poor. In the valleys the returns of maize range from a hundred and twenty-five to two hundred and fifty for one;† and the best irrigated land has been known to produce five hundred for one. In the hot region two and sometimes three crops are raised within the year. The agriculture being yet extremely rude and imperfect, and water being the only fertilizer, this amazing increase must be referred to the fertility of the soil. The Indian makes holes in the ground with a stick, drops in the seed, and in ninety days he plucks the ripened ears; and he can repeat the process throughout the year, according to his wants. Of all the indigenous products of America, maize is perhaps the one which has proved of

* Six thousand human victims were annually immolated on the altar of Huitzilopchtli, and at the inauguration of the grand temple of the god thirty-three years before the conquest seventy thousand were slaughtered. The procession extended to a length of four miles.—Chevalier's 'Mexico.'

† 'On some particularly favoured spots has been known,' Dr. Hartweg says, 'the incredible increase of eight hundred to one. Maize contains nearly as much albumen as the best wheat, and there are numerous modes of dressing it, by which it is converted into wholesome and nutritious food. The value of the maize produced in the United States in 1853 was estimated at 48,000,000*l.*'—'Tropical World.'

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the greatest value to Europe. The gold which Columbus presented to his Sovereign as the most precious production of a country abounding in precious things, did not typify its real wealth; it was more appropriately represented by the golden ears of maize which he brought from the distant land. It has found congenial climates and soils in Europe, and has enriched its agriculture to an incalculable extent. Wheat, barley, and most of the other European grains are cultivated in the temperate region. The state of Puebla is famous for the fine quality of its wheat, and such is the productiveness of the soil that the yield is frequently twenty-five bushels for one. The agricultural produce of Mexico has hitherto been almost entirely limited to the wants of its population, and the extent of ground under tillage is not equal to one-eighth of the area of the country. The production of sugar will probably hereafter form one of the most important branches of its agricultural industry. The Mexican cane is said to possess a much larger quantity of saccharine matter than that of any other country, and it is abundantly productive at the elevation of 4000 feet.* Humboldt states that a hectare of the best land in the province of Vera Cruz will produce 5600 pounds of raw sugar, or exactly double the amount obtained in the island of Cuba from the same quantity of land. There is at present no exportation of sugar from Mexico; enough is not raised even for home consumption; but from its enormous yield and excellent quality, its cultivation must speedily become an object of first attention, and constitute one of the most important of the exports of the country.

The coffee-tree grows wild in many parts of Mexico. Excellent coffee has been produced in the State of Jalisco, but the best is grown in the State of Vera Cruz, and it is said to be equal to that produced in any other part of the world. It is grown in great quantities and of the best quality along the whole Pacific coast. For its successful cultivation coffee requires a peculiar climate; the mean yearly temperature must be at least 68°, and the thermometer should never fall below 55°. The best situations for its growth, therefore, are not sultry alluvial plains, but mountain slopes with an elevation of about 4500 feet. It is said to thrive best on soil which has been covered for ages with primeval jungle. Large portions of the temperate regions of Mexico fulfil all the required conditions, and, judging from the great success of the recent coffee cultivation on the Neilgherry Hills and other equally favourable localities in British

* In regions screened from the winds of the north, the sugar plantations of Rio Verde, to the north of Guanaxuato, are above 6500 feet high, and there were sugar estates even in the valley of Mexico in the time of Cortez.

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India, Mexico might supply Europe with some of the finest qualities which have ever been imported.

Cacao * has greatly risen in price since its increased consumption in Europe, but Mexico can supply it in unlimited quantities and of as good a quality as that of Guatemala. The productive powers of the cacao-shrub are almost unlimited. 'Never,' says Humboldt, 'shall I forget the deep impression made upon me by the luxuriance of tropical vegetation on first seeing a cacao-plantation. After a damp night, large blossoms of the theobroma issue from the root at a considerable distance from the trunk, emerging from the deep black mould. A more striking example of the productive powers of life could hardly be met with in organic nature.' As the trees are incapable of bearing the scorching heat of the sun, bananas, manioc, and other broad-leaved plants are grown between the rows, and the cacao thus obtains the damp and sultry warmth which is indispensable to its growth—the plant being essentially a tropical one, and requiring even a greater degree of heat than the sugar-cane. Vanilla, which is so much used in imparting a peculiar flavour to chocolate, the ultimate and most refined product of cacao, is like ivy, and either climbs the loftiest trees or creeps along damp rocks and crevices on the banks of streams. Chocolate flavoured with vanilla was one of the delicacies with which Montezuma entertained Cortez. This parasitical plant is much cultivated in Mexico, but it grows spontaneously on many parts of the coast. It has become one of the chief articles of export from Vera Cruz. Two villages alone annually produce two millions of pods, which sell at Vera Cruz for a shilling a pod. It is planted under shady trees on damp ground, but, as a thousand blossoms seldom produce more than one pod, it must always be a rare and expensive luxury. 'The large flowers,' says Dr. Hartweg, 'which fill the forest with their delicious odour, are white intermixed with stripes of red and yellow, and are succeeded by long and slender pods containing many seeds embedded in a thick, oily, and balsamic pulp. These pods seldom ripen in the wild state; for the dainty monkey knows no greater delicacy, and his agility in climbing almost always enables him to anticipate man.' †

Cotton was found by the Spaniards among the indigenous plants of Mexico. The clothing of the people was made exclusively from it. Its cultivation fell off after the conquest, but there was a time when the export of cotton from Mexico exceeded that from the United States.‡ The plant still grows in

* Commonly known as Cocoa. † The 'Tropical World,' p. 201.
‡ Chevalier's 'Mexico.'

almost

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almost every part of the country, even on the high lands 5000 feet above the sea, but the finest qualities are produced in the moist coast regions. It can be grown to an almost unlimited extent on the banks of the Bravo del Norte, and also in the State of Vera Cruz and over the whole extent of the Pacific coast. The cotton plant of Mexico possesses the valuable property of not being injured or checked by frost, but continues flowering and forming pods until it is found expedient to root it up. Some of the varieties are said to be very fine, particularly one which is raised on the West coast between Acapulco and Columa, where both the soil and climate are highly favourable to its growth. Vast regions on both sides of the Cordillera are admirably adapted for cotton cultivation, as are the table-lands of moderate elevation. White labour might be there advantageously employed, as the lands lie beyond the range of malaria, and the climate is perfectly salubrious. It was with considerable surprise that we noticed the remarks made by M. Thiers in the recent debate on Mexico in the French Legislative Chamber on the impossibility of cultivating cotton by reason of the pestilential climate. Such an opinion can have no application to the districts above referred to. The annual production is certainly at present inconsiderable, not even meeting the requirements of the factories established in the country, and does not much exceed in the aggregate 25,000 bales; but no doubt can be entertained of the capability of Mexico to produce sufficient to supply the world if the requisite labour could be obtained.

Tobacco of very excellent quality is grown in the State of Vera Cruz and in the neighbourhood of Tepic, and will eventually become an article of considerable export. The plant equals in quality the first growths of Cuba, but its manufacture has been entirely neglected. Indigo grows wild, as do flax and hemp, and where they are artificially cultivated the produce is large. The valuable little insect from whose body is extracted the bright scarlet dye is of some importance to Mexico, as the fine species is, we believe, unknown elsewhere, except in Guatemala. The Mexican State of Oajaca is celebrated for its cochineal. There are two species of the insect—the wild and the domesticated. The wild (which is of no value) is found in several parts of the world. The 'crop' of the years 1854 and 1855 in the State of Oajaca alone weighed 2,000,000 lbs., and was valued at 200,000*l*. England has a peculiar interest in the cochineal; and the scarlet uniforms of our army are due to the minute creature which lives, and moves, and has its being on the leaves of the Mexican cactus, which is planted over extensive districts for its especial use.

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In addition to these, the staple productions of Mexico, might be mentioned medicinal plants of great variety, and valuable trees of much importance in commerce. With such productions —some growing in wild abundance and others capable of an indefinite increase by cultivation—Mexico might become one of the largest exporting countries in the world, and might come to esteem gold and silver as among the least valuable of its resources.

The great staple of Mexico has hitherto been silver. It has been almost exclusively by that metal that it has paid for the commodities which it required from Europe. The annual silver coinage, we learn on the authority of a gentleman who presided for many years over one of the principal mints, amounted until recently to about 20,000,000 dollars, to which may be added 7,000,000 dollars' worth of the metal which was smuggled uncoined out of the country, the two sums combined representing the net annual silver production. A large proportion of this came to England, and enabled her to meet the demands for the metal by India. Humboldt has expressed a hope that the Mexicans would some day turn their attention to producing articles of intrinsic value, and not those which are merely a sign to represent it. But silver and gold are as much articles of intrinsic value to the producer as coffee, spices, or sugar. The same great traveller stated as a fact, corroborated by the highest authority, that two-thirds of all the silver circulating in the world was the produce of the Mexican mines. The mineral resources of Mexico, however, can scarcely be said to have been yet even explored. There has been no geological survey, and its richest mining district, Sonora, is still almost a terra incognita. Humboldt may some day be proved to have been fully justified in the expression of his apprehension that, should the mineral wealth of Mexico be ever thoroughly developed, Europe would be again inundated, as in the sixteenth century, with silver. That the quantity which has hitherto been raised might be tripled with ease no person acquainted with the country can entertain a doubt; for, since it has been found profitable to work the poor ores, which occur in inexhaustible masses, silver mining has become a much more regular and steady pursuit. It was formerly carried on very clumsily. When water was reached the mine was abandoned; but, notwithstanding the unscientific method of working which prevailed, the yield was sometimes immense. A single vein, only 100 feet in length, produced in six months 432,274 lbs. troy of silver, valued at 1,000,000*l.* The great mine of La Luz, in the province of Guanaxuato, produced annually for five years a net profit of 1,000,000*l.*; it then suddenly fell off in productiveness and was afterwards abandoned.

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abandoned. The veins are sometimes most capricious both in their continuance and in their yield. Deposits of enormous thickness often contract in depth and dwindle to the form of a wedge. Others, which present every indication of indefinite extension, suddenly diminish to a thread. Notwithstanding this uncertainty, silver mining in Mexico is a favourite, and, on the whole, a profitable pursuit, and much native capital is embarked in it. At the time of Humboldt's visit there were 500 mining establishments in the country, and from 3000 to 4000 veins or masses of rock were worked. One of these veins, in the State of Guanaxuato, from 130 to 140 feet wide, was worked to the length of eight miles.

The geological character of the districts in which the silver ores occur varies considerably. In the great central plateau of Anahuac they are found in porphyry characterized by the constant presence of hornblende, and the almost entire absence of quartz. In other places the deposits occur in sienite. In Guanaxuato, probably the richest mineral district of Mexico, the ore lies in a formation of clay-slate, while in some places it is embedded in transition limestone. The only auriferous veins worked as gold-mines are in Oaxaco, where they traverse formations of gneiss and mica-slate; but many of the silver veins contain a proportion of gold which is separated from the silver by the well known process in metallurgy called parting.

'Of the excellence of the mines of Mexico,' wrote Mr. Ward in 1827, 'no doubt can be entertained; for if ever mining was reduced to a certainty, it was so in Mexico before the revolution. There might be fluctuations, but they originated not in the mines, but in causes totally unconnected with them, which rendered the supply of quicksilver and other indispensable articles more or less precarious.'* It is in the immense masses of ore which they are capable of producing, and not in the proportion of silver contained in it, that the riches of the chief mining districts consist, for the produce of silver in proportion to the rock operated upon did not previously to the revolution, according to the best Spanish authorities, exceed 2½ ounces to the hundred-weight. The large capitals invested by the old Spaniards in the mines were almost entirely withdrawn after the revolution, and we have the high authority of Mr. Ward for the statement that there never was a greater spirit of enterprise, more liberality, or, in general, better faith displayed in any part of the world than among the miners of Mexico before the year 1810. Unexampled prosperity was their reward; but after the great convulsions of

* Ward's 'Mexico.'

1810,

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1810, 1811, and 1812, little remained to denote amidst the general wreck the epoch of splendour which immediately preceded it.

There is scarcely a town in Mexico that does not owe its origin directly or indirectly to the mines, and considerable cities have survived the prosperity which gave them birth. Almost the whole landed property in the country was before the revolution in the hands of nobles or others who had made fortunes by successful mining, and agriculture has followed the direction of mining adventure. There are few instances in which a district of known richness has disappointed the hopes of those who possessed the means of thoroughly exploring it. The chances of loss diminish in proportion to the extent of the operations; for although a poor miner may lose his all by working upon an ill-chosen spot, few instances have occurred in which a district of known richness has failed to make a profitable return. Some of the mines have proved singularly rich, as the great mine of La Luz, to which reference has been made, to which may be added the mine of Zavala, which produced 4,000,000 dollars' worth of silver in two years, and the metalliferous dust collected at the mouth of the mine was eagerly bought by proprietors of amalgamation works, who travelled from fifty to sixty leagues for the purpose of obtaining it, at the rate of one dollar for the pound of ore. Workings of this high return are not, however, the most enduring, and the greatest losses in Mexican mining have been occasioned by the injudicious search for rich veins, while the comparatively poor were neglected. The great Real del Monte mine, to the operations of which we shall presently advert, raised annually 30,000 tons of ore, from every ton of which is extracted sixty ounces of silver; or a six-feet cube of pure metal was produced from a cube of seventy-four feet of rock.

This mine, or rather group of mines, affords one of the most striking illustrations of the fluctuations of prosperity on record. Prior to the year 1749 little was known of the Real del Monte, except that it had yielded considerable quantities of silver from irregular and detached surface-workings, and it was temporarily abandoned, as the difficulty of keeping the water under increased; but having been taken in hand by the celebrated Count de Regla, he pursued the rich veins to the depth of two hundred yards from the surface, employing for pumping five thousand mules. He thus extracted, at a comparatively small cost, up to the time of his death in 1781, silver to the value of 15,000,000 dollars. In 1798 the mines were abandoned, from the impossibility with the means at command of longer contending with the water. In 1824 they were taken up by an English Company, machinery of enormous power was transported from England to Vera

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Vera Cruz, and from thence at immense cost to the mines. They were found quite as rich as had been anticipated, but the result of twenty-three years of energetic working was that, although the mines had produced 10,481,475 dollars' worth of silver, the expenditure had reached the larger sum of 15,381,633 dollars, leaving a loss of nearly 5,000,000 of dollars. It is scarcely surprising that the energy and perseverance even of English adventurers should have been exhausted after so long a period of heavy outlay and hopes deferred. The English Company was accordingly dissolved, and its mines and property were sold to a Company of Mexican adventurers.

One of the veins which had been acquired by the English Company, but which had been neglected by reason of the comparative poverty of its ores, was then worked energetically by the new Company. It is now the Rosario Mine. The sum of 6000*l.* only was expended in putting it into working order, and this was repaid by the produce of the following year. At the end of twelve years the working of the Rosario Mine has resulted in the net profit of 8,836,205 dollars, or 1,769,041*l.* During the latter portion of this period, however, the mine so much improved that in the five years terminating in December, 1862, a clear profit of 986,109*l.* was realized, being at the rate of 246,527*l.* per annum.*

* It may be interesting, as illustrating the prospects of silver mining in Mexico, to give a tabular statement of the cost and profit of the Rosario Mine for a period of ten years, ending December, 1862, which we are enabled to do from official documents.

ROSARIO MINE.

Date.	Silver Produce. Value.	Cost.	Profit.
	Dollars.	Dollars.	Dollars.
1851	169,422	89,375	80,063
1852	424,037	212,379	211,844
1853	863,365	415,242	388,110
1854	1,076,851	584,449	492,403
1855	1,298,783	785,004	563,779
1856	1,789,879	993,502	796,379
1857	1,730,656	1,034,346	696,310
1858	1,561,240	891,467	669,773
1859	2,221,877	1,098,677	1,123,200
1860	2,485,366	1,138,389	1,346,977
1861	2,563,967	1,238,394	1,325,573
1862	2,302,835	1,162,039	1,140,796
Total	18,488,278	9,643,063	8,835,205
Sterling Value about ..	£ 3,697,655	£ 1,928,612	£ 1,767,041

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The group of mountains in which the mines of the Real del Monte are situated is from 1000 to 3500 feet above the level of the plain which runs for about sixty miles nearly on a level from their foot to the city of Mexico. Within this group there are three principal mining districts, namely, the Real del Monte, the Pachuca, and El Chico. The Real del Monte may be said to have acquired all the principal mines of that district, and also those of Pachuca, but there are many places not included in their rights in which other Rosarios may lie hid. An English Company is now at work near Rosario, in the hope of obtaining a similar prize. The town of Real del Monte enjoys a delightful climate, and at no great distance from it is the village of St. Sebastian, lying at the bottom of one of those glens or barrancas so frequent on the table-lands of Mexico. From the edge of a stupendous precipice the spectator may look down a perpendicular gorge 2500 feet in depth. St. Sebastian possesses a high temperature, and supplies Real del Monte with pine-apples, oranges, plantains, and other tropical fruits. In the descent to it from Real del Monte, a distance of twelve miles, a traveller may pass in winter, in three hours, from a region of ice to one of the sugar-cane and the banana.

The medium elevation at which the silver ores are found is a great element in their successful working. In Peru, the most considerable of the silver mines are found at heights bordering on the region of perpetual snow. Plains, where water freezes throughout the year, and where not a tree or a shrub affords shelter from the cutting blast, do not form attractive habitations even for the most adventurous miners. The hope of acquiring sudden wealth could scarcely reconcile men to a residence among the icy peaks of the Andes, where the price of a lean sheep is ten and a bullock twenty pounds sterling.* In Mexico the richest silver mines have been found in the temperate region, at a medium height of from 5580 to 6562 feet, where the climate is highly congenial to health, and where the conveniences of life can be produced in abundance. M. Thiers, in the debate to which we have before referred, stated not only that the mineral wealth of Mexico had been greatly exaggerated, but that the mining districts were unsuited for the habitation of man. Both of these statements are notoriously incorrect. Cornish miners who work in the mines enjoy as good health as in their native country; and with respect to the mineral poverty of Mexico, it is certain that the central plateau of Anahuac, a tract comprehended between the fourteenth and twenty-first degrees of

* Bollaert's 'Researches in Peru, Chili, &c.,' p. 240.

latitude,

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latitude, is one enormous dyke of porphyritic rock containing inexhaustible deposits of silver which for their extent and richness are unequalled in the world.

It would be impossible to state with anything approaching to accuracy the total value of the gold and silver produced and exported from Mexico since the period of its independence; and it would be equally vain to affect any statistical exactness in giving the total amount of the precious metals which Mexico has yielded from the conquest to the present time. Smuggling has been the inveterate evil of the country from the first establishment of the Spanish dominion: all calculations, therefore, founded on official returns would be delusive. It may, however, be affirmed with certainty that no other country has yet contributed to the specie of the world in anything like the same proportion, for the flow of silver from this perennial source has never ceased; and its probable steady increase from the Mexican mines may be regarded with much satisfaction. We now confidently look to Mexico to supply the desired increase in this metal, for it would be very inconvenient if an insufficient supply of silver should lead to a permanent rise in its value in comparison with gold. We are told by a high authority* that the annual consumption of silver in the United Kingdom in 1831 was 3,282,064 ozs., valued at 820,521*l.*; and, on the same authority, the annual consumption of gold and silver for ornamental purposes in Europe and America was 6,000,000*l.* Silver still forms by far the largest proportion of ornamental and other articles made of the precious metals, and since 1831 the consumption of the metal in the arts has doubtless enormously increased. Recent explorations have proved the existence of a very rich copper district in the State of Guerrero, on the Pacific coast, upwards of 150 miles in extent; but, unlike many other mineral regions of Mexico, it labours under the serious disadvantage of a want of water, which must prove an obstacle to its effective working.

Three millions of British capital were invested in the Mexican mines in the year 1837, a period of extravagant expectations and disappointed hopes which is not yet forgotten in the City of London. Many companies were then launched which did not possess the elements of eventual success. But undertakings even of the soundest character were exposed to a ruinous competition, which compelled many companies to submit to whatever terms were dictated by Mexican proprietors. The mines, moreover, were no sooner rendered productive by British enter-

* Jacob's 'Inquiry into the Production and Consumption of the Precious Metals.'

prise,

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prise than the owners were harassed by questions of disputed titles and fictitious claims, which involved them in constant litigation. It was found impossible to enforce the performance of contracts; and the country was in so disordered a state, that it was necessary to arm the miners, and in some cases to protect the mines by artillery. Serious errors were also committed in the management. One Company expended 30,000*l.* in machinery, not one-twentieth of which was or ever could have been made use of. The want of a previous knowledge of the country was also severely felt, and, in more instances than one, it led to failures where the character of the mines afforded prospects of the most brilliant success. With a settled Government and good laws, the attention of European capitalists may be again directed to the silver mines of Mexico, which, under European superintendence, promise returns not inferior to those that were obtained in the last century by the successful miners of Old Spain.

Mexico will doubtless soon become the centre of a great commercial movement, but impoverished and insolvent as it is, it cannot be regenerated in a day. The revenue when it was a viceroyalty of New Spain averaged about 4,000,000*l.*, of which one half was expended in defraying the expenses of the Government, and the other half was transmitted to the Royal Treasury at Madrid. Since the Independence little reliance can be placed on any official statements of revenue and expenditure, but they show an average annual income of between 3,000,000*l.* and 4,000,000*l.* The commerce of the country has recently greatly declined; but the annual shipments of silver by the latest returns amounted to between 4,000,000*l.* and 5,000,000*l.* sterling. The capacity of Mexico to maintain a great foreign commerce cannot be doubted. The population, according to the latest Census, was 8,283,088, and the area of the country contains 66,482 square miles, being thus considerably greater in proportion to the superficies than in the Federal States of America; one and a half times greater than in Canada; nearly twice as great as in Chili; four times as great as in Brazil; and three times the average of the whole of South America.* Although injudicious attempts have been made to force cotton manufactures in Mexico, it is improbable that they will ever compete successfully with the productions of foreign looms.

The present very imperfect communications are a serious obstruction to commerce, and greatly enhance the price of commodities. A great portion of Mexico is much in the same condition with respect to roads as Europe was in the middle ages. Mer-

* Lempriere's 'Mexico,' p. 194.

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chandise is still transported for thousands of miles on the backs of mules; and although the period for railways may not come at once, a few good ordinary roads would speedily augment the traffic between the provinces and the coast. Mexico is not provided by nature with any great system of river communication. The Rio Bravo del Norte, since the loss of Texas, has become only a boundary stream, and the Colorado now no longer runs through Mexican territory. The other rivers are small and shallow. The rapid declivities of the Cordillera give rise to torrents rather than to streams. That a great increase of trade will spring up under an enlightened government may be inferred from the present very limited consumption of foreign commodities as compared with that of other American States. Canada imports at the rate of 19·16 dollars per head, Chili 12·70, Brazil 8·96, but Mexico only 3·14. With importations in the same ratio to population as those of Chili, Mexico ought to consume foreign goods to the value of 20,000,000*l.* per annum.

England is interested to a far greater extent than all other countries in the foreign debt of Mexico.* It is to England that it is indebted for the means of first constituting itself a republic, and of commencing, amidst the applause of the constitutional states of Europe, the great experiment of self-government which has so egregiously failed. There never was any doubt of the ability of the republic to perform all its engagements if its rulers had not shamelessly dissipated its resources. The history of the Mexican debt is a very mortifying one to the English bondholders. The creditors have sacrificed at different times, in the hope of future punctuality in the payment of dividends, the enormous sum of 12,000,000*l.* The last 'conversion' took place in 1850, when the creditors submitted to a permanent reduction of interest from 5*l.* to 3*l.* per cent., a transaction which benefited Mexico to the extent of 5,000,000*l.* It will scarcely be believed that, notwithstanding this great and perhaps impolitic sacrifice, only one full dividend has since been paid even at the reduced rate of interest.

In an able work on Mexico, written more than thirty years ago,† it was stated that although, from the peculiar formation of the country, the agricultural wealth of the table-lands was not likely to be brought into the European market, the productions of the coast would certainly form in the course of a few years a very considerable mass of exportable commodities, and, in conjunction with the precious metals, would render the ex-

* The foreign debt amounts to about 24,000,000*l.*
† Ward's 'Mexico.'

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ternal trade of Mexico highly important to Europe; while the absence of manufactures must give to the internal consumption of the country a commercial importance which none of the new States of America would possess to the same extent. Mexico contains nearly one half of the population of the former colonies of Spain, and possesses probably the largest share of the mineral and vegetable riches of the New World; but the high rate of interest (from 10 to 12 per cent.) indicates not merely the want of capital, but the absence of good laws for its protection. With a soil which produces food with the slightest application of labour, Mexico ought to be peopled as densely as any portion of the globe, and there is abundant evidence that it did once possess a very large population. The extensive ruins of Indian towns and villages which are found in the temperate regions indicate the former existence of a dense agricultural population. To what extent these places were depopulated before the war of the Spanish Conquest it is now impossible to ascertain. The greater the elevation of the region the more marked are the traces of primitive settlements. The same peculiarity has been noticed in Peru, where great cities flourished in regions which now present only an aspect of savage desolation. An explanation has been suggested of this anomaly, namely, the constitution of the first settlers, who probably migrated from the north, and who would therefore naturally prefer a climate somewhat resembling that of their original home. The Spanish invaders themselves were influenced by this feeling; for, leaving the sultry but fertile belt of the banana and the sugar cane, they settled in the more congenial district of barley and wheat. 'If we descend,' Mr. Tylor says in his valuable and instructive work, 'from the level of the Mexican plateau, 8000 feet above the sea, we find that less and less labour will provide nourishment for the cultivator of the soil until we reach the limits of the banana, where the inhabitants ought to be crowded together like Chinese in their rice grounds, or the inhabitants of Egypt in the time of Herodotus. Exactly the opposite rule takes effect. The banana country is a mere wilderness, and the higher the traveller rises the more abundant become both the present population and the remains of ancient settlements.'*

When Cortez entered the capital, there were, according to Bernal Diaz, several great cities situated on the banks of the lakes Tezcoco and Chalco. Mexico contained 300,000 souls, and Tezcoco is said to have possessed a population of 150,000.

* 'Mexico and the Mexicans,' p. 305.

Other

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Other cities, as Talapulipan, Xichimilco, and Propotla, are also mentioned as being of the first importance. Of all these not one remains except the capital, and the only traces of their former existence consist of a few miserable villages which still bear those names. In other districts there is the same evidence that the population has disappeared.* Cholula, the remains of which are situated about two leagues from Puebla, can scarcely have been inferior to the modern city. From the era of the conquest the population of that part of the country must have steadily declined. Humboldt says 'you may travel for more than an hour along the ruins of more than one ancient city. We thus perceive, as on the road to Totacula and Iztapalapan, how much smaller is the Mexico rebuilt by Cortez than the capital of the last of the Montezumas. The enormous size of the ancient market, the limits of which are distinctly discernible, proves how very considerable must have been the population of the old city.' †

The future of Mexico must depend upon the reversal of this depopulating process, which has converted some of the finest districts into a wilderness. Few countries offer greater attractions to European emigrants. The climate, soil, and boundless mineral resources, are all calculated to invite settlers. Situated half-way between the east and the west, and forming, as it were, the bridge over which a great portion of the commerce of two vast continents will probably hereafter be conveyed, with an Atlantic sea-board of upwards of 1200 miles, and the Pacific washing 900 miles of its western coast, Mexico ought to become one of the most flourishing countries of the American continent. The United States were indebted for their marvellous progress and prosperity chiefly to immigration. It is the only part of the American policy which Mexico will do well to imitate. China might supply an unlimited number of sturdy and industrious labourers who would find in Mexico a much more favourable reception and better treatment than they have met with from the Anglo-Saxon race either in California or in Australia; and many of the German emigrants will probably prefer Mexico when ruled by a Prince of the House of Hapsburg to any other portion of the world.

* In addition to the other causes of desolation, we must remember that 'the Spaniards were great cutters down of forests. They rather liked to make their new country bear a resemblance to the arid plains of Castile, wherein, when you arrive at Madrid, people ask you whether you noticed *the tree* on the road; and, moreover, as they wanted wood, they cut it, without troubling themselves to plant for the benefit of future generations. Now, when the trees were cut down, the small plants which grew in their shade died too, and left the bare earth to serve as a kind of natural evaporating apparatus.'—*Tylor*, p. 45.

† 'Essai Politique sur la Nouvelle Espagne,' vol. ii. p. 43.

To

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To raise the character of the indigenous population will be even more important than to encourage immigration. These poor people have been greatly neglected by their rulers; but in a country where education has received so little attention it was not to be expected that the moral and intellectual wants of the native races would be attended to. The Mexican Indians have made less progress in civilization than those of Chili and Peru; they are, however, endowed with as high a capacity for improvement as any of the natives of America. Soon after the Spanish invasion all the wealthy and influential members of the Aztec aristocracy perished, victims to the avarice and cruelty of their Christian conquerors. The Roman Catholic hierarchy was not remiss in the work of extermination; for, failing to convert them, they put to death the Aztec priests, who were the guardians, not only of the religion, but of all the historical traditions of the nation. The Spanish clergy regarded them as priests of Baal whom they had a Divine commission to destroy. Deprived of their natural instructors and guides, the natives fell into a condition of barbarism, and were left in that state by a Christian Government, in order that they might be the more easily enslaved. They were either treated as beasts of burthen or driven into the woods and wilds to starve. Even in the days of Cortez the streets of all the great towns swarmed with beggars; and begging is still the opprobrium of the whole country. The miserable remains of a once powerful nation often compose the banditti of the rural districts, and the 'leperos' in the towns. Mr. Tylor * states that he never met an Indian and asked his name without receiving a false one—a lamentable proof of what centuries of servitude and oppression have done to corrupt an originally pure and ingenuous nature. The Mexican Indian is grave, melancholy, and taciturn, but he exhibits at times considerable haughtiness and dignity of demeanour. He has not forgotten the former greatness of his nation. The Roman Catholic religion has scarcely produced much effect on the character of the race. It did at first little more than substitute the ceremonies of the Church for a worship which possessed some points of resemblance to Judaism and a distorted Christianity. The Aztec religion was one of atonement and purification by blood, and the people were first induced to adopt the Christianity which was presented to them by certain resemblances which it bore to the Mexican creed. The canonized heroes of Mexican history were supplanted by Roman Catholic saints, and the sacred eagle of the Aztecs gave

* 'Mexico,' p. 86.

place

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place to the Christian dove. The chiefs are said to have been, of late, perfectly aware of the corruption of the Government, and to have ruled their tribes with very little reference to either the provincial or the central authorities. They certainly have everything to learn; but the southern communities do not, like their fiercer brethren of the north, shun the contact of civilization. These savage hordes have never been subdued; and neither the troops of Mexico nor those of the United States have yet been able to make any permanent impression upon them. Many tracts of great fertility and abounding in mineral wealth do not, in consequence, possess a single civilized inhabitant. The subjection and future civilization of these wild tribes, which at present form an obstacle to the settlement of some of the finest portions of the Mexican territory, will tax the energy and patience of the new Government for a considerable time to come.

The Mexican army has been the ready instrument of those unprincipled chiefs who have successively ruled in the name of the Republic. Its ranks were filled by conscription, and from them have issued the countless gangs of robbers and murderers which made Mexico the disgrace of civilization. The Government was, however, often obliged to resort to the public prisons to supplement the conscription. A moral poison was thus introduced, which infected the whole mass. The infantry often marched without shoes, the cavalry buckled spurs on their bare heels, and their whole equipment would have excited the laughter of the poorest Cossack. The officers, decked in threadbare and faded finery, were only a little higher in the scale of respectability than the men—'the refuse of all other professions; sons of families just respectable enough to imbue them with pretensions to the outward badges of a gentleman, but who never attempted to carry the imitation further.' *

Such were the component elements of the army which was used chiefly for effecting Mexican revolutions. The first act of these serio-comic melo-dramas generally consisted of a 'pronunciamiento.' An officer of high rank, or sometimes a colonel, declared himself opposed to some specific Government measure. He assembled a company, or perhaps a regiment, with which he had some personal connexion, harangued it, and persuaded it to adopt his alleged grievance. The next step was to publish the movement by a proclamation, called the 'grito' or cry. The cry, if adopted, was then raised to the dignity of a 'plan.' If the leader of the movement found that he did not receive adequate support, he, in the jargon of the country,

* Von Tempsky, p. 89.

'depronounced;'

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'depronounced;' if he won over the local authorities to his side, he marched upon the capital, made a triumphal entry amidst the thunder of artillery and acclamations of the mob; the city was resplendent at night with fireworks; he became dictator of the republic for perhaps a year, and his rival embarked from Vera Cruz for Europe, taking with him a handsome sum for supporting him in his retirement. The very last scene of the Mexican Republic closed with a military scandal. General Doblado and another Juarist chief, Don Porfirio Garcia, having in prospect the necessity of a speedy embarkation, forwarded considerable sums of money to Manzanilla and San Blas, two ports on the Pacific coast. A million of the dollars thus in course of transmission were captured by the French; and General Diaz, in charge of the rest, was relieved of them by his own troops.

It would be difficult to point to any portion of the world that has been the scene of a more prolonged and disreputable political anarchy than the country to which an Austrian Archduke is now on his way to build up a stable government, upon the ruin of what was once very inappropriately termed the edifice of Mexican freedom. The independence of Mexico was recognized by the principal Powers of Europe in 1821, and from that period to the present it has passed through thirty-six revolutions, and seventy-two different personages have figured as the high executive officers of the state. The form of government was a Federal Republic, and it was avowedly framed on the model of the United States. Independently of the defects inseparable from such a system, it may be doubted whether any constitution could have been less suited to the country which unfortunately adopted it. The population had received no preparatory training for the working of free institutions, for all power had been formerly centralized in the great representative of the Spanish monarchy. To the unhappy selection of its form of government, therefore, almost all the evils which have since befallen Mexico may be traced. To have supposed that a country more than three times as large as France, but with a population of less than one-fifth, and half of that population consisting of barbarous Indians, could be governed on a system adapted only for a highly-civilized people, was one of the wildest and most extravagant chimeras that ever entered into the imagination of man.

The Empire of 1822, although of very brief duration, in consequence of certain personal disqualifications inherent in the elected sovereign, received a large measure of public support. It must be regarded as a national protest of the respectable and influential classes against the institution of a Democratic Republic. We shall advert in a future page to this period of Mexican history,

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history, remarking for the present that the firm establishment of a monarchy at that time would probably have saved Mexico from that rapid descent into anarchy which has no parallel in modern times. Parties, it has been sometimes said, are inseparable from free States, but the contests which have been unceasingly carried on in Mexico have not been contests of principle, for, in the European acceptation of the term, there have been no political parties in Mexico. The country has been divided into two factions, the one terming itself 'liberal,' and the other 'reactionary;' both have been composed of military adventurers, of whom the greater number had emerged from the lowest ranks of society, and were supported by a certain number of armed partisans. These men rarely even affected any consistency of political principle. There is scarcely one who has not changed sides and sold his cause and himself again and again. Whatever may have been their party cries, their actions were almost identically the same. On acquiring the temporary command of the resources of the State, their first object was to gorge themselves and their followers with its spoil. So recently as 1861, the Government, while declaring its inability to satisfy the smallest pecuniary claim, was known to have appropriated six millions of hard dollars within a period of six months.* Juarez entered the capital in 1860, with the cries 'The Constitution,' 'Reform,' 'Liberty of the Press,' inscribed on his banners; but in two months he violated every one of the principles which he thus proclaimed. These factions were a minority of the nation, but they were an armed minority, and they possessed an audacity and energy before which respectable citizens quailed. The mass of the nation, which had no personal interest in the predominance of any party, was paralysed by the ferocity of the republican chiefs, who robbed them of their property by a succession of forced loans, and never scrupled, when necessary, to resort to the most outrageous acts of violence to supply their pressing wants. In the deplorable condition to which the country was thus reduced, civil war raging with scarcely any intermission from one extremity of it to the other, the idea of foreign intervention naturally often presented itself to the Mexicans themselves. Anarchy had become the chronic distemper of the state. 'All the respectable classes,' wrote Sir C. Wyke,† 'look forward with hope to a foreign intervention as the sole means of saving them from ruin;' and, expressing his own opinion of its necessity, he said, 'I see no hope of improvement,

* Despatch of Sir C. Wyke to Lord Russell. 'Correspondence,' part i. p. 35.
† August, 1861.

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unless it comes from a foreign intervention or the formation of a national Government composed of the leading men of the moderate party, who, however, at present are void of moral courage, and afraid to move unless with some material support from abroad.'* Señor Echeverria, one of the few honest statesmen which Mexico has possessed, expressed a similar opinion, declaring that 'nothing but foreign intervention could save Mexico.'† The most respectable and influential of the British residents addressed Earl Russell in similar language. 'We cannot,' they said, 'but regard the views taken by the Home Government as entirely erroneous with respect to the actual state of this country, and the proposed measures as altogether insufficient to obtain either redress for past injuries, or to insure any sort of confidence for the future.'‡ To suppose that the Mexican people were wedded to their form of government, whatever that may have been (for it would be difficult to define it), would be to suppose that eight millions of people deliberately preferred a state of insecurity to one of order, and a ruthless system of military exaction to regular taxation and a mild but firm administration of the law. The nation has never been in a position to make its deliberate wishes known, for one military usurper succeeded another so rapidly, and acquired so complete a dominion over the State, that elections became a mockery and any constitutional expression of opinion was altogether impossible.

The despatches of the British Minister, written long before any decision had been arrived at by his Government with respect to its policy in Mexico, present the same unvaried picture of a country in a state of complete political dissolution. 'Frightful disorder,' he wrote in 1862, 'reigns throughout the length and breadth of the land; the Congress is occupied in disputing about vain theories of so called government on so called liberal principles, while the respectable part of the population is delivered up defenceless to the attacks of robbers and assassins, who swarm on the high roads and in the streets of the capital. The Constitutional Government is unable to maintain its authority in the various states of the Federation, which are becoming *de facto* perfectly independent, so that the same causes which, under similar circumstances, broke up the confederation of Central America into five separate republics, are now at work here, and will probably produce a like result.' . . . . . In another despatch he says: 'Congress has voted 10,000 dollars apiece for the heads of Marquez and half-a-dozen other chiefs of

* 'Correspondence,' p. 115. † Ibid. p. 128. ‡ Ibid. part i. p. 136.

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the Church party, but there is no probability of the money being called for, which is, so far, fortunate for the credit of Congress, as that sum is not at present to be found in the National Treasury.' Again he writes from the capital: 'Nothing that I can say can give a correct idea of the miserable and disgraceful disorder which now reigns here, and which is another proof, if one were wanted, of the utter incapacity of these people to govern themselves. Hitherto the men of property and intelligence have been completely silenced and domineered over by the rabble, who have elected from their own class the members of a Congress which, besides being a disgrace to the country, renders anything like good government impossible. Murder has now become a matter of such every-day occurrence that it excites little or no attention. Crime is triumphant.'

Similar deplorable representations of the anarchy to which the country was reduced came from the remotest provinces, and similar hopes were expressed of foreign intervention. 'Many of the inland towns,' wrote Her Majesty's Consul for Mazatlan, in 1861, 'have been completely deserted, and others are reduced to ruin, the male population having been compelled to take up arms to follow some adventurer under a political name, or to become common highwaymen, in either case living on the produce of the few honest working people, whose power to feed the idle and destroying portion of the population is taxed to the utmost, and who, after their ruin is accomplished, go to swell the large army of consumers. Foreign intervention is looked forward to, which, if properly conducted, may open up a new era of peace and prosperity.' *

While the capital was thus left to the mercy of robbers and assassins the provinces were the scene of the most daring outrages; and so completely was the country ground down by tyranny and oppression that scarcely a particle of spirit was left in any portion of the nation. A party of seven robbers entering a village containing more than eight hundred inhabitants drew up in the middle of the *plaza*, and sent one of their number to levy contributions on the different houses; but not the smallest resistance was attempted, and the miscreants were allowed to take their departure unmolested, laden with booty. Towns were even razed to the ground and their inhabitants put to death. The Real del Monte Silver Mine was visited by Marquez, and robbed of 80,000 dollars, the houses of the miners broken into and pillaged, and several British subjects murdered in the face of day. In 1858, General Ortega, the only Mexican chief still

* 'Commercial Reports of H. M. Consuls from 1862 to 1863,' p. 285.

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in arms on behalf of the republic, entered the city of Guanaxuato in considerable force with bands playing and colours flying, and drawing up his troops in front of the Anglo-Mexican Mint, took possession of that establishment. He stated to the manager that he had come to the city for the transaction of business, and desired to be conducted to the vaults of the Mint. Sending for a notary-public, he ordered him to take an account of the treasure there deposited, informing the manager at the same time that he was under the necessity of entering into a temporary 'occupation' of it. One hundred and eighty thousand dollars fresh from the mint were piled on the floor. Giving a receipt for that amount, he ordered them to be placed in bags for the convenience of transport by his soldiers, and in a few hours he was again on his march.* The forcible entry of the British Legation, and the abstraction of 600,000 dollars belonging to the British bondholders, vainly supposed to have been secured by the official seal, was the act which might have justly provoked a declaration of war; but outrages which would be classed as in the highest degree criminal if committed by a private individual in a civilised country were the ordinary acts of government in Mexico.

It is impossible to conceive a nation more thoroughly demoralised and degraded than Mexico was when England, France, and Spain entered into the convention of October 1862, 'for the more efficacious protection of the persons and properties of their subjects in Mexico, and for the fulfilment of the obligations contracted towards their Governments.' For this purpose the contracting parties agreed to despatch to Mexico combined naval and military forces, the total of which was to be sufficient to seize and occupy the several fortresses and military positions on the coast; the commanders, however, were empowered to execute such other operations as might be considered on the spot more suitable to effect the objects specified in the convention, and specifically to insure the security of foreign residents, but were not to exercise in the internal affairs of Mexico any influence of a nature to prejudice the right of the nation to choose and to constitute freely its own form of government. The three Powers had been fully advised by their representatives as to the nature of the remedy needed for the disorders of Mexico. It had been pointed out in the most explicit terms by Sir Charles Wyke; and certainly if the objects of the expedition were to be limited only to the

* We give this incident on the authority of the gentleman who was at that time the manager of the Anglo-Mexican Mint at Guanaxuato.

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seizure and occupation of the ports, a more ineffective and preposterous measure for effecting the expressed purposes of the convention could scarcely be conceived. What were the precise results which he expected from the expedition we have not been so fortunate as to gather either from the despatches or the speeches of our Foreign Minister. The pecuniary demands of France and Spain were infinitesimal in comparison with those of England; and England had, moreover, to exact compensation and redress for the unpunished murders of twenty-five of her subjects. To take possession of a few ports and to sit at the receipt of custom, would assuredly have been a very strange and undignified result for an expedition the only justification of which was a series of robberies, murders, and outrages. What effectual guarantee for the future security of the persons and property of foreign subjects resident in the interior could the occupation of the few outports of a country reduced to the condition of Mexico offer? Two months before the convention with France and Spain had been signed Earl Russell addressed a despatch to the British Minister in Mexico, stating that it would be useless to continue negotiations with the Government; nevertheless, with an astonishing inconsistency, in another despatch, dated on the same day, he instructs him to 'insist' on the restoration of the money which had been violently taken from the Legation, without which 'friendly relations' between the two Governments could not be maintained. The British residents in Mexico, when this despatch came to light, were justly indignant at its contents. 'We are bound to say,' they state, 'that the conduct of England is likely to impress foreign nations with a very poor and inadequate amount of respect or consideration if the whole list of outrages committed by the Mexican Government is to be atoned for, and even passed over in silence, on the receipt of a sum of money.'*

The forces employed by the three Powers to carry the convention into effect were in an inverse ratio to the interests which they had at stake, and the wrongs for which it was their avowed intention to demand redress. The combined expedition to Mexico was certainly very singularly composed. Spain, possessing a very small interest in the country, and having but few injuries for which to demand compensation, despatched from the island of Cuba between 7000 and 8000 of her best troops; France, whose interests were rather more considerable than those of Spain, landed only 2500 men; while England, whose commercial interests and wrongs were out of all proportion com-

* 'Correspondence,' part i. p. 137.

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pared with those of the two other Powers, contented herself with sending to the coast a few ships-of-war and one supernumerary battalion of marines. Spain was the first to present herself at Vera Cruz. She took possession of that port before the other parties to the convention had completed their preparations. The Spanish portion of the expedition had been fitted out with an alacrity and an energy which denoted an intention to anticipate the other Powers. On the first rumour that the Government was about to demand redress for its grievances against Mexico, the public mind had become possessed with a grand but vague idea that the time had come for making a grand effort to recover, if not the dominion of Spain over her former great colony, at least a preponderating influence in a country which had been the scene of her unexampled glory and humiliation. The recent success in re-establishing Spanish authority in St. Domingo seemed to afford encouragement to a far greater enterprise. The press warmly advocated it; but whether the Government participated in the illusions of the Spanish people, and entertained such an ambition itself, it is difficult to say. Marshal O'Donnell, the Prime Minister, disclaimed any such chimerical design as the re-conquest of Mexico, for he was doubtless too well acquainted with the state of feeling in that country towards Spain to entertain it for a moment. The tradition of what Mexico had once endured from Spain is indelibly impressed on the hearts of the people; and the greatest obstacle to any combined action on the part of the Allies would probably have been found in the presence of a Power whose name had never ceased to be a byword of tyranny and oppression. On the first intimation that the soil of his country was again about to be trodden by Spanish soldiers the eye of every Mexican flashed fire, and his tongue gave utterance to the fiercest denunciations.

The French Government, although its force was very limited, seems to have made no secret of its intentions not to limit its action simply to the seizure of the ports. M. Thouvenel had intimated to the British Minister at Paris that it would be desirable to contemplate the probable necessity, or at least the expediency, of affording to the people of Mexico an opportunity for attempting their political reorganisation. Earl Russell replied that Her Majesty's Government were ready to discuss the subject with France, Spain, and the United States.* The subsequent convention did not expressly contemplate or provide for intervention, but at the first meeting of the French, Spanish, and English

* 'Correspondence,' part i. p. 58.

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plenipotentiaries they came to the unanimous conclusion that their first duty was 'to aid and assist the Mexicans in obtaining such a government as was likely to afford efficient protection to the lives and properties of foreigners resident within the republic' before they attempted to exact the performance o those engagements which in consequence of its financial poverty and disorganization the Government was wholly unable to fulfil. The earliest proclamation addressed to the Mexican nation by the representatives of the Allied Powers seems to have been framed with that object. 'We come,' they said, 'to stretch a friendly hand to a people on whom Providence has showered all its gifts, and whom the nations we represent see with grief wasting their strength and destroying their vitality under the violent action of civil war and perpetual convulsions.'

The government of Mexico was nothing better than an organised brigandage. The moral attributes of a state had no existence there; and the men who obtained a temporary possession of power stood in no other relation to the world at large than that of political outlaws. The view taken by France of the scope of the convention was expressed in a despatch addressed by the French Foreign Minister to Admiral Gravière. The Minister says, 'The Allied Powers do not propose to themselves any object but that which is indicated in the convention. They interdict themselves from interfering in the internal affairs of the country, and particularly from exercising any pressure on the will of the people as to the choice of their government. There are, however, certain hypotheses which impose themselves on our foresight, and which we have been obliged to examine. It might happen that the presence of the Allied forces on the Mexican territory might determine the sensible part of the population who are tired of anarchy, and are eager for order and repose, to attempt an effort to constitute in that country a government presenting the guarantees of strength and stability which have been wanting to all those which have succeeded each other since the emancipation. The Allied Powers have a common and too manifest interest in seeing Mexico come out of the state of social dissolution into which she is plunged, which paralyses all development of her prosperity, annuls for herself and for the rest of the world all the riches with which Providence has endowed a privileged soil, and obliges the Allies to have recourse periodically to expensive expeditions, in order to remind ephemeral and senseless governments of their duties. That interest must engage them not to discourage attempts of the nature of those I have just pointed out to you; and you ought not to refuse them your encouragement and your moral support, if, from the position

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position of the men who take the initiative in them, and from the sympathy which they may meet with in the mass of the people, they should present chances of success for the establishment of an order of things of a nature to secure to the interests of the foreign residents that protection and those guarantees which have hitherto failed them.'

Such views do not appear to have been acquiesced in by Her Majesty's Government; they accordingly withdrew the small British force which had been despatched to the Gulf of Mexico, and the Minister concluded somewhat precipitately a treaty with President Juarez, a man who had been stigmatised by Sir Charles Wyke himself as one with whom all parties were 'thoroughly disgusted,' whom they 'were determined by any legal means to get rid of;'* and who was the recognised head of a State presenting 'so disgraceful a spectacle that it was impossible to conceive it as existing in any country pretending to call itself a civilised nation.'†

Such a result might have been attained without an expedition. The value of treaties with Mexico had been long understood; and there was no need of a display of force for obtaining any number that might be desired. Spain withdrew from the country for special reasons of her own: her expectations had been completely disappointed; and the work of regeneration was left entirely for France to accomplish if she could. In this task we did not choose to participate; not that we really disapproved the project of France; but if it could only be accomplished by a Mexican war we declined to take part in it.

France certainly committed some serious errors, both before and after she was left to act alone. Her pecuniary demands were excessive. Her policy in identifying herself with the Church party disgusted foreign residents in Mexico, and roused the opposition of a large portion of the community interested in the former secularizations of ecclesiastical property. The protection accorded to Almonte, the leader of that party, necessarily at first alarmed numerous and powerful proprietors. The French Government, however, soon became aware of the error which it had committed, and its policy has since undergone a considerable change. A struggle with the Mexican army was inevitable. It well knew that on the pacification of the country its occupation would be gone, and it fought as much from exasperation as for bread. It represented nothing in Mexico but its own factious interests and passions; and the people are believed to have contemplated its final dispersion

* 'Correspondence,' part i. p. 93.

† Ibid. part i. p. 93.

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with feelings of ill-suppressed satisfaction. The Mexican people have now decided that a monarchy is best adapted to restore tranquillity to their unhappy country. A 'dictamen' or report was recently drawn after much consideration, and signed by a large number of the landed proprietors of the country who had previously taken no part in public life from a conviction of its hopeless corruption, and they have recorded in it their deliberate conviction 'that the experiment of a republican government in Mexico has completely and ignominiously failed.'

The republican constitution which was established after the separation of the colony from Spain was the result rather of circumstances than of any deliberate preference of the nation for that form of government. The Mexican Cortes which met in 1822 on the recognition of the independence of the country by the principal Powers of Europe immediately separated into three parties, namely, the Bourbonists, or those who desired to establish a constitutional monarchy with a Prince of the House of Bourbon at its head; the Iturbidists, or those who wished to place the popular general, Iturbide, on the throne; and the Republicans, who desired either a centralized or a federal republic. Iturbide himself wished to establish the independence of Mexico and yet to preserve its connexion with Spain. The Crown of Mexico was accordingly offered by him to Ferdinand King of Spain, or, in the event of his refusal, successively to the two Infantes of Spain, Don Carlos and Don Francisco de Paula.* The Court of Spain refusing to acknowledge the independence of Mexico, the crown was then offered by Iturbide, with the approbation of the people, to the Archduke Charles of Austria, the general who commanded the allied armies in the first war of the French Revolution. The plan received the adhesion of the Creoles; but it was opposed by the Spanish party, which had resolved to keep Mexico a dependency of Spain. The country, recognizing the ability and disinterestedness of Iturbide, then placed him on the throne. He immediately convoked a Congress chosen from all the provinces of the Empire, but a struggle for supremacy immediately commenced. Iturbide dissolved the Assembly, and on the same day he called together a Legislative Council composed of men favourable to his system of government,—a Senate, in short, which must have somewhat resembled in its constitution and functions that of the present French Empire; but Iturbide either had not the tact to attach his principal officers to his person or

* It is said that Louis Philippe, who always had an idea that kingcraft was his vocation, was at one time covetous of the Transatlantic diadem. The modern history of Mexico might have been very different if he had been her ruler.

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he failed to satisfy their expectations, for a crisis soon arose which he had not the resolution to face. He re-assembled the Congress and abdicated a throne which he had occupied for only nine months, receiving a public provision for life. Misled by false information he was induced two years afterwards to return to Mexico, but having been outlawed by the Congress he was seized and shot. The revolution which overthrew the power of Iturbide was the work of the army, which had been tampered with by disaffected generals. The Congress was its instrument, and from the day of the dissolution of the Empire of Iturbide Mexico has been gradually sinking deeper and deeper into an abyss of misery and degradation. The fall of Iturbide did not prove that a monarchical Government was not the wish of the Mexican people. There were special disqualifications for the throne which adhered to this unfortunate sovereign, which not even his talents, his patriotism, and the prestige which victories gave him could overcome. He was a Creole, but he had once shed his blood in the cause of Spain. He was inexperienced in the art of government, and he had not received the advantages of a liberal education. He derived no support from foreign Powers, nor had he any historical traditions in his favour. Had it not been for these inherent defects Iturbide might have founded the second empire of the New World, and have transmitted it with honour to his posterity.

The monarchical predilections of the Mexican people, or at least of a considerable portion of them, have manifested themselves in a manner not to be mistaken in much more recent times. The dictatorship for life with the title of Serene Highness was offered to Santa Anna, as the result of universal suffrage, in 1853, and in resigning his dictatorship he is said to have carried with him the conviction that the institutions of his country required a radical change. Even while in power he is believed to have made advances to one or more of the reigning houses of Europe to obtain a prince who would consent to wear the crown of Mexico. Some years previously, General Herrera, one of the most enlightened and respectable of the Mexican Presidents, published a manifesto which left no doubt of his wishes and possibly of his intentions; for, while admitting that a Constituent Assembly had a right to fix the form of government, he clearly indicated that monarchy alone could rescue the country from disorder and save it from ruin.

A country so weakened by faction could not but become a tempting spoil for an aggressive power. It is well known that the great neighbouring Republic, which is now in the agonies of its own dissolution, repeatedly expressed its hope that Mexico might

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might drain the cup of anarchy and civil war to the dregs, in order that it might become an easier prey. It little suspected that an even-handed justice would so soon commend the ingredients of the poisoned chalice to its own lips, and that the sufferings which it invoked for another state would be experienced with tenfold aggravation by itself. A remarkable anticipation of the aggressive policy pursued by the United States in reference to Mexico was formed by an illustrious statesman of Spain, who has left one of the brightest reputations in that country,—namely Count de Aranda, and who assisted, as the representative of the Cabinet of Madrid, in negotiating the Treaty of Paris in 1783, which established the independence of the United States. After that act, which he deplored, he wrote to his sovereign, Charles III., and foreshadowed with singular prescience the future of the new Republic. 'It is now,' he said, 'a pigmy, but before long it will be a giant, the formidable colossus in the New World. It will forget the immense service which France and Spain have rendered to it, for it is to them that it owes its independence, and will only occupy itself with its own greatness. The liberty of conscience it has proclaimed, the certainty which industrious men will have of procuring a livelihood in that great territory, and the political institutions which it has established, will attract to the Confederation, from all parts of the world, an intelligent and laborious population, and we shall have the mortification of seeing it exercise an exclusive and tyrannical sway over the New World.' De Aranda then proceeded to predict the policy of conquest which the Confederation would adopt towards Spanish America. 'They will begin,' he continues, 'by taking Florida, which will make them masters of the Gulf of Mexico, and they will afterwards attack the beautiful empire of New Spain.'* How these remarkable predictions have been fulfilled is now but too well known.

The three provinces already plundered in succession from Mexico were, as it has proved, the most valuable portion of its territory, for New Mexico, California, and Texas would all have contributed in time enormously to its mineral and agricultural wealth, as well as to its commercial and political importance. When the independence of the Mexican republic was first established, the territory comprised an area of 216,012 square leagues: it now possesses only 106,067, and has therefore sustained a loss of more than one half, which has either been seized with violence as in the case of Texas, or purchased for the most paltry

* Chevalier's 'Le Mexique, Ancien et Moderne.'

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consideration as in that of New Mexico, or was the price of peace after a most unjustifiable war, as in that of California. The United States would never have wanted pretexts for completing the work of spoliation. There were factions in Mexico always ready to sell their country piecemeal for American dollars, as there have been presidents and statesmen not insensible to the seduction of bribes. The United States never doubted that the territory of the Mexican Republic would become their own on the extinction of its ebbing life: Mexico, however, was not the 'sick man' of the New World, languishing of a mortal disease, but a maniac who in the paroxysms of his deplorable malady had inflicted such ghastly wounds upon himself that he was slowly bleeding to death. The establishment of an empire, the integrity of which will be virtually guaranteed by one of the greatest military and naval Powers of Europe, affords the best security against a revival of those nefarious schemes of spoliation which had not only been publicly avowed by some leading politicians of the United States, but were made the thesis of popular lectures.

A great advance has now been made towards the final establishment of the principle of monarchy in the New World, where it is surely as reconcileable with liberty and progress as in the Old. America, indeed, already presents, in the case of Brazil, an example of a prosperous and contented constitutional empire.

The undertaking of the Archduke Maximilian is a noble one. He is about to resign the ease and refined enjoyments of a high position in Europe for a crown which will probably bring with it many cares. He will doubtless find many conflicting interests to reconcile, many extravagant pretensions to abate, and perhaps some disaffection to subdue; but the throne of Mexico, tranquillised and prosperous, might satisfy high ambition. We trust the enterprise may prove a great and glorious success, and that the prosperity of Mexico will date from the day on which a Christian Emperor enters in state the capital of Montezuma. England can have but one duty and one wish—namely, to recognise and give her hearty support to the new Empire. There is a boundless field for the most extensive and beneficial intercourse between the two countries. Mexico is provided with few of the material improvements of the age. There are railroads and telegraphs to construct, mines to work, and industrial enterprises of every kind to encourage, and in time there will be required all those mechanical inventions and improvements to which Europe is indebted for so much of its material wealth. On the other hand, there is scarcely one of the valuable

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valuable productions of the country which will not find a remunerative and almost unlimited market in England. Considered, therefore, in its material aspect alone, it is impossible not to regard the prospect which is now dawning upon a country unrivalled for its natural riches with the liveliest hope; and we confidently believe that Mexico will soon present the gratifying spectacle of a land singularly endowed by Providence with everything that can contribute to the formation of a great and powerful state, rescued for ever from the grasp of the military adventurers who have unceasingly preyed upon it, and brought under the permanent dominion of order and law.

ART. IV.—*Life of General Sir William Napier, Author of 'History of the Peninsular War,' etc., etc.* Edited by H. A. Bruce, M.P. With Portraits. 2 vols., Crown 8vo. London, 1864.

'I ASSERT, without any qualification whatever, that I consider William Napier to have been the man of the greatest genius that I have ever known personally; yet I have communicated with many men of the highest reputation of their time that this country has produced.' Such is the testimony of General Sir James Shaw Kennedy, an officer of distinguished talents, of nice discrimination, of calm judgment, and peculiar exactness, who had been intimate with William Napier, in every relation of life, professional and private, for five-and-fifty years. His intellectual gifts were indeed extraordinary, and his moral faculties were not inferior to his mental. He was the soul of honour and integrity, held his convictions with a tenacity which nothing could relax, and would never modify his conscience to promote his interests, to court popularity, to conciliate his superiors, or win the favour of his associates. His uncompromising principles were blended with a genial, loving disposition, which took from them every semblance of cynical pride. In the depth and vehemence of his affections, in his earnest sympathy with joys and griefs, in his hatred of oppression and his zeal to succour distress, he was not surpassed by the gentlest woman in the land. Brutal natures are sometimes hardened into the belief that insensibility is manliness, and tenderness effeminacy. The reverse is nearer the truth. Effeminacy consists in an excessive regard to our own ease, and there speedily grows up a consequent indifference to the ease and feelings of others. Thus insensibility and self-indulgence, cruelty and cowardice—all the forms, in short, of callousness

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callousness towards our fellow-creatures and grovelling care of ourselves—are allied vices. William Napier was a signal instance of the opposite character—of the union of the softer virtues in their utmost extent with the highest reach of masculine attributes. His forward, fiery valour, as steady as it was fervid, was proverbial throughout an army in which daring deeds were so frequently performed that they almost ceased to be a distinction to any. His passive courage was equal to his active. No one could surpass him in his endurance of the hardships of a campaign, no one in the fortitude with which he bore up against years of physical torture. His nature was stamped upon his frame, and spoke in every accent of his voice, and looked out in every gleam of his expressive eyes. His noble stature; his lofty yet simple bearing; his stately yet elastic tread; his face, the perfect model of heroic beauty; his broad, intellectual forehead; his square, determined jaw; his eyes, which flashed with indignation, sparkled with mirth, and melted with tenderness; his tones quick and decisive, as if he was commanding in battle, and which in part might be the result of his military habits, and in part were the ebullitions of his native energy, changing nevertheless with the subject, and marking by the contrast the strength of his emotions; all were indications impossible to be mistaken, and which gave any person who had been once in his company complete assurance of the man. His faults, which were not of a kind materially to diminish the splendour of his character, were by himself laid bare to the public. The winning qualities, which tempered and nearly obliterated his few defects, were, on the contrary, imperfectly known beyond the circle of his acquaintances. The honest biography by his son-in-law has now displayed William Napier in his full proportions, and that soul must be dead which could contemplate the portrait without earnest admiration.

William Napier, the third son of the Hon. George Napier and Lady Sarah Lennox, was born at Celbridge, in Ireland, December 17, 1785. His paternal grandfather was the fifth Lord Napier, and through him he shared the blood of 'the great Montrose, and the still greater inventor of logarithms.' His maternal grandfather was the second Duke of Richmond, and through him he was descended from Charles I. of England and Henry IV. of France. In the controversy which grew out of his criticisms on the battle of Albuera, he was accused by Lord Beresford of 'a senseless prejudice' against persons who were 'highly allied,' and Napier dismissed the accusation with the passing remark that he was 'at least as highly connected as Lord Beresford.' He had a mind above genealogies. His pride in

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in his family was immense, but he was proud of their deeds and not of their descent. The rare endowments and virtues of his father excited his especial veneration. In appearance, talents, and disposition he strongly resembled him, and in sketching his character he has often unconsciously depicted his own. 'Gentle as the dews of spring he was to the poor and helpless, but rough and dangerous as the storms of winter to the dishonourable and the unjust.' This, and many other traits recorded by Sir William, were not less true of himself than of his father. The similarity extended to mechanical peculiarities. A daughter of Sir William, speaking of the speed with which he hastened to a fire in the village where they lived, mentions his 'long, springing run, like that of a greyhound.' Sir William, speaking of the rush with which his father crossed a field to rescue his boys from the attack of some soldiers, says he came 'leaping like a panther rather than a man.' The walk of the elder Napier is nowhere described. The gait of the younger was equally characteristic with his run. An old soldier of his regiment, who had not set eyes on him for two-and-twenty years, recognised him on a turnpike road, at a distance of upwards of half-a-mile, by his step alone. It had, says his daughter, a grace and a dignity combined that I never saw in any one else.

There was a large school at Celbridge, kept by a passionate old man named Bagnal, and Charles and William were day-scholars. 'The master,' says their sister, Lady Bunbury, 'was totally unfitted for the education of such boys as my dear brothers, and William learnt nothing from him.' Adam Smith maintained that a day-school combined the benefits of public and private training; and that, if there was any sacrifice in learning, no acquirements could compensate for the want of domestic influences. It is probable that the opinion was shared by Colonel Napier, who, as he destined his sons for a hardy and perilous calling, had certainly not allowed his parental tenderness to get the better of his judgment. He doubtless set the advantages of the high principles, the warm affections, the enlarged ideas of the Celbridge home against the defective instruction of the Celbridge school, and concluded that the gain would be more than an equivalent for the loss. The result showed that he was right. His sons, at a period when licentiousness was sanctioned by society, were launched in boyhood into a profession which was doubly committed to dissipation, and neither the temptations to pleasure nor the authority of companions could persuade these impulsive, adventurous lads to indulge in criminal excesses. They left their paternal roof with the ardent feelings of early youth, but they also took with them the formed characters

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characters of men. By the mere force of his daily example and conversation, Colonel Napier had impressed his elevated nature upon their congenial minds, and they either never deviated from the lofty standard to which he had accustomed them, or returned speedily and permanently to their primitive model. Where there was such a father to teach, and such sons to learn, a little schoolboy knowledge was trash in the balance.

However inattentive William Napier may have been to Mr. Bagnal's lessons, his book-education was not neglected. He delighted in reading, and devoured all the miscellaneous literature which chance threw in his way. When he was twenty years of age, General Kennedy discovered that he could repeat the whole of Pope's 'Iliad' and 'Odyssey,' and, unwearied by this marvellous feat of voluntary diligence, he had committed several other poems to memory. His passion for Homer accorded with his predominant tastes. He loved heroes and battles, and his favourite works were the chivalrous romances, and the Lives of Plutarch. The kindred elements in his disposition were the source of the fascination, and the narratives in turn reacted on his character, and nurtured and expanded his glowing ideas. The imposing individuality which separated him from the common type of modern soldiers was, in truth, the union of the leading traits of the ancient commander and the mediæval knight. He had the personal prowess, the generous enthusiasm, the exalted homage to women, the burning desire to redress wrongs, which distinguished the last. He had the reflective intellect, the grand conceptions, the nervous language, and the strategical science, which distinguished the first. The principal weapon of chivalry had still a charm for his imagination when he was battling for England in the midst of the appliances of modern warfare. 'My brother William,' Charles Napier wrote from Spain, in July, 1810, 'took a violent passion for Don Julian Sanchez, the guerilla chief; but has been a little cooled by the latter having, the day before yesterday, put to death one hundred and sixty Frenchmen, to sixty of whom he had at first given quarter. The Don fights with *lances*, which was the first attraction, I believe.' The military annals of Greece and Rome became a serious and permanent study. Where full information had descended to us he knew their campaigns as if he had served in them, and where the facts were scanty, his professional skill frequently enabled him to fill up the outline. His writings abound with comparisons between the battles and generals of his own time and the manœuvres and leaders of ancient days. These classical illustrations were not the pedantic embroidery of an ambitious author eager to display his

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his lore. They were the familiar notions of a mind which had dwelt among the scenes and men of remote ages till they had ceased to wear a learned, recondite air. In his final illness, when his medical attendants declared that his exhausted state would not permit him to survive the effort of talking, his thoughts instinctively wandered to the heroes of antiquity, and, in spite of the prohibition, he descanted for hours to his son-in-law upon the mighty doings of Alexander, Hannibal, and Cæsar.

William Napier was in his thirteenth year when events occurred which he himself tells us 'precociously quickened the germ' of his brother's character, and which indubitably produced a similar effect upon his own. There was no country where the French revolution was more calculated to create a ferment than in Ireland, afflicted with perennial poverty, and torn to pieces by political and religious parties. The leading conspirators, who were banded together to overthrow the Government, consisted of republicans eager to shake off the English sovereignty, and Papists impatient to sweep away the Protestant Establishment. The ignorant and suffering masses readily responded to the call of priests and demagogues, and, after numerous preliminary outrages, the main rising took place in the summer of 1798. The partisans of Church and State, who stood arrayed against them, were blind with passion, and when, with arms in their hands, the opposing factions came face to face, justice and mercy were flung to the winds. In the very valuable correspondence of the mild, upright, and sensible Lord Cornwallis, who was intrusted by Mr. Pitt with the arduous task of restoring order, we have authentic evidence of the frightful crimes which were committed by the King's soldiers in defiance of the King's Viceroy. The yeomanry were 'ferocious,' and led the way in a headlong system of 'rapine and murder.' The Irish militia, who were described by Sir Ralph Abercromby as dangerous to everybody except the enemy, and who are said by Lord Cornwallis to have been contemptible when they met with serious resistance, rivalled the yeomanry in their rage for spoliation and cruelty. They perpetrated 'every kind of atrocity,' and with the unprotected 'murder was their favourite pastime.' The Fencibles were not as barbarous as their companions in arms, but did not disdain to assist in the work of destruction. The numbers alleged to be killed in fight were without example. 'I am much afraid,' wrote Lord Cornwallis in June, 1798, 'that any man in a brown coat who is found within several miles of the field of action is butchered without discrimination.' 'The war of plunder and massacre' continued when the insurgents were dispersed, and resistance was at an end. The civil authori-

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ties, instead of checking the fury of the soldiers, were inflamed by the inordinate thirst for vengeance. 'Our loyal, but, in my opinion, indiscreet magistrates,' wrote Lord Cornwallis in October, 1799, 'see no remedy for our evils but that of scouring the country and hunting down rebels, forgetful that they are creating more than they can possibly destroy.' In higher quarters the arguments of the Lord-Lieutenant were disregarded when he attempted to show that 'conciliation' was preferable to 'extirpation.' The principal persons of the country, the Members of both Houses of Parliament, the chief officials, with the exception of Lord Castlereagh, then Irish Secretary, and the Chancellor, Lord Clare, encouraged the frenzy for blood. 'The conversation even at my table,' said Lord Cornwallis, 'where you will suppose I do all I can to prevent it, always turns on hanging, shooting, burning, &c., and if a priest has been put to death the greatest joy is expressed by the whole company.' The same remorseless rage infected the insurgents, who had abundantly proved their intention to be executioners if they had not been victims. But they had quickly succumbed, and, wanting power, their atrocities were on a diminished scale, while the conquering troops could strike down innocent and guilty without a check to the slaughter. The policy of the advisers of the previous Lord-Lieutenants was to crush the Catholics, and this predominant idea was the foundation of their desire to exterminate the rebels. The humanity and reason of Lord Cornwallis alike repudiated the scheme, which he contended would drive four-fifths of the community into irreconcileable revolt, would exhaust the resources of Great Britain, and end in the total separation of England and Ireland. His situation in the midst of frantic passions he could not command 'came up,' he said, 'to his idea of perfect misery.' But the misery bore invaluable fruits. His mingled lenity and firmness controlled the tempest he could not avert, and prompted and supported by the wisdom of Pitt he saved the country.

Celbridge was in the county of Kildare; and it was there that the rebellion, 'under the fostering hand of Lord Edward Fitzgerald, had taken the deepest root.' The general rising in the district had the usual preludes which signalised the disaffected localities. The conspirators broke into houses to seize the arms and ammunition. Lives were lost in the frays; and when particular grounds of animosity existed, the insurgents had recourse to assassination. One Thomas Cooley, who had been detected in the crime, and pardoned on condition of informing against his fellow rebels, soon met with the fate he had helped to inflict. His mother, eighty years of age, was wantonly sacrificed with her son; and the sight of her grey hairs dabbled in blood long haunted

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haunted the memory of Charles Napier, and taught him the horror of civil war. But very different was the sentiment in the Celbridge school, where the vast majority of the pupils were Catholics, when they heard of the retribution which had overtaken the traitor to the rebel cause. The master's nephew burst into the room, and frantically exclaimed, 'Cooley's murdered, boys! Cooley's killed! Hurrah! hurrah!' The boys answered with exulting shouts, and danced on the tables for joy. These were the feelings which ushered in the conflict on the popular side. In the opposite ranks the local soldiery lost their self-command at the first symptoms of the coming conflict. Roving about the country, they shot inoffensive labourers in the fields upon the bare suspicion of disaffection, and the wretched creatures were frequently brought dead or dying into Celbridge.

In the clash of infuriated enemies the position of Colonel Napier was extremely painful. 'His principles,' says Sir William, 'were immovably monarchical; and he held democracy to be an ever-seething cauldron in which the scum continually rose to the surface.' He was not only a stanch supporter of kingly rule—he was a Tory, in addition, of the enlightened school of Pitt and Lord Cornwallis; but, like them, he abhorred the fanatic virulence and vindictive tyranny of the dominant party. His deluded nephew Lord Edward Fitzgerald, who had persuaded himself that the bloody road of rebellion was the short cut to universal philanthropy, perceiving that he and his uncle had a common end, imagined that they would equally agree on the means. He expected that Colonel Napier would accept the command of the rebels, and was astonished to learn that he detested all republican schemes. There was no third party, and hardly a solitary individual, as Lord Cornwallis quickly found, who would consult the welfare of the kingdom in preference to the gratification of envy, malice, and hatred. The Union was the measure which Pitt devised for amending the evil. He saw that it was essential to take from Irishmen the exclusive power of legislating for Irishmen, that the Dublin government must be under the influence of an Imperial Parliament, and that English moderation must arbitrate between the implacable factions. Then the Lord-Lieutenant discovered that there was something more potent than political and religious rancour. Writing to Mr. Pitt, in December, 1798, he said, 'It will not surprise you that *every man* in this most corrupt country should consider the question in no other point of view than as it may be likely to promote his own private objects of ambition or avarice.' Colonel Napier, high-minded, merciful, and patriotic, could not league for an hour with politicians whose conduct was under

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the sole dominion of rabid passion or sordid interest. He was reduced in civil life to complete inaction. He would not be a magistrate when in every case involving persons of different creeds the merits of the cause had no effect on the decision. He would not be a member of Parliament when there was no middle place between turbulence and oppression. He was called impracticable because he was conscientious; but though his wisdom and integrity kept him from rising in the world, he must always have felt, and often expressed, the sentiment of Arbuthnot—'I have not seen anything as yet to make me recant a certain inconvenient opinion I have, that one cannot pay too dear for peace of mind.'

Lamenting and abominating the motives and practices of both parties in the strife, Colonel Napier ceased to be a passive spectator the instant the sword was drawn. He knew that the cruelties and ravages of the soldiers were trivial in comparison with the devastation which would be committed by a victorious mob. He knew that the intemperate troops had an organisation which would shortly reduce them to order, while the insurgents would involve the whole social fabric in ruin and anarchy. He knew that the ameliorations he desired could not be the work of fanatical destroyers, and that the innumerable woes they inflicted upon Ireland would be suffering in vain. He could no longer stand aloof. He immediately set to work to subdue the rebellion in his neighbourhood; and his military science enabled him to secure large results with insignificant means. He fortified his house, armed his five sons, and, with a dozen other persons who gathered beneath his roof for protection, maintained his simple domestic life in the midst of a country which swarmed with the enemy. The insurgents of a considerable camp, a few miles distant, often menaced his little garrison; but the skilful dispositions contrived for their reception always determined them to retire without attempting an attack. Eighty undisciplined but well-conducted militia-men, whose officers would not permit a wrong to be inflicted, held the small town of Celbridge, which was disaffected to such an extent that twice the authorities had ordered it to be burnt, and both times it was saved by the interposition of Napier. He had a better method of retaining it for the Government than by levelling it to the ground. He constructed field-works for the handful of troops, and eight thousand rebels would never advance nearer to the masterly defences than to fire at an outpost. Hitherto he had only kept the enemy at bay. At Castletown, close by, there was a company of the Derry militia, and a number of volunteers who had been called forth by the danger. Without any regular command,

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command, his knowledge of war procured him the direction of the heterogeneous force; and by night and by day he made repeated excursions, and swept clear the country. His eldest son, Charles, always marched by his side; and this circumstance preserved Colonel Napier's life. When the insurrection was over, predatory bands, whose savage propensities had been developed in the contest, continued to lurk in Kildare. They for the most part were house-burners, thieves, and murderers—mere ruffians, whose atrocities were not redeemed by so much as the pretext of patriotism. An outlaw, who is said by Sir William to have been a rebel, and not a villain—a robber for subsistence, and not from inclination — pursued his avocation in the vicinity of Celbridge. Colonel Napier frequently patrolled the district in search of him; and when at last he surrendered, on an offer of exile, he confessed that he had more than once aimed at his pursuer from his lair, and, with the compassion for innocent, helpless childhood which often dwells in the fiercest breasts, he forbore to fire out of pity for the boy.

'Educated amidst such scenes and such people, Charles Napier's mind,' says his brother, 'had been early and sternly awakened to questions of war and government, not by books, but realities.' William modestly suppressed his personal share in the events; but he, too, was armed, and shared the risks and excitement. He stated, in 1834, that 'he was continually among the troops, listening with boyish eagerness to their conversations; and well remembered with horror to that day the tales of lust, and blood, and pillage, the records of their own actions against the miserable peasantry, which they used to relate.' With lads of fine intelligence there ensues an extraordinary precocity from the stimulus supplied to the intellect by hourly danger and military stratagem. They acquire, in a degree, the vigilance, the self-control, the forethought, and the ready resources of their elders; and when the youths were started in their career, it was palpable how much of premature power they owed to their campaigning experience under the auspices of their father's generalship. The contagious spirit of Colonel Napier infected even his female domestics, and converted them into brave, intelligent soldiers. The nurse, Susan Frost, a native of Suffolk, was left at Celbridge, before the outbreak, with some of the younger children during a visit of her master and mistress to England. Several hundred rebels attacked the house for the purpose of seizing the arms, and threatened death to the inmates if the weapons were withheld. The windows were shattered with bullets, the massive hall door was yielding to the battering strokes of a beam, and an aged servant,

Lauchlin

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Lauchlin Moore, the only man in the house, advised that they should save their lives by surrendering the arms. 'No! never!' cried Susan; 'let them take what they can get: I will not give!' Destruction seemed the certain consequence of resistance, when suddenly the rebels dropped the beam, and fled. At the first onset Susan had despatched a maid-servant, by a back path, to a squire's residence a mile off, and the bailiff, who was a retired serjeant, had fallen, with a dozen followers, upon the flank of the besiegers at the critical moment, and scared them into a precipitate retreat. The incident is related by Sir William Napier to do honour to the heroism of Susan Frost. The tribute is well deserved; but the prompt judgment, the cool defiance of danger, and the undaunted resolution not to yield, were evidently caught from the presiding genius of the family.*

In his fifteenth year William Napier obtained a commission in the Royal Irish Artillery. He was soon transferred to the 62nd regiment, and remained there till March, 1802, when the peace of Amiens was concluded, and he was one among the many who were put on half-pay. The last few months of his service had not been well spent. Neither in youth nor in manhood did he yield to sensual indulgence. 'I must quote him,' says General Kennedy, 'as about the purest character I have ever known.' But he had been enticed for a short period, by his passion for billiards, to neglect his professional pursuits. Whatever he undertook he did vehemently, and his devotion to the game, and his resolution to abandon it, were both so complete, that thirty years later he was requested by his brother George to warn that brother's son against idleness and billiards, because of the weight which must attach to his words when he himself was an example that no habit of the kind was too strong to be subdued. He had, of his own accord, delivered a more notable warning at the era of his conquest over the seductions of play. His friend Captain Macleod was a pupil in the Military College at High Wycombe. The instruction was pretentious and absurd. An officer fresh from the college, who was told by Sir John Moore to move a brigade, replied that he had not been taught to direct less than one hundred thousand men. The preposterous system half destroyed the inducement to diligence, and it was natural that the sharpest pupils, disgusted with their studies,

* A blank which has long been observed to exist in the history of this unhappy rebellion has now been supplied by the publication of the very interesting memoirs of Miles Byrne (3 vols. 8vo., Paris and New York, 1863)—a man of a gallant spirit, who in early youth joined the insurgents, and afterwards served with distinction in that luckless Irish Legion which was so unhandsomely treated by the War Department of the French Empire.

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should be drawn in to join the betting and racing clique which infested the school at the time. Foremost among the promising persons who had been temporarily led astray was the Captain Macleod to whom William Napier wrote this remarkable letter at the age of seventeen years and a half :—

'Castletown, July, 1803.

'My dear Charles,—I am very sorry to hear that you have got into a kind of company from which I have so lately escaped,—that is to say, jockeys, gamesters, and idlers,—and that you have your own set apart from the other officers of the academy, and that you have got a supercilious haughty manner to all the others. Now, consider the consequences of it. The academy is the Duke of York's hobby-horse, and should General Jarry write to him that you did not learn anything, your promotion is ruined for ever. And for what? To be laughed at, not only by the sensible men of the army, but even by the very people whom you keep company with. You will not, I am sure, be displeased at what I say to you, as it only comes from my friendship, and from the knowledge which I have obtained by experience of the unhappiness which it may hereafter occasion you. That you will profit by it is the wish of your

'Sincere and affectionate friend,

'W. Napier.'

He was but a boy when, having broken away for ever from the exciting amusements which enthralled him for the hour, to bend the whole of his powers to the duties of his calling, he addressed to an officer, who was his senior in rank and years, this thoughtful, plain-spoken, soldierly remonstrance, which reads more like the production of a colonel of a regiment than of a lad of seventeen. Such precocious force of character is far more rare and infinitely more valuable than precocious quickness of mind. His admonitions were not lost. The friend on whom they were urged appears subsequently upon the scene, the admiration and delight of all who served with him; conspicuous for bravery, fortitude, and skill; concluding an heroic life by an heroic death; and drawing from the Duke of Wellington, never lavish of panegyric, the declaration, in the despatch on the storming of Badajoz, that 'in Lieutenant-Colonel Macleod, of the 43rd regiment, who was killed in the breach, his Majesty had sustained the loss of an officer who was an ornament to his profession, and who was capable of rendering the most important services to his country.'

Towards the close of 1803 William Napier's uncle, the Duke of Richmond, procured him a cornetcy in the Blues. Shortly afterwards, when these household troops were a topic of conversation, General Moore remarked, in the hearing of Captain Campbell, 'There is a young man in them whom I am very anxious to get

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get into the 52nd, and he is so too, for, as he wants to be made an officer of, he of course does not wish to stay in the Blues.' The young man was William Napier. An exchange was effected in December, and in the autumn of 1804 his merits obtained him a company in the 43rd. His removal from the Blues to the brigade of the future hero of Corunna was an event which gave a colour to his life. 'My father,' said Sir Charles Napier, in speaking of Moore, 'alone rivalled that great man,' and the two were constantly coupled in his memory. 'When I think of Moore and of our father,' he wrote in the zenith of his Indian fame, 'and that I am so inferior to both, the workings of fate do indeed seem dark and inscrutable.' William regarded his chief with equal veneration. 'His,' he says, 'was the fire that warmed the coldest nature, and urged all who came in contact with him onwards in the path of glory, along which he strode so mightily himself. No man with a spark of enthusiasm could resist the influence of his great aspirings, his fine presence, his ardent penetrating genius.' Every syllable of the concluding sentence was just as applicable to him who wrote it as to him of whom it was written. They were kindred spirits, and the sympathetic character of William Napier must have been rapidly developed by the example and encouragement of a commander who was worthy to carry on the early lessons of Celbridge.

The training enforced by Moore was contrived to produce a perfect soldier. He did not teach striplings to move a hundred thousand men on paper. He put them in the ranks, and made them practise the duties of privates. They acquired an inward, and not a mere outward knowledge of the functions they were to superintend, and had that mastery over details which the actual performance of them can alone confer. They were thus led upwards to the superior departments of their intricate profession, and at every stage of their progress the ingenuity of their General discovered means of surpassing the routine methods. 'He devised,' says Sir William, 'such improvements in drill, discipline, dress, arms, formations, and movements as would have placed him for military reforms beside the Athenian Iphicrates, if he had not the greater glory of dying like the Spartan Brasidas.' The minute attention to the mechanism of parade was not dissociated from the exercise of the higher faculties. The energies of the entire man, physical, mental, and moral, were brought into play, and all were applied in furtherance of a calling which affords scope for the employment of every gift. Three infantry regiments, the Rifles, the 43rd, and the 52nd, were the materials which Moore fashioned to his plan, and Sir William Napier recorded with pride that they had sent forth a larger number of distinguished

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tinguished officers than any three regiments in the world. The men vied in excellence with their leaders. They constituted Wellington's celebrated light division, and before they had seen a battle were, according to Major Hopkins, looked up to by troops who had already been in fight, as the veterans of the army. 'The greatest secret of war is discipline,' says Sir William Napier, and it was to discipline that the light division owed its supremacy. They were never negligent, never perplexed, never dismayed. Once, on their way to the lines of Torres Vedras, they started up from their sleep in the night, without an enemy being near, on an alarm being given, and dispersed in every direction. A voice called out that the pursuing cavalry was among them, and immediately the whole of the scattered soldiers ran together to repel the attack. They are stated to have been not less orderly on the breach than in the line, and though they were always at the outposts, in the most hazardous situations, the only baggage they lost throughout the Peninsular campaigns was on the retreat from Salamanca, when some horsemen got up to their rear in a wood, and captured two mules. 'Six years of warfare,' says Sir William, in his History, 'could not detect a flaw in their system, nor were they ever overmatched in courage or skill.' 'Those three regiments,' he wrote, in 1839, to Lady Hester Stanhope, 'were avowedly the best that England ever had under arms. This is no idle boast. War was better known, the art more advanced, under Napoleon than in any age of the world before; and the French veterans—those victors of a thousand battles—never could stand an instant before my gallant men.'

When William Napier joined the 43rd, the work was still to be done. The regiment was demoralised, and his company was the worst of the whole. Among the people about him there were hardly three who had the manners of gentlemen. 'In the others,' he said, 'I see a set of mean shopboys, who are cunning fools, always busy, never doing anything of use, always on the watch to find out something in their brother officers that they may report and get them into scrapes, and thus show off their zeal,—narrowminded people, who do not consider that true greatness is to be marked from their own good conduct, not from comparison with the bad of their neighbours.' They had been placed under General Moore that he might reduce them to order, on which account they both hated and feared him, were fawning in his presence, and abusive behind his back. The jealous and scornful eyes with which they viewed the deputies who were to enforce his rule may be easily conceived. The contest was brief. In three short months regularity and emulation had got the dominion over insubordination and negligence, and

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and Napier, who had not completed his nineteenth year, was excelled by only a single captain in the regiment, his friend Thomas Lloyd. There are not many situations in which an earnest, continuous devotion to duty will fail of ultimate success. William Napier had other aids. Nature had been bountiful to him, and he brought endowments to his task which were powerful seconds to his will. His imposing appearance helped his authority. 'His fine, noble figure, beautiful features, and intelligent countenance, gave me,' says Major Hopkins, who was an ensign under him, 'the idea of one far superior to any person I had ever seen or imagined.' His athletic frame enabled him to excel in feats of activity. 'He competed,' says Major Hopkins, 'with the soldiers in all their sports—leaping, running, swimming—delighted when victor.' His uncommon abilities shone forth in his conversation, and he surprised his companions by the range of his knowledge and the extent of his memory. He would sometimes devour the contents of a newspaper, and at the end of half an hour would repeat long passages verbatim, and tell the substance of the rest. He had begun to store his mind with military science, and studied, in conjunction with Lloyd, the campaigns of Napoleon by the best maps and plans. The charm of his accomplishments was enhanced by his generosity and tenderness, by his polished and genial manners, by his love of merriment and jest. His animal spirits, indeed, preponderated to such an extent, that they are said by General Kennedy to have misled superficial observers, who supposed them to be incompatible with solid talents. When to these qualities were added the nicest integrity, the strictest propriety of conduct, the rigid discharge of his duties, and the ardent love of his profession, it was impossible that the better class of subalterns should long resist his sway. Some of them in after years paid the highest tributes to their Captain. 'It was you,' said Colonel Considine, 'who confirmed me in what I deem my best and most chivalric feelings—who made me a soldier;' and he boasted that Napier's principles and lessons had through life been his rule, as his example had been his model. Yet a merit remains to be told which perhaps exceeded the rest—a merit which he shared with his brothers, and which they imbibed from their father. 'Give him,' wrote Sir George of his son to Sir William, 'what I know is your opinion as well as my own respecting kindness of manner and of speaking to the soldiers, and not supposing they have not the same feelings as officers because they are privates.' Of all the emphatic traits in William Napier's character there was none more pre-eminent than his faith in the capabilities, his admiration of the deeds, and his sympathy for the hardships of the common soldier.

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soldier. He has mentioned with approbation the derisive criticism of Hannibal on the elder Scipio for his presumption, when unknown to his own men, in opposing a general who could call each man under his command by his name. Much more would the hearts of soldiers be won, and their enthusiasm roused, by an officer who displayed to them a daily regard, the unaffected result of his love and esteem,—who habitually studied their welfare, stimulated their self-respect, and cherished their renown. In the fullest measure which his subordinate station allowed, he had his share in forming the famous 43rd, of which he himself was the most celebrated member; and he delighted to recount their glorious actions and acknowledged ascendency. The culminating testimony to their disciplined valour proceeded from the Duke of Wellington, and was repeated to Sir William Napier by Lord FitzRoy Somerset. During the battle of Waterloo, when a particular point of the line was hard pressed, the Duke called out sharply to Lord FitzRoy, 'Send the 43rd there.' Lord FitzRoy informed him that they were not in the army; and once and again, nevertheless, at critical moments, his mind intent on the danger alone, and oblivious of the answer he had received, the Duke exclaimed sharply, 'Send the 43rd there.'

At the moment when William Napier was sent to grapple with the difficulties of his new situation, he was deprived of his principal counsellor and support. 'I cannot,' he wrote to his mother from Folkestone, October 9, 1804, 'say to you anything more about my father than you know already, for I feel many things that I cannot express. I can only offer up my prayers to heaven, and put my trust in that Being he has so often told me never deceives.' Four days afterwards, on October 13, Colonel Napier expired. Forty-two years later Charles Napier called it 'the terrible 13th of October, when we lost one of God's noblest works,—strong and beautiful in body, powerful in mind.' 'If,' he continued, 'goodness, virtue, and tenderness ever were possessed by mortal man, our dear father had them all.' It is no paradox to assert that the more they missed him the less his presence was required among them, for the enduring regret had its source in their intense appreciation of his merits, and was a sure indication that he had not died before his mantle had fallen upon his sons.

In November, 1804, there occurred a passing incident, which had no effect upon William Napier's subsequent career, but which he must always have numbered among the memorable events of his life. Through a brother officer, Charles Stanhope, the nephew of William Pitt, he was asked to pay a visit to the illustrious minister at Putney. The contrast between the cold and

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and haughty bearing of Pitt in public, and his playful, unpretending sociability in private, has already been revealed to the world; but nowhere is there disclosed such a delicious picture of boyish mirth as Napier witnessed only a couple of years before the statesman's death, and nowhere has his twofold aspect been exhibited in such striking juxtaposition.

'Arriving rather late, the great man was at dinner when I entered the room; he immediately rose, and, giving me both hands, welcomed me with such a gentle good nature, that I instantly felt—not at ease, for I was not at that time much troubled with what is called *mauvaise honte*, but—that I had a friend before me with whom I might instantly become familiar to any extent within the bounds of good breeding. Lady Hester Stanhope also treated me with the most winning kindness. All this produced a strange sensation; for I came determined to hold fast by my patriotism, though in presence of a wicked minister, however polite or condescending he might be found. Brought up amidst Whigs, and used to hear Mr. Pitt abused with all the virulence of Whigs, I looked upon him as an enemy of all good government; and my father, though not a Whig, had always condemned his war with France as an iniquitous and pernicious measure. Thus primed with fierce recollections and patriotic resolves, I endeavoured to sustain my mind's hatred against the Minister, but in vain. All feelings sunk, except those of surprise and gratification, at finding such a gentle, goodnatured, agreeable, and entertaining companion. He used to come home to dinner rather exhausted, and seemed to require wine, port, of which he generally drank a bottle, or nearly so, in a rapid succession of glasses; but when he recovered his strength from this stimulant, he ceased to drink. His conversation with us was always gay, goodnatured, and humorous, telling all sorts of amusing stories. He liked practical fun, and used to riot in it with Lady Hester, Charles and James Stanhope, and myself; and one instance is worth noticing. We were resolved to blacken his face with burnt cork, which he most strenuously resisted; but at the beginning of the fray a servant announced that Lords Castlereagh and Liverpool desired to see him on business. "Let them wait in the other room," was the answer; and the great minister instantly turned to the battle, catching up a cushion and belabouring us with it in glorious fun. We were, however, too many and strong for him, and, after at least a ten minutes' fight, got him down, and were actually daubing his face, when, with a look of pretended confidence in his prowess, he said, "Stop, this will do; I could easily beat you all, but we must not keep those grandees waiting any longer." His defeat was, however, palpable, and we were obliged to get a towel and basin of water to wash him clean before he could receive the grandees. Being thus put in order, the basin was hid behind the sofa, and the two Lords were ushered in. Then a new phase of Mr. Pitt's manner appeared, to my great surprise and admiration. Lord Liverpool's look and manner are well known—melancholy, bending, nervous. Lord Castlereagh I had known from my childhood,

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hood, had often been engaged with him in athletic sports, pitching the stone or bar, and looked upon him as—what indeed he was—a model of quiet grace and strength combined. What was my surprise to see both him and Lord Liverpool bending like spaniels on approaching the man we had just been maltreating with such successful insolence of fun! But instantly Mr. Pitt's change of manner and look entirely fixed my attention. His tall, ungainly, bony figure seemed to grow to the ceiling; his head was thrown back, his eyes fixed immoveably in one position, as if reading the heavens, and totally regardless of the bending figures near him. For some time they spoke; he made now and then some short observation, and finally, with an abrupt, stiff inclination of the body, but without casting his eyes down, dismissed them; then, turning to us with a laugh, caught up his cushions, and renewed our fight. Another phase of his countenance I had yet to learn. Some time after my visit, which was twice renewed at Putney, I was walking across the parade-ground of the Horse Guards, where I saw Mr. Pitt talking to several gentlemen, evidently upon business which interested him. I caught his eye while some forty yards from him; he gave a smile and nod of recognition, and I was advancing to greet him. Instantly his countenance changed with a commanding fierceness of expression difficult to describe, but it emphatically spoke, even at that distance. "Pass on; this is no place for fooling," was the meaning, and not to be mistaken. I had often been in Mr. Fox's company, not only when he was on a visit at my father's house in Clifton, but afterwards at his own house, or rather the Duke of York's house, then standing on the present site of Stafford House. His manners were totally different from Mr. Pitt's—always agreeable, gentle, kind, and goodnatured, but not attractive to young people, inasmuch as he did not seem to take much interest in them, and rather to bear with than to like them; at least, such was the impression he made on me; whereas Mr. Pitt's manner was that of joyous hilarity and delight at being able to unbend his mind, as it were, when he could do it safely. He was very attractive.'

This delightful narrative might lead to an inference which was not the impression of Napier, that the stately demeanour of Pitt was a consummate piece of acting to produce effect, and was unworthy a statesman of his exalted intellect. A little consideration would correct the hasty conclusion, and show that there was not the slightest reason for presuming his behaviour to have been otherwise than natural. His exceeding shyness, which he never overcame, occasioned stiffness and reserve, and made him shrink from giving loose to his mirthful vein, except before friends. He found himself in opening manhood with an enormous weight of responsibility, and his vast undertaking required a concentrated gravity of mind. The immense importance and extent of his business, the endless demands on his time, the frequent necessity for secresy, and always for discretion, rendered it imperative to dispose

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dispose of personal discussions with distant brevity. The dry and dignified air which never forsook him in official intercourse was not therefore artificial, but was the spontaneous consequence of his temperament and position,—of his innate bashfulness, his earnest application to his overwhelming duties, his prudential silence, and his want of leisure for colloquial dilatations. Like the rest of mankind he changed from lively to severe with his occupation, and the phenomenon consisted in the completeness with which he threw himself into both, and prevented either from encroaching on the other.

For nearly three years after William Napier was fixed in the 43rd Regiment, the ordinary tenor of his employment was only interrupted by a recruiting excursion to Ireland. This brought him to the middle of 1807, when an angry impatience had arisen in the army for active service. The glory acquired by the navy, the popular belief that our sailors were superior to our soldiers, the preference of the Court for foreign legions, the confidence of men and officers in their own deserts, combined, he says, to gall their pride and create in them a frenzy for the opportunities to win distinction. They were not overawed by the stupendous genius of Napoleon, which daunted multitudes of civilians, who believed that it must render the French irresistible. The British troops had an unwavering faith that their valour would restore the balance, and they boasted that they would fight any general through any blunders. The first opening which came to William Napier did not help to gratify his martial cravings. The Government had certain intelligence that France and Russia were about to compel Denmark to coalesce in the plot for destroying the maritime commerce of England. The Ministers demanded that Denmark should deposit her navy in our ports till the contest was over, and on her refusal Copenhagen was attacked by land, that the possession of the town, which commanded the harbour, might give possession of the fleet. The 43rd Regiment was included in the expedition, and Sir Arthur Wellesley was one of the generals. His presence excited no enthusiasm among officers eager to learn the art of war in the field. Eastern heroes were despised as persons who might contend with half-civilised hordes, but who were incapable of coping with European tactics. 'The great victor of Assaye,' says Sir William, 'was only a noble captain to those immediately about him: his Indian fame was almost ignored.' No renown could have been won in battles with the Danes, who were too weak to oppose a resistance worthy of the name; but the despatches of Sir Arthur prove that if his master-mind had directed the operations they would have been very differently conducted, and numerous lives, a vast

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a vast amount of property, much misery, and some bitter resentments would have been saved.

It was in July, 1807, that William Napier embarked at Ramsgate on board a small transport. Confusion reigned on shore and on deck; some of the soldiers fainted for want of food, and he expended his last sixpence in purchasing victuals for them. 'Heaven bless their bodies,' he said of the commanders, 'their heads cannot be hurt.' The same mismanagement prevailed during the disembarkation at Veldbeck. 'I never,' he wrote, 'saw any fair in Ireland so confused as the landing; had the enemy opposed us, the *remains* of the army would have been on their way to England.' The invading force, which amounted to 25,000 men, invested Copenhagen on the 17th of August. The blockading squadron prevented the Danish army from crossing over from the mainland; and Zealand itself did not contain above 5000 regular troops. The spiritless sorties of the Copenhagen garrison showed that the soldiers who manned the walls were not very formidable, and Napier believed that the English on their arrival might have gone straight into the town. The engineers reported that a regular siege was required, and their views were adopted by Lord Cathcart, who commanded in chief. Much time was expended in landing materials, and William Napier sarcastically remarks that at the end of ten days they had erected one battery, which on trial was found too distant to be useful. The cautious and reserved Sir Arthur Wellesley, in recording some of the subsequent delays, could not refrain from appending a note of admiration.

There was a body of Danish militia and soldiers, to the number of 9000, collected at Roeskilde in the rear of the besiegers, and on the morning of August 26 Sir Arthur Wellesley was sent with 6000 troops to disperse them. His little army was in two divisions, and Captain Napier and his company were with the second, which was commanded by General Linsingen, a German. The enemy, more anxious to elude the English than to grapple with them, departed to Kioge, a place on the coast. There Sir Arthur came up with them on the 29th, and settled that General Linsingen should turn their left flank, while he attacked them in front. The German did not appear at the appointed hour, and Sir Arthur Wellesley struck the blow without waiting for him. A single volley was fired, the 95th charged, and the Danes ran in every direction, throwing away their arms and clothing in their flight. They were for the most part raw militia, who wanted courage because they wanted self-confidence. 'Not a man,' said Sir Arthur, 'would have made his retreat if General Linsingen had carried

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carried into execution his part of the plan.' So said William Napier. 'The division with which I was ought to have been in their rear, and made the whole prisoners, but by General Linsingen halting where he had no business we were too late.' Tardy as he had been in moving forward to the fight, he was active enough in the chase, and the two extremes of the ferocious mercenary and the chivalrous soldier were now exemplified in Napier and his chief.

The atrocities were commenced in the advance to the field of battle. The Hanoverian skirmishers, in their passage through a wood, fired at men in trees, who are supposed by Major Hopkins to have been foolishly placed there by the Danish general. Sir William Napier states that, as they were none of them armed with muskets, they could only have climbed into the branches to hide themselves. They were shot at like birds. Half a dozen were brought down from a single tree; five fell stone dead, and the sixth was mortally wounded. 'Every British soldier,' says Sir William, 'shuddered at the cruelty.' When Sir Arthur Wellesley had routed the rabble in uniform, and the German division pressed forward to hunt the terrified fugitives, the foreign troops persevered in the horrible butchery, and slaughtered 'poor runaways who did not intend to resist.' In the course of the pursuit General Linsingen inquired of a grey-haired peasant which way his countrymen had fled. The old man answered he would not tell, and the general instantly commanded his orderly to shoot him. 'I can assure you,' William Napier wrote to his mother, 'that from the general of the Germans down to the smallest drumboy in the legion the earth never groaned with such a set of infamous murdering villains.' The day after the skirmish at Kioge a large village was occupied, and General Linsingen appeared in a new character. He groped in the common sewer for money reported to be concealed there, and summoned a man from the 43rd to assist him. Captain Napier immediately called the man back, and bid him behave like a soldier. From searching the sewer the general proceeded to rob the church. The doors were strong, and he set the troops to break in through the roof, having raised with his own hands one of the ladders for the purpose. Unable to endure the infamy any longer, Captain Napier, at the risk of his commission, expressed his disgust to General Linsingen, and demanded to be allowed to rejoin his regiment in Sir Arthur Wellesley's division. His request was granted, and he was ordered to escort with him to the army four hundred prisoners, of whom three hundred were women and decrepit old men. Ignorant of the road, he had to guide his movements by the steeples during a march of three days, and at night

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night he lodged his prisoners in the churches. The numbers of his captives diminished as he advanced. 'The women,' he says, 'I fear had been taken for a shameful purpose. I thought it scandalous to carry them through the country, and to shut them up at night with the men, and therefore left them in the first village I halted at.' The aged peasants in his train were equally released as they passed their homes. The column was finally reduced to sixty able-bodied rustics, who had strength to wield a weapon, but who had no badge of having served.

General Linsingen's division were not alone in their evil deeds. Three days after the landing Napier said in a letter, 'The country people give the soldiers everything they want, and in return are plundered and abused, for which we hang and flog the soldiers every day. British soldiers fight well, but are the greatest scoundrels possible.' He was not yet aware of the superior claim of the Germans to the appellation. The 43rd committed some depredations at the outset, and were severely punished by the officers. The regiment, being better than others, was believed to be worse, since the exceptional rigour with which crimes were repressed was supposed to indicate an exceptional depravity. General Linsingen favoured the conclusion by reporting that Captain Napier and his company had perpetrated the outrages which disgraced the Germans. Far from marauding, his company throughout their marches had not even plucked one of the cherries with which the country abounded, and at the investment of Copenhagen a good soldier, who gathered a few from a tree in front of his quarters, received twenty-five lashes. 'The ground,' says Sir William, 'immediately round the capital was rendered a waste by the besieging corps, under the eyes of the general commanding; but where the 43rd were stationed, a little beyond the circle of actual attack, was an oasis.' The humanity displayed by Captain Napier in his first campaign was never obliterated by familiarity with sights of woe, which commonly hardens the tenderest mind. 'My heart bled,' wrote Sir Charles in India, 'almost as much for every Belooch slain as for my own people. To this my great and admirable father reared me, not as a ruffian to delight in blood, but as a soldier to save blood where it could be saved, and to wage war for England with a heart bent to soften its miseries to man.' The sentiment pervaded the whole being of William. No one struggled more fiercely for victory, but never with callous cruelty or angry hate. He saw brother heroes in the opposing ranks, and admired their courage, and pitied their misfortunes. He would rather have laid down his own life than wantonly, and therefore wickedly, have taken the life of a foe.

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The Danes were convinced of the hopelessness of resistance, and defended the capital with no other view than to preserve their credit. They would have relinquished the contest the moment they had a sufficient military excuse, and Sir Arthur Wellesley maintained that any mode of reducing a town which was ready to yield when the point of honour was satisfied, must be preferable to the destructive process of bombardment. By occupying the island of Amag, which formed one side of the harbour, the investment of Copenhagen would have been complete. There were not less than seventy or eighty thousand inhabitants, and when they were cut off from their supplies they must speedily have surrendered. Sir Arthur Wellesley, in his official correspondence, employed the form of assuming that there must be some reason he could not penetrate why a project should be neglected that had at once presented itself to his intuitive sagacity. He suggested that the omission to adopt the scheme might possibly arise from the necessity of detaching troops to crush the militia at Kioge. He scattered and disarmed the militia; his force was free to take possession of Amag, and he submitted a plan to Lord Cathcart for effecting the object. Unhappily his counsels did not prevail. The bombardment commenced at the beginning of September, and lasted three days and nights. 'Whole streets,' wrote an eye-witness, 'were level with the ground; eighteen hundred houses were destroyed; the principal church was in ruins; almost every house in the town bore marks of violence; fifteen hundred of the inhabitants had lost their lives, and a vast number were wounded.' Then the Danes conceived they might capitulate without disgrace, and resigned their fleet into the hands of the English. Two brothers of William Napier served at the siege—George, who was in the division of Sir Arthur Wellesley at the skirmish of Kioge, and Henry, a midshipman, who was often engaged in boats against the sea-batteries of the enemy. The midshipman had in his crew an Irish sailor of giant stature, who, as he overtopped his shipmates by some inches, thought it discreet to stoop when the shot was flying thick. 'For shame! hold up your head,' thundered Henry Napier from the stern. 'I will, sir,' replied the giant, 'when there is room.'

William Napier was back in England the first week in November. He brought away from Denmark no inspiriting recollections. 'The account of our operations,' he said, 'is short, being a compound of stupidity, vanity, and villany.' His next employment was the greatest which fell to the lot of his or any other generation of soldiers. He was one of the army which was

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was sent to fight out the mighty contest between France and England on Spanish ground. There he performed his heroic exploits; there he acquired his military experience; there he matured his strategical genius; there he laid the foundations of the work which has secured him a celebrated name in literature as well as in the science of war. Hence it is the most memorable period of his life. The army which was about to try its fortunes in the Peninsula was to consist of 35,000 men. The troops already in Portugal were to furnish upwards of 20,000, which were to march under the general-in-chief, Sir John Moore, and with him went Captain George Napier as aide-de-camp, and Major Charles Napier in command of the 50th. A fresh force of 13,000 soldiers was to be sent from England to Corunna under Sir David Baird; and with him went William Napier and the 43rd. Lady Sarah looked forward with proud confidence to the distinction which would be gained by her sons. Unless, she said to William, they discharged their functions 'in a superior way, the Napier heart would not be satisfied with itself.' 'I leave you,' she proceeded, 'who so well know what ought to be the feelings of the widow of such a person as your father—to you, I say, I leave it to form a judgment on mine at a crisis so important as will probably be the close of this year.' Captain Napier was at Colchester in September, 1808, when the 43rd got intelligence that they were to embark at Harwich. On the 13th of October they were in the harbour of Corunna. The head-quarters of Moore left Lisbon on the 26th of that month, but Baird's division, detained by the miserable obstructions of the Spaniards, could not move forward till November. Moore's corps had 300 miles to march, and Baird's 200, before a junction could be effected in the interior of the country.

Captain Napier, and his friend Lloyd, met with a gracious reception from the Spanish ladies. Both of them were men distinguished for their majestic appearance, their singular talents, and their gay and spirited talk. They were young, they were soldiers, they were hastening onwards to do battle with the choicest troops of France, commanded by a genius who was the terror of Europe. These were circumstances to inspire a peculiar interest; and it was no wonder that William Napier should write from Corunna: 'The women are extremely attentive to us, endeavouring to teach us the language, which is very easy, and are delighted if we dance with them. In short, we are very near on the footing with them that we should be with old friends in England.' The families in Corunna gave him and Lloyd letters to families in Lugo, forty miles distant. 'There,' he says, 'we met with more attention than I ever saw before in anybody to strangers.

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strangers. The girls teach me the language very fast; and we were such favourites that they gave us more letters to this place.' He was then at Villafranca, where the same excessive kindness was repeated. His social triumphs were not unalloyed by hardships. They had had a fatiguing march of 120 miles in the rain. Their accommodations when they halted did not alleviate the discomforts of the road. 'Our quarters,' he wrote, 'are worse than anything you can conceive from the worst description of the worst inns in the very worst part of Spain.' 'War in Spain,' said the Duke of Wellington, 'is much less of an evil than in other countries. There is no property to destroy. Enter a house, the walls are bare; there is no furniture.' Dirt alone abounded. The gentlemen were dirty in their persons, and the ladies were not entirely free from the reproach. Napier's female admirers, impressed we presume by the superior whiteness of English teeth, lamented that they had no means of cleaning their own, and he wrote to his mother for a supply of tooth-brushes and tooth-powder, which he intended to distribute among his fair entertainers.

The army had been launched into Spain under a delusion. The nation was believed to have woke from its long lethargy like a giant refreshed. The noisy enthusiasm with which the people had risen against the French was accepted as the indication of a persevering patriotism which preferred death to defeat. Napier showed his sagacity in the quickness with which he detected the imposition. He noticed that the men at Corunna were 'poor, frippery, little apprentice-looking people.' He had already begun to doubt the Spartan valour with which they were accredited; and when he mentioned that the peasants in training were about equal in discipline to our militia, he added, '*if* they have the courage to fight.' By the time he reached Villafranca he discovered that the lower classes were indolent, 'cruel, cheating, proud, and crafty.' He said they ought to be flogged for their laziness, and exterminated for their treatment of animals. He noticed that the prisoners who had been taken by the Spaniards were without exception Germans from the Rhenish confederation, and that there was not a single Frenchman or good soldier among them. He was struck with the empty vaunts which resounded on every side, and inferred that the bombastic language was a symptom of imbecility in action. 'I hope,' he wrote November 10, 'I am no prophet; but if the British troops do not save Spain, I think the Spaniards cannot; for so vain are they that already they talk of invading France, forgetting that the best general and 300,000 of the second best troops in the world are to be conquered first.' His prophecy had a speedy fulfilment. 'The English alone are to be feared in Spain,' said Napoleon, a little

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little more than a twelvemonth afterwards; 'the rest are mere partisans, who can never keep the field.' The rulers had all the vices and weaknesses of the populace. Their incapacity was glaring to the last; and the Duke of Wellington asserted that he had met with many able men in Portugal, but never one in Spain. Their patriotic professions were subservient to their private selfishness; and they were much more anxious to make money of their allies than to emancipate the country from foreign thraldom. A part of the vexatious delay which Baird experienced at Corunna, and which jeopardised the safety of both divisions of the army, was to enable the authorities to extort exorbitant sums for transport. They habitually violated truth; and frequent exposure had no effect in checking their shameless inventions. Though their troops were powerless to withstand the shock of battle, their conceit rendered them jealous of their deliverers, and their ill-dissembled hostility frequently prevailed over their active assistance. Arrogant, boastful, procrastinating, inefficient, rapacious, improvident, cruel, and false, they were the reverse of all which England imagined when she despatched an army to their aid. Moore was told that he would find 180,000 dauntless men in line of battle, backed by an exasperated, determined people. He found, on the contrary, routed soldiers, an apathetic population, an impotent government, and sullen opposition. He arrived at Salamanca with a portion of his forces towards the end of November, and saw himself isolated in a country where Napoleon had 330,000 splendid troops, of which 230,000 could be readily detached to sweep away the British.

Moore shared the conviction of his men that English soldiers were superior to French; but as he was a general in the field, and not a ranting hero of romance, he was compelled to recognise the fact that the French host must overpower 23,583 English, which was all he could assemble for the fight. 'Everything that is to be done must be done by us,' said Lord Wellington, August 24, 1809, when he could bring into battle 25,000 English and 10,000 Portuguese; 'and certainly the British army cannot be deemed to be sufficiently strong to be the only acting efficient military body to be opposed to a French army consisting of not less than 70,000 men.' With a smaller force than that of Wellington, and a far more numerous enemy, Moore at once arrived at the conclusion, which has been confirmed by Sir William Napier and every competent authority, that military policy required him to retrace his steps to Lisbon before he could be reached by Napoleon. There he would have been strengthened by the Portuguese levies, and the 6260 British under Cradock. There he might have been joined by the division of Baird,

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Baird, which would have re-embarked at Corunna, and gone round to him by sea. Thither fresh troops could have been forwarded to him from England, and a new campaign might have been devised, adapted to the actual state of affairs. Influenced by the changing course of events, Moore vacillated for a time, and then, instead of commencing a retreat to the south, he resolved to advance to the north, where Soult with 15,000 men was on the banks of the Carrion, covering the communications with France. Napoleon, judging of what the English general would do by what he ought to have done, took for granted that he was hurrying back to Portugal, and Moore, basing his project upon the error, calculated that he might surprise the division on the Carrion before it could be reinforced, and that, after executing a brilliant feat of arms, he might retire with credit. The French, as actually happened, might learn his movements and be prepared; but if he was baffled in his plan of falling upon a weak and scattered corps, there was a second consequence which he was confident would ensue. Napoleon, who was at Madrid, and who was pushing his conquests in the south, would fly northwards when he perceived that his communications were threatened, that the troops on the Carrion were endangered, and that the English had ventured to a forward position which might permit him by hasty marches to intercept their retreat. The moment he learnt that they had left Salamanca and were not returning to Portugal, he divined the design, and made a rush to cut them off from their new base of operations. The information compelled Moore to abandon the offensive. He pulled up at Sahagun to avoid being overwhelmed, and took the road to Gallicia with Soult at his heels. He had effected a diversion, and intimated a faint hope in his journal and official correspondence that when the south was relieved for a short period from the pressure, the Spanish armies would assemble in the unoccupied provinces, and resist the invader. In his despatch from Corunna he avowed that he had never entertained the slightest expectation that the hope would be realised, and that, if he had adhered to military rules, he should have gone back from Salamanca. 'I was sensible, however,' he continued, 'that the indifference of the Spaniards would never have been believed; that, had the British been withdrawn, the loss of the cause would have been imputed to their retreat; and it was necessary to risk this army to convince the people of England, as well as the rest of Europe, that the Spaniards had neither the power nor the inclination to make any efforts for themselves.' Acting upon this erroneous principle, as it seems to us, though the plea is admitted by Sir William Napier, Moore preferred a retreat with an army pressing on his rear

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rear to a retreat in which he would have brought off his men unmolested. Victories which cannot be justified upon strictly military grounds may impose by their splendour, and have a moral result which overbalances the evils. But in the eyes of the public, who disregard causes in war, and look exclusively to effects, a retreat from Sahagun was the same as a retreat from Salamanca, or, to speak more correctly, produced a stronger conviction of the mismanagement of the campaign in proportion to the greater disasters it involved.

The retreat to Corunna was commenced on the 24th of December. The morning of the 26th the reserve crossed the Esla by the bridge of Castro Gonzalo. The Rifles and the 1st battalion of the 43rd formed a brigade under General Craufurd, which was directed to remain and destroy the bridge when the stores and stragglers had passed. William Napier and his company were alternately employed in the destruction of the bridge, and in holding the heights on the rearward bank. Napoleon had advanced from Madrid with more than his usual celerity, and in the night of the 26th the cavalry scouts of the imperial guard captured some women and baggage. Two soldiers of the 43rd had been set to keep a look-out. In the event of the French appearing one was instructed to stand firm, while the other, having fired, was to run to the brow of the hill, and indicate whether the force was great or small. The soldier who ran was overtaken by the cavalry, received upwards of a dozen sabre cuts in an instant, and, undismayed by his frightful wounds, staggered on to give the signal. The second soldier, true to his orders, remained steady at his post, and fought with his assailants. His knapsack, cap, and musket were cut in twenty places, his bayonet was bent double, notched like a saw, and bloody to the hilt, and he himself remained unhurt. Napier had reason to speak exultingly of his 'gallant men.' Two days and two nights they worked, and watched, and fought amid sleet and rain, and up to their knees in clay, without being relieved for an hour. At midnight on the 28th their weary duty was accomplished, and the soldiers, descending silently from the opposite heights, marched in tempestuous darkness over planks laid across the broken arches, and went forward to Benevente. War is full of hair-breadth escapes, and their timely arrival at Benevente averted a horrible calamity. Several thousand infantry were asleep in the upper part of a convent built round a square. The lower part was filled with cavalry, and for this multitude of men and horses there was only one outlet. Coming in from the bridge with William Napier, Lloyd perceived that a large window-shutter was in flames, and that the straw with which the place

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place was covered must presently catch fire. Silently, because an alarm would have produced a destructive scramble to escape,—swiftly, because there was not an instant to be lost,—Lloyd leaped along the backs of the horses, and, wrenching off the shutter, flung it out of the window.

On the march from Benevente Captain Napier stayed half a mile behind his company to succour an exhausted soldier. He was engaged, according to his nature, in his usual work of humanity, when he was overtaken by a party of his old friends the Germans, who, according to their nature, were employed in their favourite work of plunder. They had a spring cart filled with goods, and he insisted that they should allow the poor soldier to ride. The Germans attacked Captain Napier for his interference. He had to defend himself with the musket and bayonet of his patient, and would have been killed if a rifleman, who started up from behind a wall, had not gone to his aid. He was victorious in the scuffle, captured one of the marauders, carried him off to the column in front, and got him consigned to the provost. At Bonillos, a little beyond Astorga, General Craufurd's brigade was ordered to break off from the principal line of retreat, and direct its steps through Orense to Vigo. On the last day of the year 1808 the rear-guard of Moore marched out of Astorga, and on the first day of the year 1809 Napoleon, with a mighty force, marched in. He was just too late. 'The English,' he wrote to Joseph, 'ought to be grateful to the mountain of Guadarrama, and to the horrible mud, for opposing our progress.' Events demanded the presence of the Emperor in another quarter; and his prey having slipped past before he could spread the net, he intrusted the further pursuit to Soult. The hardships of Napier did not cease when he diverged from the central road. He was charged with the care of a large convoy of sick and stores, which by unremitting exertion he conducted to Vigo without leaving man or cart behind. His only clothes were a pair of linen trousers and a jacket. He was without shoes, and his swelled and naked feet bled at every step. General Craufurd could not endure the spectacle, and turned away his head. The intelligence of his friend's deplorable condition reached the ears of Macleod, who lent him his spare horse, or he would have perished by the way. His sufferings, as it was, produced a violent fever, which, he says, weakened his constitution, and from which he hardly escaped with life. His campaign ended at Vigo, where he embarked. His brothers had gone to Corunna with Moore.

When the English army left Spain it had fewer men by four thousand than when it entered. This was only a portion of the loss. A dreadful fever, brought on by anxiety, privation, and fatigue,

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fatigue, swept off numbers after they had gained the ships or been landed in England. It was a terrible homage to have paid to the fear of misrepresentation—a fear which was doubtless quickened by the clamour against the Convention of Cintra. The costly sacrifice did not attain its end. The general and the army suffered in reputation, and when, in the lapse of years, the heroic nature of both was understood, the knowledge came too late to affect the contest. The battle of Corunna, which was the single event that qualified the censure, was no part of Moore's plan, and was too hazardous to have been undertaken if it had not been forced upon him by the accident that the transports, detained by contrary winds, were not in the harbour when he arrived. Yet, admitting that his decision was faulty in choosing a disastrous in place of a safe retreat, and in wasting his strength out of deference to ignorant criticisms in place of reserving it to oppose the enemy by the concentration of a powerful force at Lisbon, large allowances must still be made for the sensitive honour which is the soul of armies, and which submits to any reproach rather than endure the accusation of want of daring. His generalship is a separate question, and is settled by the decisive authority of the Duke of Wellington, who had a high opinion of his capacity, and said that all he wanted was practice in the direction of a large body of troops. At the Convention of Cintra Sir Arthur Wellesley had given a stronger proof than words of his confidence in the military abilities of Moore. 'You and I,' he said, 'are now the only men; and if you are to command, I am ready to serve under you.' But it was not to the Duke of Wellington that Moore owed the rescue of his character and talents from the damaging impressions engendered by his retreat. When he uttered his dying words, 'I hope my country will do me justice,' he little dreamt that he would be indebted for this justice to the masterly defence of a junior officer, who, with tattered garments and bleeding feet, had been sent to escort a convoy of sick to Vigo. A regret instinctively arises that Moore could not be prescient of the future fame and generous devoted championship of Napier. There is compensation in the provision that a noble nature can never display itself without winning the admiration of some looker-on, who, stimulated solely by the sympathy for injured greatness, resolves to see it righted before the world.

Shot in the leg, bayoneted in the back, cut over the head with a sabre, and battered with the but-end of a musket, Charles Napier had been taken prisoner at the battle of Corunna, and was believed to have been killed. William reached Plymouth in February, 1809, and wrote to his mother to console her. 'It

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'It must be some comfort to you,' he said, 'to know that he fell like a soldier fighting for his country, that his regiment distinguished themselves, and, more than all, that he fell with Moore, the best and bravest soldier that England had. For me, my dear mother, my unlucky fate has still followed me. Having been sent to Vigo, I have returned without having an opportunity either of dying like my darling Charles, or of contributing to revenge his and Moore's death. I long much to see you, for sorrow draws the cords of affection close, and our sorrow is great, and with reason; for we have lost the best friend, and best brother and son that God ever made.' They had mourned him for two months when the Government sent a frigate to inquire into his fate. Ney liberated him on hearing that his mother was old, a widow, and blind; and, while she was sorrowing for him, he suddenly reappeared in England. In the battle he was far in advance, leading on the 50th with signal distinction, when Lord William Bentinck ordered it to retire. Charles Napier imagined that his men had turned of their own accord, and on General Renaud asking him how he was taken, he answered in anger, 'Taken because my regiment would not come on!' The anguish of the disgrace prevailed in his mind over the agony of his wounds, and continued to trouble him throughout his captivity. On his arrival in England, some of his family walked to meet the coach which was bearing to them the brother who had come back as from the grave. He leaped to the ground on catching sight of them, and rushing up to them exclaimed fiercely, without a word of greeting, 'George, did my regiment run away?'

In June, 1809, William Napier landed again in the Peninsula, to fight under the general whose massive genius and iron will were to triumph alike over the mistrust of England and the legions of France. His extraordinary capacity for war was not adequately appreciated at this period by any, and was doubted by numbers in his own army. The victory of Vimiero had lost nearly all its glory in the public estimation by the subsequent Convention of Cintra, and though the Convention was not the act of Sir Arthur Wellesley, he was so involved in the reproach that, on his return to England, Lord Castlereagh was unwilling to take him to the levee. As his plan for improving the victory had been frustrated by the arrival of his superior in command, no regard was paid to a project which Napier pronounces would, if executed, have been enough of itself to have ranked Sir Arthur among the eminent captains of the world. 'The statue of Hercules,' adds Sir William, 'cast by Lysippus, was only a foot high, yet, says Pliny, it expressed the muscles and bones of the hero

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hero more grandly than the colossal figures of other artists.' The multiplied obstacles the Duke overcame in his subsequent career are surprising to contemplate. Even in the retrospect Napier held that it was easier to admire than to comprehend the extent of his moral intrepidity, vast combinations, and far-reaching penetration. He had brilliantly commenced the campaign of 1809 with driving the French out of Portugal and crossing the Douro, by a stroke of genius, in the presence of the enemy. He had carried the war into Spain, relying on the co-operation of the Spaniards, which turned out worthless, and upon the estimated numbers of the French, which fell enormously short of the truth. He was conducting the war under the double disadvantage of having exceedingly overrated his own strength, and exceedingly underrated the strength of his opponents. Their efforts to force him back produced the battle of Talavera on July 28. 'Whole corps of the Spaniards,' said Lord Wellington, 'threw away their arms and ran off in my presence when they were neither attacked nor threatened with an attack, but frightened, I believe, by their own fire.' The fugitives, wishing to excuse their cowardice, or deluded by their fears, spread the report that the English were defeated and Sir Arthur Wellesley killed. The lying rumour reached General Craufurd, who was with the light division at Malpartida de Plasencia, sixty-two miles from the scene of action. The supposition of disaster would not admit of delay. He determined to accomplish the distance in a single march, and at the end of twenty-six hours his brigade was crossing the field of battle. William Napier was not with his company. He was confined to his bed at Plasencia with an attack of pleurisy, for which he had been bled four times in two days. The story of the defeat was brought to his sick-room, and with the identical feeling which impelled Craufurd he arose and walked forty-eight miles to Oropesa. There he hired a horse, and rode on to Talavera. At the gate of the town he fell from his saddle with weakness and fatigue, and some Spanish soldiers, concluding from his blue great coat that he was a Frenchman, were about to kill him, when he was rescued by an officer of the 45th Regiment, and taken on a mule to the light division at the outposts.

'I have never heard in any one instance,' Lord Wellington wrote to Lord Castlereagh, August 25, 1809, 'that the Spaniards have behaved as soldiers ought to do in presence of an enemy. They make no scruple of running off, and after an action are to be found in every village and every shady bottom within fifty miles of the field of battle. According to the usual Spanish custom, they throw away their arms, accoutrements, and clothing. They

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They are really children in the art of war, and I cannot say that they do anything as it ought to be done, except running away and assembling again in a state of nature.' To advance against the French in conjunction with such allies, only to be deserted by them in the instant of battle, was to court destruction. Lord Wellington was driven to depend upon his own resources, small in themselves, but mighty when directed by his long-sighted sagacity. The campaign of 1810 found him standing upon the defensive in the kingdom of Portugal. The French had long threatened the Spanish frontier town of Ciudad Rodrigo, and they invested it in June. The place was of vast importance, whether for impeding the invasion of Portugal by the enemy, or for securing to Lord Wellington the outlet into Spain. Early in the year he sent General Craufurd with the light division across the Coa, to keep up the communications between that river and the Agueda, upon which Ciudad Rodrigo was built. Admirable arrangements and the utmost alertness were required to maintain this forward position in the face of 60,000 men. Massena endeavoured to goad Lord Wellington into a ruinous attack by putting forth taunting proclamations, of which Sir William disposes in one of his happy classical quotations. 'If thou art a great captain, Marius, come down and fight. If thou art a great captain, Silo, make me come down and fight.' The English Marius remained in the rear, watching for an opening to relieve Ciudad Rodrigo, but resolute not to invite defeat, or win too costly a victory. On the 11th of July the place surrendered, and a few days afterwards the French advanced in force into the country between the Agueda and the Coa. Craufurd had been especially instructed by Lord Wellington that when the event occurred he was to fall back upon his supports beyond the river, and was not to fight as if the supports were to move forward to him. He was a man of a fiery and defiant disposition, and had, says Sir William, 'a feverish thirst for distinction.' The successful daring with which he had kept for three months his dangerous post inflamed his natural propensities. Unmindful of the difference between the difficult and the impossible, he drew up his troops within a mile of the Coa, and with six guns and 5100 men he determined to give battle to the French, who had thirty guns and 29,000 men. His division was overpowered, and retired fighting as they went. The 43rd had been placed by Craufurd in an enclosure, surrounded by a wall with only a single small opening. Here they must have been taken like birds in a cage, if they had not been liberated by the prompt decision which characterizes self-possessed soldiers. They loosened several large stones in the wall, and the regiment, pressing upon the face of

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of the dislocated portion, cast it by a simultaneous thrust to the ground. They were not a moment too quick. There was no time to form in line, and each company withdrew skirmishing under the command of its captain. The determination to abide the attack of six times his numbers was but a part of Craufurd's rashness. He had fought with the Coa in his rear, and his sole means of retreat over it was by a long narrow bridge. This was crowded with artillery and cavalry; a body of infantry were congregated there unable to pass, and the 52nd, approaching from a different quarter, were still a mile off. The French were closing on the mass, when the courage and calmness of Captain Napier exerted a material influence upon the combat. He rallied his men under a heavy fire, and checked the assailants for other companies to rally with him, that they might cover the bridge till their comrades were across, and the 52nd had come up. Once the enemy drove in the protecting force, and were again repulsed by a gallant charge led by Major Macleod. The company of Captain Napier was one of three which remained till the rest of the 43rd had got over. He was observed by William Kershaw, a private, stooping down at this crisis to bind up the wounds of a poor fellow who had fallen. His work of humanity ended, he commanded a charge to throw back the enemy and gain a pause for the rear-guard to clear the bridge at a run. In his 'History' he has narrated with pride the exploit of his friend. He was silent upon his own, and it is seldom that we catch a glimpse of his individual deeds, which are lost in the multitudinous confusion of war. But it was no insignificant service he had rendered. He was thanked for it by the Colonel of his regiment and the General of the division. He had reason to believe that his presence of mind had kept Craufurd from paying for his indiscretion with his life. Wild in his look, and agitated in his manner, he came upon Napier in the road with the appearance of a man who had resolved in desperation to ride in amongst the French. The unexpected sight of a number of his soldiers standing firm when he had given them up for lost, seemed to change his purpose, and he survived to add to the happy feats of generalship which justify his fame.

This was the first battle of the light division. 'Their matchless discipline,' says Sir William, 'was their protection; a phantom hero from Corunna saved them.' 'Every officer and soldier was cool,' says Charles Napier, who had joined them as a volunteer. They gained the mountain slope on the opposite side of the Coa. The cannon drawn up on the heights swept the bridge; and three bloody attempts of the French to cross heaped the passage, almost to the level of the parapet, with their crippled and

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and slain. The rain, which fell in torrents at four o'clock, suspended the conflict, and Craufurd retreated in the night. Thirty years later Sir Charles Napier described how he had started at twelve o'clock on the rearward march; how prostrate he was in body from wet and hunger and fatigue; how depressed in mind from thinking of the hundreds uselessly sacrificed; how rapidly his feelings changed when, at one o'clock in the morning, he reached the cheering bivouac of the 52nd; how pleasant it was to sit naked on the warm rock, sipping tea and eating half-raw beefsteaks, while his dripping clothes were dried at the fire; and how happily and soundly he slept on the mountain when his meal was done. His brother William was not destined to share the soothing repose. He was shot in the hip by a musket-ball which injured the bone, and he did not recover for two months. The casualties had chiefly fallen on the 43rd, and two-fifths of his company were wounded or killed. In the following year Craufurd again ran the risk of losing the light division by his want of expedition in effecting a junction with the army; and Lord Wellington with 14,000 men was in imminent peril *of* an attack by 60,000, while he waited to cover Craufurd's retreat. His chief administered no worse rebuke to him than might be implied in the remark, 'I am glad to see you safe;' and Craufurd is said to have answered, 'Oh! I was in no danger, I assure you.' Upon Lord Wellington retorting, 'But I was, from your conduct,' Craufurd muttered, aside, 'He is crusty to-day.' The anguish and alarm of Craufurd at the Coa had been too great to admit of such petulant bravado. It had been the intention of Lord Wellington to plant the light division on a mountain close to the bridge, with the object of keeping open the communication with the fortress of Almeida, which was now invested by the French, and he relinquished the design from observing that Craufurd was too dispirited to be trusted with the post.

The invasion of Portugal proceeded, the English falling back as the enemy advanced. Massena was confident the British army would take to their ships, and there was a general conviction in the army itself that the retrograde movement must end in embarkation. No one besides the great captain had conceived the idea that the heights of Torres Vedras could be rendered an insuperable rampart. Before he entered his intrenchments he was induced to try and bar the road to the French at Busaco. The position on the crest and slope of this mountain was singularly strong, and some of the officers doubted whether Massena would venture to assail it. 'If he does,' said Lord Wellington, 'I shall beat him.' The battle commenced at daybreak on the 27th of September, when the onset of the enemy, concealed by the mist,

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was only announced by the ring of the musketry and the coming in of the English skirmishers, who fired hard as they withdrew. The Napiers had just been informed of the death of their 'beloved sister Caroline.' 'I must not wish other than has been ordained,' said Charles Napier to his mother, 'but had it been in mortal choice the daughter should have wiped the tears that fell for the son.' Thus sorrowing, the brothers embraced in silent grief, and each departed to his post. 'It was at Busaco I saw you,' wrote General Brotherton to William Napier, in 1844, 'go down amongst the enemy *en sabreur*, with your glass to your eye, as coolly as if you had been dancing a quadrille.' Early in the day Charles was shot in the head, and George in the hip. The last was leading a charge against a French column when he fell, and he continued, as he lay on the ground, to wave his sword, and shout to his soldiers to rush on. They responded to his call. 'Brutality,' wrote Charles, 'is our nature. When hit at Busaco, it gave me pleasure to be told George's men had just bayoneted a whole regiment. Strange! Strange! Strange!' William escaped. The light division was in front, on the left, and Craufurd had disposed them in a manner to produce a great result with trivial loss. The French had to climb the steep side of the mountain. The German infantry were stationed high up, and appeared to the enemy to be the English line of battle. But a quarter of a mile lower there was a hollow in the ground, and the 43rd and 52nd were ranged along it, completely hidden from the sight of the ascending column, which came on with eyes fixed on the Germans above. Craufurd watched the moment to give the word to charge, and eighteen hundred men rose up suddenly from the ground with a tremendous shout, and with fire and steel rolled the startled column down the hill.

The French, deducting artillery, had 66,000 men at Busaco, and, exclusive of artillery, Lord Wellington had 49,000, of which one half were Portuguese. The loss of the Allies was 1,300, and that of the French is estimated by Napier to have been 4,500. The attack had been repelled, and a fearful chastisement inflicted, but an attempt to follow up the victory would have brought an equal disaster on the conquerors; for Massena's ground was as formidable as their own, and his numbers far greater. In spite of his defeat, he was free to turn the position he was unable to force, and he succeeded in passing along a road to the left of the British. This had been apprehended by Lord Wellington, who endeavoured to counteract the movement, and failing, he continued his journey to the lines. Massena was already straitened for provisions, his communications with Spain were severed, a body of militia and cavalry had collected to act in his rear, and the entire

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entire country was against him. The English commander thought it likely that the check he had received would convince him of the impolicy of braving these accumulated dangers on the desperate chance of carrying later a more difficult position, in which the Allies would be reinforced, while the French army would be diminished by the hardships of the advance. Yet, plausible as were the motives for fighting at Busaco, Lord Wellington would have preferred to avoid an action when victory would not permit him to give the law, and when defeat would have entailed a heavy sacrifice of men, would have embarrassed his retreat, would have jeopardised his defences, and might have ruined his authority in England and Portugal. It was exactly, however, because that authority was not sufficient to support his grand conceptions that he halted, and stood the assault. The people and government at Lisbon had little faith in the measures of a general who retired before the foe. They could not appreciate his consummate plan for saving the country; and unless he could raise their sinking hopes, there were symptoms that they would refuse to abide the issue. He considered it expedient to dazzle them by a stroke which would produce the courage and confidence essential to keep them from ruining the cause; and it was mainly with this view that he submitted to what he called the 'political battle' of Busaco. He said that upon military principles it would have been a mistake.

The Allied army took up its ground within the lines on the 15th of October. Massena had been strangely misinformed upon the topography of Portugal, and was absolutely ignorant of the barrier which awaited him. He reconnoitered it in every direction, and arrived at the conclusion that it did not present a single vulnerable point to the troops at his disposal. 'You turned me grey,' he remarked afterwards to the Duke of Wellington at Paris. Soult said of Massena that 'he knew war well; that he was excellent in great danger; negligent and worthless out of danger.' Napoleon's estimate of him was similar. 'Danger gave his thoughts force and clearness. His dispositions for a battle were always bad, but his temper was pertinacious to the last degree; he was never discouraged.' The weakness and the strength of his character were both exhibited in his invasion of Portugal. He had shown his negligence during the advance, when, relying on his superior numbers, he fancied that he should drive the English to the sea. He displayed his coolness, his skill, his vigilance, and his tenacity as soon as his faculties were roused by the perils of his situation. The Duke of Wellington passed on him the high eulogium of saying, 'Whilst he was in front of me at Torres Vedras I always found him where I did not wish to find

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find him.' 'When Massena was opposed to me, and in the field,' he said on another occasion, 'I never slept comfortably.' An army without magazines, or a base of operations, must derive its subsistence from the territory in which it is quartered; and Lord Wellington, to render Portugal untenable to the French, required that the inhabitants should carry their goods behind the lines, and that the food which could not be removed should be destroyed. His commands were imperfectly executed, and the pinching scarcity was deferred; but it had been partially felt from the outset, and as early as October 27 he announced his conviction to Lord Liverpool that the consummation was at hand. 'All the accounts,' he said, 'which I have received of the distresses of the enemy for want of provisions would lead me to a belief that their army could not remain long in the position in which it is placed; and it is astonishing that they have been able to remain here so long.' The year passed away, and the pertinacious Massena was feeding his legions still, without giving any indication of an intention to retreat. 'It is certainly astonishing,' wrote Lord Wellington on December 21, 'that the enemy have been able to remain in this country so long; and it is an extraordinary instance of what a French army can do. It is positively a fact that they brought no provisions with them, and they have not received even a letter since they entered Portugal. With all our money, and having in our favour the good inclinations of the country, I assure you that I could not maintain one division in the district in which they have maintained not less than 60,000 men and 29,000 animals for more than two months. This time last year I was obliged to move the British cavalry from the district which they now occupy with their whole army, because it could not be subsisted. But they take everything, and leave the unfortunate inhabitants to starve.' The cruelty was detestable; but apart from the methods he employed the fortitude of Massena was magnanimous. The French had scoured the country for leagues to pick up food, and every day the desert-circle spread; they were incessantly harassed by the militia and cavalry in their distant foraging expeditions, and were exposed to the vengeance of an exasperated people for their pillage and murders; they were suffering dreadful privations, and dying rapidly of the diseases which privations engender; they were cut off from all relations with the world beyond their camp, and were rarely able to get a secret messenger safe across the frontier; and it was in this desolate situation that they were liable any hour to be attacked by an army which was now more numerous than their own. The marshals and officers murmured. 'I alone,' said Massena, 'wished

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to remain in Portugal; and unless I had manifested a very determined will we should not have stayed there fifteen days. Never before have I been so worried, or experienced such opposition.' The calculations of Lord Wellington tallied precisely with those of the murmuring French. The pertinacity of a general who was never discouraged, had baffled alike the conclusions of his companions in arms, and the commander-in-chief of the Allies, and, in defiance of remonstrances, he clung for five months to a locality where it was supposed that he could not sustain himself above a fortnight.

With far profounder views, which were destined to be crowned with success instead of ending in failure, Massena's adversary was called upon to exercise the same indomitable self-reliance. He said on reviewing his proceedings that it required 'something worse than firmness to carry him through.' He said that every British officer was of opinion that he ought to embark, that the Portuguese were of opinion that he ought to have protected their frontiers, and that the public in England changed their opinions with the wind. His conduct met with no more approval when he seemed to be temporising behind the lines. Thousands of the inhabitants were suffering grievously from want, the native government left their troops without the commonest necessaries, and the English had a presentiment that their own commissariat would fail. 'I do not think,' William Napier wrote to his mother in January, 1811, 'there will be much fighting here, but rather that we shall be obliged to leave the country from want of provisions ourselves, strange as it may appear.' When this was the expectation of an acute and spirited officer, it is easy to imagine how gloomy must have been the forebodings of the ignorant multitude whose minds were subjugated by the surrounding distress. Massena informed the Emperor that one of his motives for holding his ground was the hope that the people at Lisbon would rise against their defenders. Lord Wellington had it in his power to convert the universal reproach into general acclamations by sallying out against the French and winning a victory. But posted as they were, it could not be accomplished without sacrificing the flower of his troops, and to ruin his army was to win the campaign at the expense of the cause. The process of recruiting and training was too slow to fill up his ranks in time to cope afterwards with the steady produce of a relentless conscription, and the piercing eye of the provident captain, ranging far beyond the enemy encamped at his feet, was fixed on the distant horizon when he should stand a conqueror in the southern borders of France. Misunderstood by the world at large, there was one kindred genius who comprehended his tactics,

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tactics, and recognised their wisdom. 'If,' wrote Berthier to Massena by the orders of the Emperor, 'a great battle should go against you, the consequences to England of a great number of men killed would be enormous, and would, in her case, be equivalent to a defeat.' With a clear perception of the fact, Lord Wellington remained unshaken in his resolve to leave hunger and sickness to do the work of the sword, till the hour should arrive when he could secure a victory upon profitable terms without purchasing it at the cost of future efficiency. 'I had not much to look to,' he said, 'excepting myself;' and to trust to himself against everybody, in the midst of perils and misery, demanded an extraordinary combination of qualities,—an intellectual vision, which, penetrating through the ignorant present, could not be obscured or distorted; a moral fearlessness, which, rejecting every consideration but the simple notion of what was best, could not be swayed by any amount of reprobation or entreaty; and a prodigious self-restraint, which, disdaining to purchase the applause of the nations who condemned him by any step detrimental to their permanent interests, could not be tempted to take the path to immediate ease and individual glory. The spring of 1811 saw the commencement of the events which were to vindicate his foresight, and reward his endurance. Massena had consumed the provisions of the country around him to a distance of five or six marches, and nothing remained but roots, acorns, and weeds. The men were in rags, their shoes were worn out, the heavy rains increased their wretchedness, and the camp was filled with sick. The horses were without provender, and were feeble, dying, or dead; the incessant demands on the transport service had used up the carts; the very ammunition was getting low; and the sole alternative was between destruction and departure.

The utmost limits of pertinacity had been reached, and on March 5, 1811, Massena commenced his retreat. He conducted it like a master. The main body moved forward, and was covered by one or two *corps d'armée*, which continually took up a formidable position, where an attack could only be made at a disadvantage. With a skill which was never at fault, Lord Wellington was accustomed to turn the positions, and act upon the flanks of the French before engaging them in front. A series of combats was carried on upon this principle throughout the line of retreat. 'Day after day,' says Sir William, 'Ney, the indomitable Ney, offered battle with the rear-guard, and a stream of fire ran along the wasted valleys of Portugal from the Tagus to the Mondego, from the Mondego to the Coa.' On the 14th of March one of these conflicts occurred at Casal Nova,

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and was the means of inflicting years of physical torture on William Napier.

The allies at the period of the pursuit were up at three o'clock in the morning, started at four, and halted at seven in the evening. At dawn on March 14 Lord Wellington was directing some movements to turn the left of the French. A heavy mist concealed their front, and Sir William Erskine, who then commanded the light division, and who is said by Charles Napier to have been the 'laughing-stock of the army,' put his troops in motion under the belief, which he did not take the trouble to verify, that the enemy were marching away. Several officers objected to the rash experiment of plunging into the mist without any definite information; 'but Erskine,' says Napier in his History, 'disregarding these remonstrances with astounding indifference, sent the 52nd forward in a simple column of sections, without an advanced guard, and even before the piquets had come in.' 'The more I see of the Generals,' said William Napier in one of his letters, 'the more I wonder at Lord Wellington's success.' 'I certainly,' said Lord Wellington himself, when deploring an event which occurred through the negligence of the same Sir William Erskine, 'feel every day more and more the difficulty of the situation in which I am placed. I am obliged to be everywhere, and if absent from any operation, something goes wrong. It is to be hoped that the general and other officers of the army will at last acquire that experience which will teach them that success can be attained only by attention to the most minute details.' This was written in May, and Casal Nova might have taught the lesson in March. The 52nd, followed by the Rifles, descended the hill-side, crossed the ravine at the bottom, and was ascending the path on the opposite slope, when their progress was suddenly checked by round shot and bullets. Soon the mist began to disperse, and instead of the clear road which Erskine assumed to be before him, there was displayed to the eyes of the light division the corps of Ney, with a single English regiment contending in the midst of it. Captain Napier was sent with six companies of the 43rd to assist the unsupported 52nd on their left. He halted four companies at a particular point to watch his flanks, and with the remaining two he reached the left of the 52nd, immediately after they had charged the French, and in time to rescue Captain Dobbs and a couple of soldiers, who were cut off from the rest. The English had stopped at the wall of an enclosure. Dobbs and Napier agreed that the boldest course was the safest, and calling upon the men to follow, they leaped upon the wall, and jumped down with a shout which sent the enemy flying in the apprehension that it was the

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the prelude to a furious assault. The soldiers, however, who had been rescued with Dobbs, alone sprang forward at the cry of their leaders, and the four arrived by themselves at the opposite wall of the enclosure. The French, on discovering that they were not pursued, turned round and fired violently. 'Stung,' says Napier, 'by the backwardness of my men, I told Dobbs I would save him or lose my life by bringing up the two companies.' Dobbs entreated him not to make the attempt, since it was impossible to move from under the wall and live. He went, and passed through the shower of bullets unhurt. Both the companies, in the absence of their captains, were commanded by lieutenants inexpert in their profession, and obnoxious from their tyrannical dispositions to the privates. One of them was a duellist; but, with courage enough for single combats, he was a picture of abject terror in battle. When Napier returned to the first wall he found him lying with his face to the ground. Reproaches and exhortations to remember his uniform were completely lost on him. He did not stir. Then Napier flung a large stone at his head, which induced him to rise. Again the word to advance was given. The companies cleared the wall, and the wretched lieutenant obeyed the impulse. He had no sooner got to the other side than his fright was renewed, and he stood in a stupor with staring eyes and spread-out hands. A step had been gained. Without delay William Napier continued his course to the second wall, and a second time he made the perilous passage in safety, but made it alone. 'It was only,' wrote Major Houlton to him in 1841, 'to mention to the men that you were at their head, and a sort of frenzied courage immediately possessed them, so that they were equal to anything.' The dispiriting influence of the coward had for once prevailed over the animating example of the hero. Every soldier had edged to the right to escape the heavy fire, and the dastardly lieutenant led the way. He it was that had prevented the original advance, and the pusillanimity of a single unworthy member was victorious over the invincible 43rd. Maddened by their disobedience, William Napier for the third time was crossing the dangerous field to renew his efforts to bring them on, when he was struck in his spine by a bullet and fell. In 1858, when nearly half a century had elapsed, he was attacked by an illness which threatened to be mortal. 'In looking back,' he said, 'on my life, it would be a comfort to me now if I could remember to have done a perfectly self-sacrificing act,—if I could think I had been ready and willing at any moment to lay down my life for another person's good. I try to remember, but I cannot remember that I ever did. I have often run into danger and exposed

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exposed myself, sometimes to save others. Yes, I have done that, but there was always a springing hope, a sort of conviction that I should escape; and that being so, away flies the merit. The nearest thing I ever did to absolute self-sacrifice was at Casal Nova, when I received in my back the ball that lies there still.' These words, spoken in the prospect of death, render it plain that he expected to be killed, and that the sole motive for his conduct was the determination to save the life of a comrade or perish.

Valour in an enemy, which wins respect from higher natures, rouses the murderous propensities of the base. The French have their share of chivalrous men, but they were not at the wall, and the soldiers went on firing at Captain Napier when he was down. His nervous system below the point where his spine had been hit was paralysed by the blow, and, unable to use his legs, he had to drag himself by his hands to a small heap of stones which covered his shoulders and head. Twenty shots struck the heap, and his life was gone if his friend Lloyd and his own company and a portion of the 52nd had not appeared at the moment and driven the reprobates away. He was carried off the field, and a very gallant and noble-minded officer, the present Colonel Sir J. M. Wilson, who was advancing with his company of grenadiers against the enemy, descried him from a distance stretched on the ground beneath an olive tree. 'I ran towards him,' writes Sir John Wilson, who had never set eyes on him before, 'and said, "I hope you are not dangerously wounded!" at which he shook his head. "Have you been attended to by a surgeon?" He nodded assent. "Can I be of any service to you?"—and he again shook his head, but did not utter a word.' Captain Wilson had a flask of tea and brandy, and asked him if he would like a little. A sudden beam of pleasure sparkled in his eyes, and he eagerly stretched out his hand. Twice the tumbler was filled, and he drained it with an air of intense enjoyment. 'When he had finished,' continues Sir John Wilson, 'he seized my hand, and grasped it several times, as much as to say, "I don't know who you are, my good fellow, but I feel most gratefully thankful for your kindness." I then said, "Heaven protect you!" and ran off to join my company. I was deeply impressed with the classical outline and beautiful expression of his countenance. In after-life, I often spoke of this wounded officer as the handsomest man I had ever beheld.' They did not meet again for sixteen years, and neither recognised the other. The scene was dramatic which revealed to them that their original interview had been beneath the olive tree at Casal Nova. Sir John Wilson was staying with his father-in-law, Sir G. Houlton, at Farley

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Farley Castle, and the conversation after dinner turned upon handsome men. 'Of all the handsome men I have ever seen,' said Sir John, 'in the various parts of the world where I have been, there was none to be at all compared with the one——' and he proceeded to relate the incident of the wounded officer in Spain. With the tears trickling from his eyes, Napier sprang from his chair, and putting his arms round his preserver, exclaimed, 'My dear Wilson, was that you? That glass of tea and brandy saved my life!'

The news of the retreat reached Charles Napier at Lisbon on the 8th of March. The wound in his face was open, but impelled by the stirring prospect of battle he directly got into his saddle and hurried off to his post. Between the 12th and 13th he rode the whole night. With a single halt of three hours, he travelled for twenty-two hours on one horse, and made a journey of ninety miles. He arrived at Casal Nova while the struggle was in progress. He knew that the Light Division headed the pursuit, and had been in perpetual conflict with the French. In constant expectation that his brothers would fall, he repeatedly inquired their fate of the disabled soldiers who were brought from the front. As he was advancing to the combat on the morning of the 14th, he met a litter of branches covered with a blanket. He asked who it was, and learnt that it was George Napier, whose hand was broken by a ball. A second litter followed, and, in answer to his question, he learnt that it was William Napier, supposed to be mortally wounded. With his jaw bandaged up, he rode forward to the fight. His brothers were conveyed to Condeixa, in the rear, and lodged in a half-ruined house.

Massena's army committed horrible atrocities in its retreat. Charles Napier came upon numerous bodies of peasants who had been bayonetted and shot. Some were very old men, and some were women. The enemy even fired the villages through which they passed, and appeared to wreak their vengeance on the country out of rage at not being able to conquer it. Before they withdrew there was a dearth along their line of march. In a single dwelling William Napier saw the corpses of thirty persons, many of them children, who had perished of starvation. Fifteen living beings were sitting among the dead, and when nourishment was offered to them they were too feeble to swallow it. The little which might have been anywhere left was now gleaned or destroyed by the devastating legions who led the way. In this desert track the Portuguese Government neglected to supply its troops with provisions or transport. Thousands were compelled to stop short, and some of those who held on were four

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four days without food. The English shared their supplies with them, and suffered grievously in consequence. The officers were no better off than the men, and for two days and part of a third Charles Napier had not a morsel to eat. William had fasted previously for three complete days, and having, at the end of them, discovered a tallow candle in a house, he devoured it with avidity, and thought it the greatest delicacy he had ever tasted in his life. Amid a scarcity approaching to famine, Captain Light, a cavalry officer of rare accomplishments, contrived to procure a loaf of bread. Tormented by the gnawing pangs of hunger, he restrained his cravings, and, at the end of a long day's march, started with his loaf on a journey of twenty miles across the mountains to the lodging of the wounded brothers at Condeixa. Flinging the bread into their room he rushed away to prevent refusal, and rode back to his company.

Charles Napier informed his mother on April 6 that William was well. His flesh had healed, his nervous system had revived from the shock, and he did not suspect that the bullet pressing on his spine was to be a source of agony which would go on increasing with time. Just as he recovered from his wound, the cowardly lieutenant who was the cause of it died. The precautions of fear had not saved him from being struck by a cannon-ball on his leg. He expired, Napier says, at an old, desolate, melancholy mill, below Sahugal, where everything combined to render death appalling; but when he found that his fate was sealed he manifested no farther signs of weakness. The heroism for which he had afforded the occasion was not altogether unrewarded. Lord Wellington announced to Lady Sarah the misfortune which befell the brothers at Casal Nova. 'Your sons,' he said, in his letter, 'are brave fellows and an honour to the army; and I hope that God will preserve them to you and the country.' He now marked his sense of their merits by conferring two brevet majorities upon George and William Napier out of eleven which were distributed among the entire army.

By disease, desertion, and battle Massena lost 30,000 men in Portugal. His troops were demoralised by the retreat, and he wrote to Berthier on March 31, that, 'if only the head of an English column appeared, the officers were intimidated, and cried out that the whole of Wellington's force was advancing.' On the 9th of April the French were over the frontier, and retired to Salamanca to recruit. From that hour none but the ignorant and the factious doubted that in Lord Wellington England possessed a general who was equal to any emergency. By a plan which was exclusively his own he had effected an end which nobody else in either army believed to be possible. He had shown

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shown himself original in conception, immoveable in purpose, and masterly in execution. The simple grandeur of his strong, determined character and solid, perspicacious genius was completely exhibited in this campaign, and all his vigorous faculties were required to contend with the difficulties which still lay before him. He had one more act to perform before the enemy were completely ejected from Portugal. They held the frontier fortress of Almeida, and Lord Wellington invested it. Massena, with his army refreshed and replenished, came down to relieve the blockade, and on May 3 and May 5 attempted to drive away the beleaguering force by the battles of Fuentes Onoro. The principal struggle was on the 5th. The allies were much inferior in numbers to the enemy, and Lord Wellington had previously intended to retire; 'but when the trial,' says Napier, 'came, his warlike spirit would not let him go back.' He had a front of seven miles. Five miles were protected by a ravine through which the Duas Casas flowed; but at a short distance beyond the village of Fuentes Onoro the high land left the stream, and, running inwards, formed a second side to the platform on which the English army was drawn up. There were reasons which induced Lord Wellington to extend his line from the village to Nava d'Aver on his right; and as he had little advantage of ground in the intervening space of two miles, where the river could be readily crossed, the French were enabled by a preponderating force to turn his right wing, which was folded back over a plain, and compelled to occupy a new position perpendicular to its original front. Here the retreating wing had the defence of the ascent which bounded the second side of the plateau, and when once the men had reached the eminence, they readily repelled the efforts to drive them in. The crisis was while they were pushed fighting across the plain, mixed up with the rabble which had gathered in their rear before they were constrained to give way. An energetic attack upon the heterogeneous mass must have thrown the whole into confusion, and the English could not have reformed on the upper ground. 'Massena,' says Napier, in his History, 'had at first great advantages; Napoleon would have made them fatal.' This was the thought which had passed through the mind of Lord Wellington at the time. 'It was the most difficult battle,' he wrote to his brother, Mr. Wellesley Pole, 'I was ever concerned in, against the greatest odds. We had very nearly three to one against us engaged; above four to one in cavalry; and moreover our cavalry had not a gallop in them, while some of that of the enemy were fresh and in excellent order. If Boney had been there, we should have been beaten.' The French did not renew their efforts, and the blockade was sustained.

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sustained. William Napier was with the right wing in his new capacity of brigade-major to the Portuguese troops in the Light Division. He nowhere alludes to his share in the actions, and merely mentions, to show how exaggerated are the notions which are always formed of the loss of an enemy, that having been charged, after the second conflict, to bury the dead at the village, he found rather less than ninety Frenchmen, instead of the four hundred which were estimated to have been killed at that part of the field.

In the summer of 1811 Major Napier had a violent fever which ended in ague. He would not quit the army of his own accord, and Lord Wellington ordered him to be conducted to Lisbon. In the autumn he embarked for England. He chanced to go to an evening party in London where Mrs. Opie was present, and, like everybody else, she was struck by his engaging manners and singular beauty. His fine dark eyes, dark hair, and dark complexion reminded her, she said, of some young Venetian by Titian. The English visit was eventful, for it produced an alliance which was the happiness of his existence and diffused sunshine over his darkest days. In the spring of 1812 he married his relation, the daughter of General Fox and niece to the celebrated statesman. William Napier was the first cousin of her father and uncle. Sir John Moore had fallen in love with her in Sicily when she was not yet eighteen, and refrained from offering to her for fear her youthful judgment should be overpowered by his reputation, and that the disparity of years should subsequently cause her to regret the step. 'Corunna,' adds Sir William, 'would have closed that union in blood and misery.' A feminine gentleness and sweetness of disposition, which were never exceeded, were blended in her with the talents and energy of her race. In his latest work her husband said of her that she 'had displayed a power of mind and enduring fortitude in terrible trials that surpassed even the creations of fiction.'

Ardent in his affections, it was impossible for any man to have a keener appreciation of domestic enjoyments than William Napier. But in becoming a husband he had no intention of ceasing to be a soldier. 'When I married,' he said, 'I was sanguine and confident that I could go far in the world. Secretly I thought God had given me the head and heart of a warrior, and my body was of iron.' He was merely waiting for the indication that stirring actions were on foot to return to the Peninsula. Ciudad Rodrigo was taken on January 19, 1812, before his health would allow him to move. Among the casualties of the assault there were two which touched him nearly. George Napier's

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Napier's arm was shattered by a grape-shot while he was leading a storming party, and the good and evil genius of the light division, the fiery Robert Craufurd, received a bullet-wound of which he died. Ground was broken at Badajoz on March 17, which was earlier than was anticipated, and directly the information reached William Napier, who had only been married three weeks, he set sail for Portugal. He arrived at Lisbon in the middle of April, and on landing was met by intelligence which overwhelmed him with grief. The bosom companion of his boyhood had remained his intimate in manhood, and in the wide world there was no one, out of his own family, whom he cherished like Charles Macleod. 'I love him as my friend,' he wrote to his mother, from Portugal, in January, 1811, 'and admire him as the facsimile of General Moore's character.' Macleod, 'whose feeble body would have been quite unfit for war if it had not been sustained by an unconquerable spirit,' had then been sent home sick,—'I am afraid,' said Napier, 'merely to give his poor father the task of putting him in the grave.' He revived, and was present at the taking of Ciudad Rodrigo. He moved on to Badajoz, and in the terrible assault of April 6, when bravery was put to its fiercest test, his voice was a rallying sound for his trusting followers. A man behind him, in falling, thrust a bayonet into his back. He was thrown to the ground, but immediately arose, and without a murmur kept his onward course till it was finally arrested by a shot from the breach. The ball went through his breast, and this young, amiable, and chivalrous soldier dropped down a corpse. 'Macleod is dead,' wrote William Napier to his wife, on hearing the news at Lisbon, 'and I am grovelling in misery and wretchedness. My temples ache with the painful images that are passing before me. He was the best and will be the last of my friends, for I cannot endure the torture that I feel again. And where can I find another like him? I had buoyed myself up with the hope of meeting him, and now I must weep over his grave. I could roll in the dust if it were not for shame.' The distinguished officer who had died so gloriously was Lieutenant-Colonel of the 43rd, and the command devolved upon Major Napier. 'Everybody says,' he wrote on April 23, 'that I am the most fortunate of men to have the command of such a regiment. For my part, I only find that the recollection of Macleod comes with more bitterness to my mind. What comfort or pleasure can I have in filling the place that belonged to him? The greatest pride I had was to hear him praised and see him admired as he deserved, and now I must be content to recollect that he was everything that is noble and kind, and convince myself that I shall never see him again. My poor

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poor Charles! if I could have seen him once before he was killed, or have been with him when he fell.' It was long before William Napier recovered his spirits. 'It is vain,' he exclaimed, 'to look for consolation here, where everybody feels his loss as much as I do.' He even wished to retire from the army, for his martial ardour was extinguished by his sorrow. 'I am perfectly dead,' he wrote, on May 26, 'to all the feelings of glory that I used to have; and so little pleasure do I find in the command of troops, that if the Duke [of York] would allow me to sell my commission I should go. This was my home. I knew no difference hardly between it and my mother's house. It is now a desolate, deserted dwelling, and the grave of my friend is always present to me. Where can I, or how can I, find a pleasure in that pursuit of fame which formerly pleased me? and without aspiring of a very strong nature it is impossible not to be disgusted with war.'

His disgust of war had previously broken out at the time when he was pining in the lines of Torres Vedras for the society of Lloyd, who had left the 43rd, and of Macleod, who had gone to England. 'I am a soldier,' he said to his mother, 'unfitted for any other profession, and yet I took up my present one lightly and without consideration. I detest it. We are but licensed murderers, and the most brutal and ferocious sentiments are constantly expressed and actions of the same stamp as constantly committed by us and our allies. This I cannot prevent, nor can I leave the place or people where and by whom they are committed. The very circumstance of their being committed makes it the more incumbent on me to serve my country in that profession I am most capable of serving her in, to prevent the same scenes from taking place at home. The nature of war is misery. Thus I am condemned to a profession I dislike by religion, honour, and necessity.' His hope was to be killed in battle. 'I tremble,' he said, 'in danger as well as my neighbours;' for it was an instinct which reason could not subdue. 'I feel the command of God,' he said, 'to live as strong as ever;' for it was not wilful self-destruction, but death by the dispensations of Providence, which he desired. Cut off, as he supposed, from almost every chance of domestic happiness, separated from the friends whose companionship was his delight, fated to be a daily spectator of cruelties he abhorred, he concluded that life had no compensations for him, and that it would be a gain to him 'to fall the way his father would have wished,' to fall 'like Moore,' to fall 'with honour for his country,' to fall and leave 'a name that would be respected.' The old train of thought came back upon his mind when he returned to the Peninsula, and found that Macleod

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Macleod was dead. But William Napier had now a wife, and his sense of loneliness, and his detestation of the brutal accompaniments of his calling, made him yearn for the peace and love of home, where before they impelled him to look for rest in a soldier's grave. The changing mood which caused him alternately to seek and shun the bloody strife was the inevitable consequence of the completeness of his character. 'His acts of bravery,' said Major Houlton, 'were accompanied by an humanity I never saw equalled,' and his humanity was revolted unless his feelings were soothed by the intercourse with dispositions as noble as his own. He was not the less right in his belief that 'God had given him the head and heart of a warrior.' He had the heart, for his spirit bounded at the mention of high heroic deeds, and he was emulous to imitate the generous daring he admired. He had the head, for the strongest bent of his powerful and varied genius was towards the vast and complicated science of war. In his subordinate situation, when his practical knowledge of the country was circumscribed by the marchings of his company, when he was imperfectly acquainted with the numbers, positions, and movements of the enemy, and with the helps or hindrances on the side of the allies, he manifested a capacity for strategy which enticed Lord Wellington himself into discussing his plans with him. Sir James Shaw Kennedy was frequently present at the confidential interviews between General Craufurd and the General-in-Chief, and he had charge of their continuous confidential correspondence. To his surprise he discovered from the conversation of William Napier that Lord Wellington, 'the most secret of men,' was more communicative of his deep designs to the stripling of twenty-three, who had 'seen little, and had no military position,' than to the coadjutor whom he intrusted with the execution of his schemes. The explanation of General Kennedy is undoubtedly correct. The great commander was involuntarily drawn into the revelations by the congenial remarks of the young infantry captain. A year or two later we have a glimpse of the process, in one of William Napier's letters. 'I dined three days ago with Lord Wellington,' he writes, September 13, 1813, 'and after dinner he explained to me all his manœuvres and arrangements for the campaign, and said that deceiving the French and passing the Duero, turning their right by that movement, was the most difficult move he ever made—that it was touch and go, and required more management and art than anything he ever did. Had he been one day too late he must have gone back. I asked him if it could not have been done by the other flank instead, and, after some time considering, he answered me with a good deal of malice, "No; I'll be —— if

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if my way was not the best." He further said that the French might have made a much better campaign of it, but that they were stupid, and he was very clever.' The question might have been asked by the dullest subaltern in the service, and could not of itself have set Lord Wellington considering. The obvious alternative had been well revolved by that cool and calculating genius, who justly numbered his operations on the Duero among the finest strokes of his generalship. They were evidently the acute and original reasons with which his critic supported the suggestion, and which are omitted in common with other details in the concise account, that caused Lord Wellington to reflect before he pronounced 'his own way the best.'

In the glorious and romantic life of Sir Charles Napier there is no more remarkable fact than the docility of mind which led him at the peace to become a student, in his thirty-second year, at the military college at Farnham. The brothers had numerous traits in common, and were alike in the humble estimate they formed of their proficiency in a boundless pursuit. With his rare aptitude for military combinations, with his years of study, with his experience in the field, William Napier considered himself to be nothing more than a pupil in the great school of Peninsular warfare. 'The wish to learn my profession, and to make myself worthy of you,' he wrote to his wife in May, 1812, 'were the reasons I left you.' In that unrivalled school he started afresh in command of the 43rd,—a learner, as he remained to the end of his days, but a master who subdued the stubborn wills of lawless men; who enforced his exalted notions of moral discipline; who multiplied the effects of impulsive valour by the nicest attention to routine evolutions; and who showed by his dispositions in battle that the talents which thus early conceived the project of a campaign that Lord Wellington gravely weighed against his own, could be displayed in the handling of a single regiment under the endless emergencies of scientific warfare.

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2. *Drake's Shakspeare and his Times.* 2 Vols. Folio. London, 1817.

3. *Shakspeare's Autobiographical Poems. Being his Sonnets clearly developed: with his character drawn chiefly from his works.* By Charles Armitage Brown. London, 1838.

4. *Halliwell's*

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4. *Halliwell's Life of Shakspeare.* London, 1848.
5. *Lodge's Portraits of Illustrious Personages of Great Britain.* 8 Vols. London, 1849.
6. *Shakspeare's Sonnets, reproduced from the First Edition by the new process of Photozincography.* London, 1862.
7. '*Athenæum.*' January 25, 1862.
8. *Shakspeare Characters.* London, 1863.
9. *Shakspeare's Works; with Text revised.* By the Rev. Alex. Dyce. Second Edition. Vols. 1 and 2. London, 1864.
10. *Life Portraits of Shakspeare.* London, 1864.
11. *Court and Society, from Elizabeth to Anne.* Edited from the Papers at Kimbolton, by the Duke of Manchester. 2 Vols. 8vo. London, 1864.
12. *Shakspeare's Legal Acquirements Considered.* By John Lord Campbell, LL.D., F.R.S.E., in a Letter to J. Payne Collier, Esq., F.S.A. London, 1859.
13. *Shakspeare.* The first Folio Edition of 1623, reproduced from the originals in the libraries of Bridgewater House and the British Museum, by Photo-lithography, Parts I. and II. London, 1864.

HOW few of all who read Shakspeare's works, or continually repeat his name, and make world-wide preparations for keeping his birthday, have any conception of the man! He who, of all poets, comes nearest home to us with his myriad touches of nature, is the most remote in his own personality. We only reach him figuratively at best. We think of him as the chief star of the Elizabethan group, large and luminous above the rest. Nor have we any glass to draw him sufficiently close to us. We know that somewhere at the centre sits the spirit of all that brightness, however veiled in light. Shakspeare's own life—Shakspeare himself—is at the heart of it all; and yet he is nowhere visible; though he was a man, and one of the most intensely human that ever walked our world. It is our present purpose to endeavour to get at the man himself, and make out his features so far as our means will allow, by extracting what spirit of Shakspeare we can from his works, putting particular pressure on the Sonnets, and clothing that spirit as best we may in the facts of our poet's outer life.

Shakspeare's starting-place for his victorious career was the fine vantage-ground which England had won when she had broken the strength of the Spaniard, and sat enthroned higher than ever in her sea-sovereignty. Old times and an old faith had been passing away. In the year of our poet's birth we learn that

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that the sum of two shillings was paid by the Corporation of Stratford for defacing an image of the ancient faith in the chapel.* The fires of Smithfield had but recently smouldered down, and fierce in the minds of Englishmen was the memory of 'Bloody Mary.' The stage of political life was trodden by heroes and poets, statesmen and sea-kings. Old customs still lingered in the land. Even the citizens of London went forth on a May-morning to gather hawthorn-bloom; and country places like Stratford had their cucking-stool for scolds, and their fines and stocks for idle apprentices and servants; their brewers compelled by law to brew a good and wholesome 'small drink' for a halfpenny a gallon; troops of strolling players, who had taken the place of the wandering friars of old, and won a warmer welcome up and down the country side. In the midst of this time of change, of stirring life, of hopeful expectation, our Shakspeare was born, literally in the very heart of England; of good healthy yeoman blood, belonging to a race that has always been heartily national, and has clung to its bit of soil from generation to generation, and fought for it, too, in the day of the country's need. No doubt Nature stores up much health and freshness of feeling, love of green things, and songs of birds and quiet appreciation of all out-of-door sights and sounds in men like these—and some day it all finds expression, and breaks into immortal flower, when, in the fulness of time, the Burns or Shakspeare is born.

We know but little of the childhood of our greatest Englishman, although we find recorded a few homely facts of his father's life. In the year 1558 John Shakspeare was fined four pence for not keeping his gutters clean.† In the year 1552 he was doing business as a glover, and in 1556 he brought an action against Henry Field for unjustly detaining eighteen quarters of barley, which looks as though he were then a maltster or farmer. In 1579 he is styled a yeoman. He was in pretty good circumstances when the poet was born, having a small landed estate near Stratford and property in the town. It appears as though he met with a great and sudden reverse of fortune about the year 1578. In 1587 we find him in prison for debt, and in 1592 his name is in a list of persons who are supposed to stay away from church through fear of process for debt. It is pleasant to know that Shakspeare could have his fair share of a mother's tenderness, and was not compelled too early to fall into the ranks by his father's side and fight the grim battle against poverty, with childhood's small hands and weary feet. The boy

* 'Life of Shakspeare,' by Halliwell, pp. 24, 25. † Ib. p. 23.

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was about fourteen years of age when the experience of penury came, which no doubt made him look wistfully at times up the London-road, and long for the great City that lay so far in the distance. This change of fortune must have made a deep impression on the boy's mind and character.

He was in all likelihood educated at the Free-school so long as the father could spare him from work. But we do not doubt that he helped his father in his business, and that probably included looking after sheep on the bit of land they possessed or hired, killing the sheep and selling the meat, dealing in the wool that grew on the sheep and in the gloves made from the wool. Labour was not so minutely divided in those days as it now is, besides which, we know how men in the circumstances of Shakspeare's father will try to live by a multiplicity of means in a small way, and grasp at any chance of staying the down-hill tendency.

At eighteen years of age, Shakspeare was married to Ann Hathaway, the daughter of a yeoman, at Shottery. It has been surmised that our gentle Willie's Eve was formed for him by the hand of Love during a deep sleep of the soul; that he threw the hues of his young imagination round her, and found himself married before he well knew where he was! There is not much, however, to give countenance or colour to this theory. Certainly she was eight years older than himself, and he has in his works left a warning to others against doing as he did. But she is said to have been eminently beautiful, and she was undoubtedly fond of him to the last; for we find that she begs to be laid in the same grave with him. There is no reason to suppose that he ran away from her because he did not like her. Another supposition obtains—that he was compelled to quit Stratford on account of a propensity for deer-stealing. But the poor fellow did not need Sir Thomas Lucy's deer to drive him forth into the world in search of a living. We must remember that his wife had very recently presented him with twin children; and the increasing poverty of his father would be another incentive to his leaving Stratford for London. In all probability he had a good introduction to the theatre, or his engagement as a sort of apprentice to some player may have been made before leaving Stratford. After he entered the Blackfriars Theatre, we lose sight of him altogether for at least four years. These four years, doubtless, include the hardest part of our poet's struggle for fame and fortune, which was at that time really a struggle for his living. We hear of him, although Mr. Dyce thinks rather apocryphally, in 1589, when he has been four years in London.

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Mr. Browning tells us there are two points in the adventure of the Diver—

> 'One—when, a Beggar, he prepares to plunge!
> One—when, a Prince, he rises with his pearl!'

Our poet had now made his plunge, and emerged into daylight once more. If we could have asked him what he had grasped in the gloom, he might probably have told us a handful of mud, having experienced the worst of his theatrical life. He had become a player and a part proprietor of the Blackfriars Theatre. But he had also found his pearl. They had set him to vamp up old plays, put flesh on skeletons, and adapt new ones; and he had discovered that he also could create characters upon the whole better than he could act them. During this time he had been working, invisible to us, at the foundations of his future fame.

We should have still fewer facts of Shakspeare's life than we have, were it not for his evident ambition to make money, and become a man of property. We do not think he ever forgot those little mouths at Stratford, waiting to be fed by his hand; and we believe him to have been as frugal in his life as he was indefatigable in his work. He had seen enough of the ills and felt enough of the stings of poverty in his father's home. In the year 1597 he is able to buy one of the best houses in Stratford, called New Place. In the next year he sells a load of stone to the Corporation for 10*d.* From this little fact we may infer that alterations were going on at New Place. He had made a nest, and was, perhaps, preparing for the time when he could quit the stage, and retire to Stratford. He is also doing business as a maltster. Some of his country friends want him to buy, and he does buy; others want him to lend, and he is able to lend. In July, 1605, Shakspeare makes his largest investment. He purchases for the sum of 440*l.*—2000*l.* of our money—half of the lease of tithes, to be collected in Stratford and other places, which has some thirty-one years to run. He is now about to leave the stage as player and manager, and live at Stratford, where he can look after his tithes, which we find he does pretty sharply. He has bought houses and lands, and applied for a grant of arms to his father, and has shown every desire to found (like Scott) a county family of his own name; to possess a bit of this dear England in which he could plant the family tree, and go down to posterity *that* way. He appears to have been truly thoughtless and careless of fame, and to have flung off his works to find their own way as best they could to immortality. Indeed, it was for his interest as proprietor of a theatre

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theatre to attract people to see his plays acted, not to publish books to amuse them at home. Others might print or misprint his poems, and he seems to have taken no public notice of it.

We now turn to his life in London and what is said of him there. His first rising is sun-like, with the mists about him—the mists of malice and envy. The earlier writers for the stage are jealous and disgusted that a mere player, a *factotum* for the theatre, should enter the arena with 'college pens' and classical scholars. And but for these mists, the breath of slander, we should not know when or where the new orb was first visible on the horizon. Our poet, however, takes no notice of them, but ascends serenely on his upward way. Most assuredly he had to fight for his place, and struggle arduously at starting to win it. This child of Nature would be looked upon as a bastard by the learned, with no Greek or Roman godfather to stand sponsor for him. He tried his best at times, as we may see, to appear classical, and stuck into his work all the mythological allusions and Latin words he could get together; at which his enemies laughed and made fun—thus forcing him more and more to that reliance on nature which was to raise him so high above all his artificial, euphuistic, over-classical contemporaries. They might laugh, without — Nature was too strong within him. The audience at the Blackfriars was unsophisticated enough to prefer Shakspeare's more natural drama to the learning and classicism of others, which was annoying, indeed, to all second-hand poets. This strife betwixt the natural and what was thought the true art runs through all we hear of Shakspeare. There was many a gird at him and his want of learning, and his wit not being college-bred. Bacon we know thought Latin the only language for immortality. Luckily Shakspeare did not. This strife would be bitter at first. It mellowed afterwards into the humour of the 'wit-combats,' but it reappears all through. We get a hint of it from Shakspeare himself in Sonnet 78:

> 'But thou art all my Art, and dost advance
> As high as Learning, my rude ignorance.'

We doubt not that our poet in his quiet way gave his opponents as good as they sent. We know how he mimicked and mocked their affectations.* If

* We do not share the belief that Spenser's well-known description in his 'Teares of the Muses' was meant for Shakspeare. There are critics who see Shakspeare written everywhere. In truth, they have only to shut their eyes to see Shakspeare! Here the description is so according to our present view of the poet, that it has been clutched at and identified. But we may safely say that no man living in 1591 ever saw Shakspeare as the 'man whom Nature's self had made to mock her-

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If we may judge by what Shakspeare's contemporaries have recorded, we cannot think they knew what majesty of mind was amongst them. His personal impression was not of the Ben Jonson kind. Big Ben made his impression by gross physical size, and stamped it with his full weight. He took care to bequeath his body as well as his mind to us. We know how much flesh he carried. We know his love of good eating and strong drink; his self assertiveness and lust of power. We know that he required a high-tide of drink before he could launch himself and get well afloat, and that amongst the Elizabethan song-birds he was named, after his beloved liquor, a 'Canary' bird. One cannot help fancying that Shakspeare, as he sat quietly listening to Ben's brag, got many a hint for the fattening and glorifying of his own Falstaff. How different it is with Shakspeare! We get no hint of him in his cups. The names they give him, however, are significant. They call him the 'gentle Willie,' the 'beloved,' the 'honey-tongued.' Fuller's image gives us an impression that Ben Jonson was no match for Shakspeare in mental quickness when they met in their wit-combats at the 'Mermaid.' Ben carried most in sight; Shakspeare more out of sight. Ben also appears to indicate that Shakspeare had at times a Mercutio-like flow of wit when his high spirits were in flood, which he, for one, felt to be overwhelming. 'His wit,' says Ben, rather ruefully, 'was in his own power; would the rule of it had been so too!' for, 'he flowed with that facility that sometimes it was necessary he should be stopped.' But, for the rest, there is not much to show us what the man Shakspeare was. They can tell us the shape of Greene's beard, which he 'cherished continually, without cutting; a jolly long red peak, like the spire of a steeple, whereat a man might hang a jewel, it was so sharp and pendant;' the nasal sound of Ben Jonson's voice, and his face 'punched full of eyelet holes like the lid of a warming-pan.' But they tell us nothing in this kind about Shakspeare, man or manner, and that we think tells us much. He was so commonly human, so

self and truth to imitate.' Todd's conjecture that Philip Sidney was the 'Willy' meant is borne out by the whole of the facts, internal and external. Todd supposes the poem to have been written in 1580; and in 1580 we find Sydney had retired into the country disgusted with the court. It is the man, much more than the author, that Spenser celebrates. But he evidently alludes to the 'Arcadia' in the 'kindly counter under *mimic shade*.' He also refers to the distaste of Sidney for printing what he had written, when he speaks of those who 'dare their follies forth *so rashlie* throwe.' His 'choosing to sit in idle cell' most certainly refers to Sidney's retirement, which lasted for some years, during which time he would neither take public employment nor publish what he had written. We do not scruple to say that Shakspeare's art could not at that time have been thus recognised. Sidney's 'Arcadia' and 'Masques' furnished the kind of art that Spenser meant; such art as has a lurking consciousness of doing its work a little better than Nature could.

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much of a worthy friend and good fellow in general, they almost forgot to notice anything in particular. We know they thought him a man of sweet temper and ready wit, honest and frank, of an open and free nature, very gentle and loveable, and as sociable a good fellow as ever lived. And, indeed, he must have been the best of all good fellows that ever was so wise a man.

One great cause of Shakspeare's contemporaries telling us no more about him is still in operation against our making him out in his works. He was so unconscious of self as to be purely reflective of all passing forms. If he had been a lesser man, he would have shown us more of himself. But Shakspeare's nature is all mirror to the world around him. A more conscious man would have managed to make the darkness which hides him from us a sort of lamp-shade which should concentrate the light on his own features, when he looked up in some self-complaisant pause. Not so Shakspeare: he throws all the light on his work, and bends over it so intently that it is most difficult to get a glimpse of his face. Our sole chance is to watch him at his work, and note his human leanings and personal relationships.

In 'the first heir of his invention,' 'Venus and Adonis,' we may learn one or two out of door facts of the poet's life. Whether he was a deer-stealer or not, it is certain he had been on the track of a hare. He knew poor puss's form, and had often seen her powdering the dew-drops into mist as she ran. He is intimately acquainted with her habits. At the mention of her name his thoughts are all off a coursing at once, and his feeling is in full cry. He had the English sense of sport in his blood, such as runs through the whole race from peer to poacher. He was likewise a genuine lover of horses, and could show off the 'points' of a thorough-bred in a description that would tell at Newmarket. In these early poems, which were most probably written in the country, we find the youth of Shakspeare all in flower.

The sonnets of Shakspeare afford us, if we can but understand them aright, the most certain means whereby we can get at the man. Nothing else except the two prose dedications speaks to us so assuredly with his own voice, or tells us so unmistakeably what were his own feelings and thoughts under various interesting circumstances of his own life. And this voice of the man Shakspeare has all the changing tones of his temperament, ranging from the grace of buoyant youth to the sober sadness of that early autumn of his age. Some of these sonnets are majestic as those of Milton, but clothed in a richer vesture of imagination.

Our difficulty is to get the right interpretation of the sonnets, and

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and know when Shakspeare is really speaking in his own person, and where he gives utterance to the thoughts and feelings of another. We often hear the voice of Shakspeare; we *know* the voice, and yet we do not get at the man. It is as though he were speaking in the next room; there is a partition-wall between us. We follow the voice, according to some theory of interpreting the sonnets, but when we get into the next room Shakspeare is not there. Still, the voice, like that of the ghost of Hamlet's father, keeps breaking in, compelling us to follow it. The chief cause of this intangibility, and the main reason why so many of these sonnets, seemingly personal, do not strike straight home to us with the full force that is coiled up in their lines, must be sought for in the conditions under which they were written. Shakspeare is not always communicating directly with us. He was not the man to miss his mark, whatever that may have been, only we are not exactly the objects of his aim. We must stand in the right position to judge of what is going on; we must get the relations of the writer and the reader rightly adjusted before we shall hear the voice of Shakspeare with any certainty, or find out one-half the hidden meanings lurking in these sonnets. What, then, are the conditions under which the sonnets were written?

A work by Francis Meres, entitled 'Palladis Tamia, Wit's Treasury; being the Second Part of Wit's Commonwealth, 1598,' contains the following passage:—'As the soul of Euphorbus was thought to live in Pythagoras, so the sweet wittie soul of Ovid was in mellifluous and honey-tongued Shakspeare; witness his *Venus and Adonis*, his *Lucrece*, his sugred *Sonnets* among his private friends.'

In 1609 a volume containing 154 Sonnets, the undoubted productions of Shakspeare, was given to the public by a 'stationer,' Thomas Thorpe, who evidently had not obtained them from the author himself. Prefixed to the work was the following inscription:—

TO . THE . ONLIE . BEGETTER . OF .
THESE . INSVING . SONNETS .
Mr . W . H . ALL . HAPPINESSE .
AND . THAT . ETERNITIE .
PROMISED .
BY .
OVR . EVER-LIVING . POET .
WISHETH .
THE . WELL-WISHING .
ADVENTVRER . IN .
SETTING .
FORTH .

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The earliest editors of Shakspeare's works did not trouble themselves about the sonnets. Others, not knowing what to make of them, would like to have had them quietly dropped. Malone considered that 126 of them were addressed to 'W. H.,' and 26 to a lady. Steevens held a similar opinion, but he maintained they were composed in the 'highest strain of affectation, pedantry, circumlocution, and nonsense,' and he did not reprint them because the 'strongest Act of Parliament that could be framed would fail to compel readers into their service.' Gildon gave it as his opinion that the sonnets were all in praise of Shakspeare's mistress. Chalmers believed that the 'youth' so frequently apostrophized was Queen Elizabeth, she being nearly sixty years old when the earliest of them were written! Farmer, on a contrary tack, thought the initials 'W. H.' indicated William Harte, nephew of the poet, who was born after most of the sonnets were composed. Boswell considered it probable that W. H. was one of the friends concerned, and that he furnished the printer with a copy, but he felt satisfied that the poet, in writing, had neither himself nor any one else in view. Dr. Drake hit upon Henry Wriothesley, Earl of Southampton, as the man, but did not know how to prove it. Mr. Bright struck upon the track of William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, and fancied that he was the 'W. H.' of the inscription. He thought it over, laboured at the subject for some fourteen years, and then was anticipated in making known his discovery. Mr. Bright made it in 1818, and Mr. Boaden announced it in 1832. Poor Mr. Bright! he wasted a good deal of time, but he escaped the infamy of persistently blackening the character of Shakspeare for the sake of a pet theory. With nothing but Thorpe's inscription to rest on, he contended that 'W. H.' was the Earl of Pembroke, and the object of the sonnets. Mr. Charles Armitage Brown followed in this direction. He grouped the sonnets into poems, and accommodated facts as best he could to his theory. Mr. Hunter also thinks the sonnets relate to transactions between Shakspeare and William Herbert. Now the sonnets have fairly given scope to much ingenious speculation. But this Herbert hypothesis, read in the light of Thorpe's inscription, is the most perilous and unsatisfactory of all. It offers a slenderer bridge over the difficulty than that which leads into Mahomet's Paradise. We have no positive proof that Thorpe himself knew the full particulars of the sonnets, or the right relations of persons. He does not tell us how he came by them, but he sent them into the world with the inscription printed above.

That inscription is the sole ground on which the sonnets and the loving friendship of Shakspeare have been awarded to William Herbert.

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Herbert. And yet he was not 'Mr. W. H.' when the book was printed, in 1609. He had been Earl of Pembroke for eight years, and had previously been Lord Herbert. So that if Thorpe was aware of the real facts of the case, and became one of the connivers at an intended mystery, it was just as easy to reverse the initials of Henry Wriothesley as to print those of William Herbert, and there is no gain to the Herbert hypothesis. Either Thorpe did *not* know all, and so he may have leaped to a wrong conclusion, or he *did* know and may have hidden the Earl of Southampton as cleverly as though it had been the Earl of Pembroke. Shakspeare had then left London. In the year of publication the Earl of Pembroke was governor of Portsmouth. Where Southampton was we do not clearly trace. He may have been in Holland. The thing was *darkly* done. Possibly William Herbert may have collected the Sonnets, and Thorpe may have inferred that he was their 'only begetter.' Be this as it may, we have Shakspeare's sonnets and Thorpe's inscription, to read them as we are able, and interpret them as we best can. But it is capable of positive, absolute, and overwhelming proof that William Herbert could not in any sense have been the sole begetter of those sonnets. No word was ever publicly addressed to him by Shakspeare. We have no knowledge of any intimate acquaintanceship recorded during Shakspeare's lifetime, and *William Herbert did not come to London till the summer of* 1599. According to a letter of Rowland White's * to Sir Robert Sydney, dated April, 1597, 'My Lord Harbert hath, with much adoe, brought his father to consent that he may live at London, yet not before the next spring.' But he does not arrive until the summer of 1599. And all we hear of him at that time is that, when he was not ill, he devoted himself to the practice of arms. Whereas Shakspeare's 'sugred sonnets among his private friends' were known to Meres, and spoken of by him in 1598 —spoken of, too, as being of sufficient extent and importance to warrant public recognition by a writer remarkable at times for his compressed brevity. This notice shows us Shakspeare's friends *already* acquired, his sonnets written and known to a circle of admirers. That they were well known, which takes time when poetry is in MS., we should gather from his 'witness,' and his classing them with the published poems.

One upholder of the Herbert hypothesis maintains that the Sonnets referred to by Meres must have been lost! Still, it is *the* Sonnets of Shakspeare, *never before imprinted*, that we hear of again in Thorpe's collection, and the advertisement implies

* Sydney Papers, vol. ii. p. 43.

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an understanding on the subject. Readers had heard of them in MS., but the only public mention of them that we hear of is this by Meres. But there is further evidence that these *are* the Sonnets known to Meres. Mr. C. Knight has shown that a certain sonnet (the 94th), and consequently the group to which it belongs—by no means one of the earliest written—must have been composed before the year 1596, because this last line of it—

'Lilies that fester smell far worse than weeds,'

is quoted in 'Edward the Third,' a play which has been attributed to Shakspeare. This play was entered on the register of the Stationers' Company, December 1st, 1595, after it had been performed 'sundry times' at different theatres. So that we may fairly assume it to have been composed in 1594, when *William Herbert was fourteen years of age, and five years before he came to London!* He was then a student at New College, Oxford. But we have further proof. In the 27th Sonnet there is a beautiful image which has been transferred to the play of 'Romeo and Juliet,' and more richly wrought out in the well-known lines—

'Her beauty hangs upon the cheek of night
Like a rich jewel in an Ethiop's ear.'

In the 127th Sonnet we read this singular defence of a lady's dark complexion and dark eyes:—

'In the old age black was not counted fair,
Or, if it were, it bore not beauty's name;
But now is black beauty's successive heir,
And beauty slandered with a bastard shame;
For *since each hand hath put on nature's power,*
Fairing the foul with art's false borrowed face,
Sweet beauty hath no name, no holy bower,
But is profaned, if not lives in disgrace:
Therefore my Mistress' eyes are raven black,
Her eyes so suited; and they *mourners* seem
At such.'

And this sentiment of the eyes mourning, and a pale face being your only purity, in a time when so many ladies paint, is reproduced in 'Love's Labour Lost,' which was produced not later than in 1592. In Act 4th, Scene 3rd, Biron says:—

'O, if *in black* my lady's brows be decked,
It *mourns that painting, and usurping hair,*
Should ravish doters with a false aspect;
And therefore is she born to make black fair.'

Another repetition so curiously complete we shall scarcely find in

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in all Shakspeare! How, then, could the Earl of Pembroke be the 'sole begetter' or the *object* of Shakspeare's Sonnets?

Seeing how untenable is the Herbert hypothesis, and knowing how strong are the claims of Henry Wriothesley, Earl of Southampton, M. Chasles has lately tried a new reading of the Dedication to the Sonnets. He argues that it is a kind of monumental inscription done by two different hands, and the first part should run thus:—'*To the only begetter of these insuing Sonnets Mr. W. H. wisheth all happiness, and that eternity promised by our ever-living Poet*'—meaning that William Herbert dedicates the Sonnets to the Earl of Southampton. Thorpe then adds, '*The well-wishing Adventurer in setting forth.*—T. T.'

Now really to have to wrench the word 'wisheth' from its present place in that way is a far greater violation of probability than either of three other possible conjectures on the subject, viz., that Thorpe may have meant 'sole begetter' in the sense of obtaining the Sonnets for the press, or that he did not know what W. H. was 'sole begetter' in the Elizabethan sense, or that he concealed the Earl of Southampton with the reversed initials of his name. The inscription is all one. If the printers had made a mistake and run it on, Thorpe was there to correct it. But his own phraseology makes that impossible, and carries us over any possible break. Mr. Bolton Corney thinks it was an oversight on the part of Thorpe to add his '*well-wisher*' so close to the '*wisheth.*' This is a most unfortunate observation in relation to his adopted theory, for it must be obvious to all who consider how fond were the Elizabethan Sonnetteers, Shakspeare especially, of the figures *Anadiplosis*, or the *Redouble*, and *Epanalepsis*, or the *Echo-sound*, that Thorpe has been trying to imitate them in his '*wisheth*' the '*well-wisher*,' and managed to produce a figure of repetition or alliteration in the sense, which he fancied smart, and which certainly serves the purpose of proving the inscription to be all one.

But it is time we had done with this dedication of the Sonnets. Readers have already been kept too long on the outside of the subject. If Shakspeare had written it, that would have given to it a very different value, and any amount of time and trouble would have been justly spent in trying to fathom its purport. But he did not write it, and there is nothing left for us to do except to study what he did write, and let the facts of the inner life shape the external theory. It is of the highest importance to solve the puzzling question, Who was the 'begetter' of the Sonnets? And, without venturing to speak with certainty upon so difficult a point, we propose to submit to our readers some of the grounds upon which this character may very plausibly be ascribed to

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to Southampton. Whatever may be thought of this interpretation, assuredly no other has yet been suggested which will bear a moment's examination.

Shakspeare wrote his Sonnets with a direction so plain and palpable that, as he says, every word almost tells the name of him for whom they were written:—

> 'Oh, know, sweet love, I always write of you,
> And you *and love are still my argument.*'—*Sonnet* 76.

Amongst the few precious personal relics of our poet are the short prose epistles in which he inscribes his two poems to the Earl of Southampton. They are remarkable revelations of his feeling towards the Earl. The first—the 'Venus and Adonis'—is shaded with a delicate reserve, and addressed to the *patron;* the 'Lucrece,' printed one year afterwards, glows out full-hearted in a dedication of personal love for the *friend.* The difference is so great and the growth of the friendship so rapid, as to indicate that the 'Venus and Adonis' was sent to the Earl a long time before it was printed.* Any way we have it recorded, in 1594, by Shakspeare himself, that the relationship of poet and patron was so close, the friendship had so far ripened, that Shakspeare could dedicate '*love without end,*' and he uses these never-to-be forgotten words:—

> '*What I have done is yours. What I have to do is yours; being part in all I have devoted yours.*'

Which we read as implying an understanding between them of work then in hand. Southampton, he says emphatically, is a part in all that he has *devoted* his. What work in hand should this be, *devoted to* Southampton, save the Sonnets which he was then composing? It seems probable that the first group of Sonnets was sent to the Earl before the 'Venus and Adonis' was dedicated to him, and that the Sonnets led to the looking up of the poem, which had been written some time before, and the giving of it to the press now a patron had been secured. In Sonnet 16 the poet speaks of his '*pupil*' pen; and in Sonnet 26 he sends a '*written embassage*' to the Earl, and, to our thinking,

* Shakspeare may have met Southampton as early as 1589, for in the June of that year the Earl came to London, and entered himself as member of Gray's Inn. The young Earl's fondness for plays is well known, and his step-father, Sir Thomas Heneage, being Treasurer of the Chamber and Vice-Chamberlain of her Majesty's Household, as well as Captain of the Guards to the Queen, his immediate access to players and playwrights would be easy: his good word in their favour would be eagerly sought.

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distinctly *promises something in print.* Take this meanwhile, he says,—

> 'Till whatsoever star that guides my moving,
> Points on me graciously with fair aspèct,
> And *puts apparel* on my tattered loving,
> To *show me worthy* of thy sweet respect;
> *Then* may I *dare to boast* how *I do love thee,*
> *Till then, not show my head where thou may'st prove me.*'

That is a positive allusion to the poet's public appearance *for the first time:* the putting on of apparel in print—the daring to boast in public—the showing of his head where he may be proved—all illustrate this view. This may be as much a private dedication of the 'Venus and Adonis' as the 'epistle' afterwards was a public one. It is curious to notice that the shade of personal feeling in the earliest Sonnets is exactly like to that of the *first* dedication: it is reticent and noticeably modest. There is no large profession of love—no great gratitude. The writer stands at gaze on the picture he paints. He chiefly praises his patron's youth and beauty, and urges him to marry. His freshness of colouring has all the tenderness of spring-tints. And there is as *rathe* a tenderness in the writer's feeling as in the picture's youthfulness. Moreover, we have the young man's age precisely reckoned up in Sonnet 16—

> '*Now stand you on the top of happy hours:*'

—which shows us that the youth has sprung lightly up the ladder of his life, and now stands on the last golden round of boyhood. He is, we should say, eighteen or nineteen. The Earl of Southampton was born October 6, 1573, which would give the year 1591-2 for this Sonnet to have been written in, and Shakspeare's first public proclamation of Southampton's patronage—in which he vows 'to take advantage of all idle hours' till he has 'honoured him with some graver labour'—was in the next year. There is an expression in the Dedication remarkably like to that of the opening Sonnet. In the one, Shakspeare hopes the young Earl may answer to the *world's* '*hopeful expectation;*' in the other he calls him the '*world's fresh ornament,*' and 'only herald to the gaudy spring.' Both are stamped with the same date; both point out the Earl as the 'expectancy and rose of the fair state.'

In this, the earliest group of Sonnets, the poet uses many arguments which all circle round the one idea that this comely noble of Nature should not be so niggardly and unthrifty as not to leave the world some copies of his beauty when he dies. But underneath the surface of these Sonnets, with their quaint play of

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of conceit and sparkle of wit, there seems to us a quiet depth of wisdom. Either Shakspeare was engaged to write them by those who sought to see the young Earl married, or else he felt a most fond and fatherly anxiety that the youth should not linger in the garden of Armida; for the distant admiration, the innocent flattery, the far-fetched comparisons, all play into the hands of a grave purpose. The writer knows there is nothing like true marriage, a worthy wife, the tie of children, and a happy home, to bring the young wild life into keeping of the highest law.

There are two points we would here notice more particularly. One is the distance at which Shakspeare pays his respects. There is no talk of favours, and but little of friendship; he speaks of 'merit,' on the one side, and 'duty' on the other. This shows that these Sonnets were written *very early* in the intercourse. It also proves that the person who printed the Sonnets, however ignorant of details, had sufficient guidance to put the first group in its right place. Next—and here we feel an endearing touch of Shakspeare's nature—the youth is so evidently *fatherless*, that it seems strange the fact should have been hitherto overlooked. In Sonnet 10 he is charged with not inclining his ear to the advice given to him that he should marry. Thus—

> 'Seeking that *beauteous roof to ruinate*,
> Which to *repair should be thy chief desire*.'

We find the same use made of the verb 'to ruinate' in Henry VI., Part iii., Act 5—

> 'I will not *ruinate* my father's house.'

Of course the roof would not need repairing if it were not going to decay. Accordingly we find that Southampton's father—head of the house—died in 1581, ere the young Earl was quite eight years old, and within four years of that time his elder brother died.* Again in Sonnet 13 the poet urges—

> 'Who *lets so fair a house fall to decay*,
> Which *husbandry in honour might uphold*.'

And—although aware that the lines may not be confined to the literal reading—we cannot avoid thinking that the underlying fact was in the poet's mind when, in the same Sonnet, he wrote—

> 'Dear my love, you know
> You *had* a father; let your son say so.'

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* Lodge's Portraits, vol. iii. p. 155.

Also,

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Also, in Sonnet 3, he tells the Earl—

'Thou art thy Mother's glass.'

There is no mention of his *having* a father living. This, we believe, made the poet express himself in a more paternal manner.

The group we shall next consider is the one relating to a rival poet, for that would seem to have been one of the earliest written.

Mr. Brown, in his 'Autobiographical Poems of Shakspeare,' remarks, 'who this rival poet was is beyond my conjecture; nor does it matter.' But it does matter much; for if this poet should prove to be Marlowe, that one fact alone would be of sufficient force to deal the death-blow to the Herbert hypothesis which Mr. Brown laboured at so ingeniously, and, as we think, so vainly. Because Marlowe died in June, 1593, when William Herbert was thirteen years and four months of age; and, in our opinion, nothing but the blindest belief in the Herbert hypothesis, which, of necessity, shifts the date at which the greater portion of the Sonnets were written, could possibly have obscured the fact, so patent to us, that Marlowe *was* the other poet. There is circumstantial evidence of this in every line and touch of Shakspeare's description. Marlowe was a dramatic celebrity before Shakspeare, and we have no doubt there was a time when Shakspeare looked up to him and was somewhat led captive by his lofty, flamboyant style. He would fully appreciate the sensuous bodily beauty, so to speak, of many of Marlowe's lines. He would give him full credit for having struck out a new spring of the English Helicon, with the impatient pawing hoof of his fiery Pegasus, in his use of blank verse. He prized his genius, if he could not respect the man. We find that he quotes a line from Marlowe's poem, 'Hero and Leander,' in the play he was probably writing that same year when the poem was first printed. But his finer ear and truer taste would soon detect a good deal of bombast in the 'mighty line,' and he would see that the great glow of Marlowe's imagination had in it a swarthy smoke, and his poetry never attained the true *regulus* of colour, or came from the furnace pure gold. All this and more we discover in Shakspeare's description of the rival poet:—

'Was it *the proud full sail of his great verse*,
Bound for the prize of all-too-precious you,
That did my ripe thoughts in my brain inhearse?
Was it his spirit, *by spirits taught to write*
Above a mortal pitch, that struck me dead?
No: neither he, nor *his compeers by night*
Giving him aid, my verse astonished,—

He

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He, nor *that affable familiar ghost* *
Which nightly gulls him with intelligence,
As victors of my silence cannot boast;
I was not sick of any fear from thence.
But when *your countenance filled up his line,*
Then lacked I matter; *that* enfeebled mine.'

No other English poet could have sat for that portrait so well as Marlowe:—

'He of tall building and of goodly pride.'—*Sonnet* 80.

The proud full sail of his great verse gives the very picture, the *viva effigies* of Marlowe's poetry—the characteristic that is foremost in the minds of all who are acquainted with his King Cambyses' vein. Who does not recognise 'Faustus,' his necromancy, and his boasts of what he will have the spirits do for him? Who does not see that Shakspeare, thinking dramatically, has identified Marlowe with 'Faustus' and thrown him on the stage, where, in vision—if it be not an actual fact that the play was running at the Curtain Theatre while Shakspeare was composing that Sonnet—he sees his familiar Mephistophiles 'gulling him *nightly*' with such intelligence as that 'in Hell are all manner of delights;' and the drama of Dr. Faustus is played once again in Shakspeare's Sonnet. In other hints and signs we recognise Marlowe, and no other, as the man whom Shakspeare meant where he speaks of the 'strained touches of his rhetoric,' and his 'gross painting' when the rival has, no doubt, laid the flattery on very coarsely. In all probability the Earl had looked over Marlowe's 'Faustus' in MS., making some suggestions, of which the poet would be proud and make ample boast. This it was, Shakspeare confesses, that probed his infirmity—made him feel jealous, and keep silence. That there is a touch of jealousy and a good deal of rivalry in these Sonnets relating to the 'other poet,' is apparent and generally admitted. And in this aspect there is no poet who could make such an appeal so justly to Shakspeare's feelings as Marlowe. Marlowe *was* the rival poet at the opposition theatre in Shoreditch. He was then in the full flush and high tide of his brief and brilliant success. 'Tamberlaine the Great,' 'Faustus,' the 'Jew of Malta,' 'Edward II.,' had come crowding on the stage one after the other, with Alleyne playing his best in the principal characters. Heywood, writing forty years afterwards, celebrates Marlowe as the best of poets, and Alleyne as the best of players. But there was

* 'They say thou hast a *familiar spirit,*
By whom thou canst accomplish
What thou list.' . . . . . .
Life and Death of Dr. Faustus.

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a nobler

a nobler element in Shakspeare's jealousy of Marlowe. It stands revealed in these Sonnets that he felt more than Southampton's 'filing up his line' or his being drawn to the other theatre. Shakspeare shuddered at what he saw and heard of Marlowe behind the scenes. He felt a most fatherly fear for his youthful friend, and he cries,—

> 'Ah! wherefore with infection should he live,
> And with his presence grace *impiety?*'

Whose character does that hit as it does Marlowe's, according to the tenor of all contemporary testimony?

Other poets and writers besides Marlowe and Shakspeare were patronised by the Earl of Southampton. Nash dedicated his 'Life of Jack Wilton' to the Earl (1594), and he says, 'A dear lover and cherisher you are as well of lovers of poetrie as of poets themselves.' Florio, in dedicating his 'World of Words' (1598) to the same nobleman, says, 'In truth I acknowledge an entire debt, not only of my best knowledge, but of all; yea, of more than I know or can, to your bounteous Lordship, in whose pay and patronage I have lived some years, to whom I owe and vowe the years I have to live. But, as to me and many more, the glorious and gracious sunshine of your honour hath infused light and life.' Chapman, in a dedicatory Sonnet, calls the Earl 'the choice of all our country's noble spirits.' Braithwayt inscribes his 'Scholar's Medley' (1614), to him, as 'Learning's best favourite.' And Minsheu also attests the Earl's munificence to literary men. But of all who dedicated to him, or were familiar with him, Marlowe is the man described by Shakspeare. And, as he died in June, 1593, at least two groups of the Sonnets must have been written before that date, neither of which could possibly have been 'begotten' by the Earl of Pembroke.

It has been asked by supporters of the Herbert hypothesis how it is, if Southampton was the begetter of the Sonnets, that Shakspeare has not celebrated the Earl's exploits—not offered him any comforting words in his misfortunes, or congratulations on his release from prison. The answer is, Shakspeare has done all this, in his own way, in these very Sonnets. The heroic part of the Earl's nature was, no doubt, carefully treasured up in Shakspeare's dramatic works. But his character and career, and his love for the 'faire Mistress Vernon,' through all its touching history, are bound up with the Sonnets. Speaking of these he says,—

> 'Oh let my Books be then the eloquence
> And *dumb* presagers of my speaking breast.'

And so they are. How could any one suppose that our great-hearted poet would ever forget all about such a friend who had held

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held out the hand of help to him* when he was struggling in deep waters, and found for him a firmer bit of foot-hold than he had ever before attained; or imagine that he could lose sight of his promise made in public when he proclaimed his love to be 'without end'? We might depend upon it, even if we failed to prove it, that Shakspeare's soul was not of that shallow, sonnetteering kind, and that his promises were all fulfilled.

Up to the present time it has been generally, though not universally, maintained that the first 120 Sonnets were all addressed to a male friend of Shakspeare, and that our poet outdid all his contemporaries in flattering his patron after the sonnetteering fashion†—whilst men like Hallam could scarcely swallow the difficulty of believing that Shakspeare should so prostrate himself at the feet of an Earl to fear his frown and call himself the 'slave'—the 'sad slave'—of a boy, and have wished they had never been written.‡ But, upon a very close examination of the Sonnets, *we find the assumption to be perfectly unwarranted.* In the first twenty Sonnets, for example, where Shakspeare speaks to his friend directly, we *are not left in any doubt as to the sex:* there are sixteen distinct allusions to his being a man. Elsewhere, when the poet speaks in person, we frequently find the '*him*' and '*his*,' which (when not used in a proverbial saying) tell the sex. But passing on from those Sonnets to which the 26th is natural L'Envoy, we come upon a series, numbering at least sixteen, and *through the whole of them there is no allusion to a man.* The feeling expressed is more passionate, and the phrase has become more movingly tender; far closer relationship is sung, and yet the object to whom these Sonnets are written never appears in person. There is neither 'man' nor 'boy,' 'him' nor 'his.' How is this? Surely it is not the wont of a stronger feeling and greater warmth of affection to fuse down all individuality and lose sight of sex. That is not the way of Nature's or of Shakspeare's working. With further looking-on we must believe that these said Sonnets, which we take for our third group, were not addressed to a man, but to a woman. All the negative evidence shows it was not a man, and all the positive evidence indicates a

* The anecdote told by Sir W. Davenant, to the effect that Southampton, on some special occasion, gave Shakspeare 1000*l.*, will have a basis of fact which has no doubt been exaggerated; the Earl was comparatively poor.

† We should not know where to find a parallel case.

‡ We might cite an unconscious protest against this view, from Shakspeare himself (Sonnet 105):—

'Let *not* my love be called idolatry,
Nor my beloved as an idol show.'

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woman. Not that Shakspeare is here wooing a woman in person. We do not suppose that he would write so many Sonnets to a woman, and leave out the sex. May we not read them as written on the subject of Southampton's courtship? When we remember Shakspeare's own words,—'being a part of all I have *devoted* yours,' and 'you and love are still my argument'—there is nothing very startling in the supposition that Shakspeare should have devoted Sonnets to his friend's love for Elizabeth Vernon. We find the young nobleman had done his best to follow the poet's early advice. In a letter of Rowland Whyte's,* dated September 23, 1595, we learn that—

'*My Lord Southampton doth with too much familiarity court the faire Mistress Vernon, while his friends, observing the Queen's humours towards my Lord of Essex, do what they can to bring her to favour him; but it is yet in vain.*'

It may be maintained that the story of Southampton's courtship is partly told in these sixteen Sonnets. It is not Shakspeare who speaks, but Southampton to his lady. This will account for the passion and tenderness, and, at the same time, for the absence of all mention of the sex of the person addressed, which would naturally result *from the poet's delicacy of feeling.*† Again and again we may see how he was fettered in expression on this account. For illustrative evidence let the reader begin with the 50th Sonnet. There we find the lover on a journey, the end of which lies far from his beloved, and he is so heavy-hearted that the horse he rides is 'tired with his woe,' and plods dully on. In the next Sonnet he says if he were only coming back to her he should 'spur,' even though mounted on the wind. Note also the use he makes of the word 'desire' and the horse neighing.‡ Then comes the thought (Sonnet 48), how careful he was, before leaving home, to lock up

* Sydney Papers, vol. i., pp. 348-9.

† In the latter Sonnets, where the address is direct and delicacy not demanded, there is no suppression of sex.

‡ Malone and others have made several corrections of the Sonnets, most of which are unwarranted. We cite a few:—

Modern Eds., Sonnet 35, line 8. 'Excusing THY sins more than THY sins are.'
First Ed. (1609) reads, 'Excusing *their* (all men) sins more than *their* sins are.'
Modern Ed., Sonnet 51, line 11. 'Shall neigh (no dull flesh!) in his fiery race.'
First Ed. 'Shall neigh no dull flesh in his fiery race.'
Modern Ed., Sonnet 110, line 7. 'Now all is done *save* what shall have no end.'
First Ed. 'Now all is done, *have* what shall have no end!'

These, and others which we might instance, have all been made on the personal interpretation. In the 110th Sonnet, Shakspeare has been supposed to offer his friend the worn-out remnant of his abused affections. Whereas, with Southampton speaking, it signifies, 'Now all my wanderings are over, my "blenches" done, *have* my sole and enduring affection.' Fortunately Mr. Lovell Reeve has just reproduced a facsimile of the first edition by means of photography, and we much prefer its few printer's blunders to those of the commentators.

each

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each little trifle for safety; but she who is his dearest jewel, his 'best of dearest' and his 'only care,' is left out:—

'Thee have I not locked up in any chest.'

Sonnet 44 implies that the lover is across sea, as we know the Earl of Southampton was several times;* but have no reason to think that Shakspeare ever was—still, his thoughts will fly to her in 'tender embassy of love,' and come back to him assured of her '*fair health*' (Sonnet 45), and, in absence, he has her portrait—

'With *my love's picture* then my eye doth feast,
And to the *painted* banquet bids my heart.'

And he rejoices richly in possession. Various expressions point to a woman as the object of address. In Sonnet 57 he is her 'slave,' and she his 'sovereign;' her '*servant*,' which implies the *mistress;* only the poet was fettered in expression. And in the next Sonnet he says:—

'That god forbid that made me first your slave.'

What god? if not Cupid, god of love, as the whole Sonnet illustrates, which would be meaningless if addressed from man to man. More feminine still, if possible, is the illustration in Sonnet 61. He cannot sleep at night for seeing her image, and he asks—

'Is it thy spirit that thou send'st from thee
So far from home, into *my deeds to pry;*
To *find out* shames and idle hours in me,
The scope and tenor of *thy jealousy?*'

In all these Sonnets it is the *speaker* who is so far away.

On the return from abroad, we find the poet saying in a kind of general address to Love—

'Sweet love, renew thy force.
Let this sad *interim* like the ocean be
Which parts the shore where *two contracted-new*
Come daily to the banks.'

That image, we surmise, symbols the fact that Southampton and Elizabeth Vernon had been *newly affianced* before the Earl went on his late journey.

* At an early period, as is shown in a work quoted by Malone, which we have not seen, and entitled, 'Honour in his Perfection, or a Treatise in commendation of the virtues and renowned virtuous undertakings of the illustrious and heroic Princes, Henry Earl of Wexford, Henry Earl of Southampton, and Robert Earl of Essex. By G. M.' He was also a volunteer in Essex's expedition to Cadiz (1596), and appointed to the command of the 'Garland' in 1597. He went to offer his sword to Henry the Fourth of France, in 1598, and he was twice with Essex in Ireland.

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To take one of Southampton's journeys, we learn that he left London February 8th, 1598. The 'fair Mistress Vernon' 'passed her time in weeping.' It was proposed by his friends that he should marry her before he left, so bitterly did she take to heart the thought of his going. Circumstances prevented this, and his Lordship departed—after feasting Mr. Secretary, and having plays and banquets—leaving 'behind him a very desolate gentlewoman, that almost wept out her fairest eyes.' He came back in the November of the same year. And it is curious to connect herewith the three sonnets, 97, 98, 99, commencing—

'How like a winter hath my absence been!'

and yet he tells us it was spring, summer, and autumn all the while; and he gives us this rich bit of love-poetry, which would seem strangely out of place if sent to a man:—

'Nor did I wonder at the lilies white,
Nor praise the deep vermilion of the rose;
They were but sweet, but figures of delight,
Drawn after you, you pattern of all those.
The forward violet thus did I chide;
Sweet thief, whence didst thou steal thy sweet that smells,
If not from my love's breath? The purple pride
Which on thy soft cheek for complexion dwells,
In my love's veins thou hast too grossly dyed.
The lily I condemned for thy hand,
And buds of marjoram had stolen thy hair.*
More flowers I noted, yet I none could see
But sweet or colour it had stolen from thee.'

Would Shakspeare have written thus to a man? Luckily, we can make him answer for himself. It often happens that we are enabled to prove a sonnet not personal by the aid of those which are personal. And in Sonnet 21 he says—

'So is it NOT with me as with that Muse
Stirred by a *painted beauty* to his verse,
Who heaven itself for ornament doth use
And every fair with his fair doth rehearse,
Making a complement of proud compare
With sun and moon, with earth and sea's rich gems,
With April's first-born flowers, and all things rare.'

After which he would not be likely to compare his friend to

* Drake mentions a portrait of Elizabeth Vernon, by Jansen, the face and hands of which are said to be 'coloured with incomparable lustre,' so that the truth of this comparison can be tested, if the portrait be still in existence.—See 'Shakspeare's Life and Times,' vol. ii. p. 8.

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that same 'painted beauty' by doing the very thing he had denounced.

Such lines, we submit, were never written to any man as from Shakspeare himself, but they might well arise from the poet taking Southampton's courtship for his theme. Coleridge was not without grounds for thinking Shakspeare's Sonnets were addressed to a woman.* Poet-like, he felt that there were such gusts of passionate fragrance in the feeling, and such 'subtle-shining secresies' in the expression of some of them, as a woman only could have called forth. The flowery tenderness, the playing with all beauties of external nature as the beloved's shadow, and looking on the flowers as 'figures of delight' drawn after her pattern; the affectionate endearment of epithet, the fondling of the miniature, the almost epicurean sense of possessing the treasure which he will not look at often for fear of 'blunting the fine point of pleasure' (Sonnet 52), the love-sickness in absence, and the rapture of return, are all essentially amatory; all tell of a pure passion for a pure, beautiful woman. Shakspeare's dramatic instinct was too keen for him to have violated the natural fitness of imagery, as he is made to do, by our reading all these Sonnets as addressed to a man. For example, a woman might be likened to Adonis, because of his youthful, beardless beauty and his modesty (Sonnet 53); but it would hardly do to liken a man who was a soldier and a famous fighter to Helen,

> 'Painted newly in Grecian tires!'

Or take the imagery in Sonnet 114, where the speaker says his love hath the alchemic power—

> 'To make of monsters and things indigest
> *Such Cherubins* as *your sweet self* resemble.'

Then there is Sonnet 93, which Oldys fancied Shakspeare had addressed to his wife on her infidelity. It is quick with the fears of a lover trembling into suspicions lest his mistress should not prove true—

> 'How like Eve's Apple doth thy beauty grow,
> If thy sweet virtue answer not thy show!'

In the previous Sonnet he says:—

> 'Thou mayst be *false* and yet I know it not.'

In Sonnet 88 he alludes to a possible contingency, and there says:—

> 'Against myself I'll fight,
> And prove thee *virtuous* tho' thou art *forsworn*.'

* Vide Coleridge's 'Table Talk,' 2nd edition, pp. 229-31.

In

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In Sonnet 125 the love is a 'mutual render, only me for thee.' Sonnet 87 looks like a lover's quarrel and a possible parting. The lover says:—

'Farewell! thou art too dear for my possessing.'

And this is followed by three other pathetic Sonnets on the same subject:—

'Say that thou didst forsake me for some fault,
Thou canst not, love, disgrace me half so ill,
To set a form upon *desired change*,
As I'll myself disgrace; knowing thy will,
I will *acquaintance strangle*, and *look strange*;
Be absent from thy walks:'

which hardly applies to Shakspeare at the theatre, but is applicable to Southampton about the Court! He continues:—

'Then hate me when thou wilt; if ever, now;
Now while the world is bent *my deeds* to cross,
Join with the *spite* of *fortune*, *make me bow*.'

What this can have to do with Shakspeare personally has never been shown. He was not a man of *deeds*. What it may have to do with the Earl we shall see, if we call to mind how he returned to England* in October, 1597, and the Queen frowned on him—she being 'on tiff' with Essex—because, while in command of the 'Garland,' he had dared to pursue and sink a vessel of the enemy without Monson's orders. And here he challenges his love to do what the Queen or Fortune, with her injustice, cannot do—make his proud spirit bow. This Sonnet is quick with the feeling of a wronged heroic soul, written in the very life-blood that ran from wounds unfairly given, and a most perfect representation in motive, time, circumstance, when applied to the Earl. In this connection let us look at Sonnet 36, and we shall perceive a meaning never before discovered:—

'Let me confess that we two must be twain,
Altho' our *undivided* loves are one:
So shall *those blots that do with me remain*,
Without thy help, by me be *borne alone*.
In our *two loves* there is but *one* respect,
Tho' in our lives a *separable spite*;
Which *tho' it alter not love's sole effect*,
Yet doth it steal sweet hours from love's delight.
I may not evermore acknowledge thee,
Lest my *bewailed guilt* should do thee shame;
Nor thou with *public kindness honour me*,
Unless thou take that honour from thy name:

* 'Sydney Papers,' vol. ii. p. 72, and 'Drake's Shakspeare and his Times,' vol. ii. p. 5.

But

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But do not so; I love thee in such sort,
As, thou being mine, *mine is thy good report.*'

Apply that to Shakspeare, and you can make nothing of it. It will not even fit in with the supposed affair of the two friends and one mistress, as the poet is not made to call himself the guilty one in that! Apply it to Southampton, and you have the two lovers and the parting enforced by the Queen. He has been forbidden to see his mistress, or she him; and were he to do so, or were she to notice him for others to see, it would injure her good report. They must to all appearance be 'twain,' although one in love, so that she may not be a sharer in his 'blots.' There is but one respect in their love, but a *separable spite* in their lives. The 'separable spite' of Southampton's and Mistress Vernon's lives was the spite of Elizabeth.* Rowland Whyte, in a letter dated February 1st, 1597, makes a remark which is very apposite to our purpose and illustrative of the personal history of these lovers. He says, '*My Lord of Southampton is much troubled at her Majesty's strangest usage of hym.*† *Some body hath plaied unfriendly parts with hym. Mr. Secretary hath procured him license to travell. His fair Mistress doth wash her fairest face with too many tears. I pray God his going away bring her to no such infirmity which is, as yt were, hereditary to her name.*' Here, apparently, we find that Elizabeth Vernon is driven to the verge of madness. What the Queen's treatment was of her maids that wished to marry we may gather from the letter of Mr. Fenton to John Harington,‡ in which, speaking of the Lady M. Howard, he tells us the Queen will not let her be married, 'saying, I have made her my servant, and she will make herself my mistress,' which she shall not. Moreover, she 'must not entertain' her lover 'in any conversation, but shun

* It may be worth noticing that the last two lines of the above Sonnet are the same as the last two lines of Sonnet 96, for in this fact there is at least the plausible suggestion that the Sonnets were intended for two different persons, or distinct purposes. It is quite possible that the repetition of these lines in the 96th Sonnet is intentional. If so, they are employed to go back again from the person addressed in Sonnet 36. This would account for the reproaches being so *direct*. Shakspeare, when speaking personally of the Earl's failings, *soliloquises* his thoughts (see Sonnet 67 and 68); but in Sonnets 95-6 the reproaches are direct, and the speaker chides in the very same strain, almost in the same words, as Juliet reproaching the absent Romeo for the death of Tybalt. We do not see how the repetition of those lines can be reconciled with the personal theory. If Shakspeare had used them on both occasions to the same friend, one must have been in wanton mockery of the other; if they were used as we suggest, the repetition would be a pathetic reminder of a promise once made.

† Possibly her Majesty might remember on occasion that the Earl's father had been a strenuous upholder of the rights of Mary Queen of Scots.

‡ Harington's 'Nugæ Antiquæ,' vol. i. p. 233.

his

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his company, and be careful how she attires her person not to attract my lord the Earl.' This writer says her Majesty frequently 'chides in small matters, in such wise as to make these fair maids often cry and bewail in piteous sort.'

We have only internal evidence whereby we can judge whether the Sonnets are or are not personal; and where the internal evidence fits some outer fact which we can identify, we have a right to adopt the reading that is compatible with both. In this respect, our reading will make the Sonnets alive with realities where no meanings have hitherto been found. We will now ask the reader to turn back with us to Sonnet 30, the subject of which is the loss of friends—'precious friends'—very nearly related, who died long ago:—

> 'When to the sessions of sweet silent thought
> I summon up remembrance of things past,
> I sigh the lack of many a thing I sought,
> And with *old woes* new-wail my *dear time's waste:*
> Then can I drown an eye (*unused to flow*)
> For *precious friends* hid in Death's dateless night,
> And weep *afresh Love's long-since cancelled* woe,
> And moan the expense of many a vanisht sight.
> Then can I grieve at *grievances foregone,*
> And heavily, from *woe* to *woe*, tell o'er
> The *sad account* of *fore-bemoaned* moan,
> Which I *new-pay* as if not paid before.
> But if the while I think on thee, dear friend,
> All losses are restored, and sorrows end.'

We cannot attach this to Shakspeare himself by any known facts of his life; yet it is something very special. The lost friends were most dear—'precious friends'—friends, we should say, in the closest relationship. The next Sonnet says:—

> 'How many a *holy* and *obsequious* tear
> Hath *dear religious* love stolen from mine eye,
> As interest of the dead!'

The loss is the sorrow of a life-time; the relationship one of the nearest to nature; and the deaths occurred years ago. If we suppose Shakspeare to be speaking, we simply do not know what he is talking about, as so often occurs through the personal theory. The first loss that Shakspeare had up to the time of writing, and the only one, so far as we know, was the loss of his boy. Indeed, this could not have occurred; for if the Sonnets were personal, they would be amongst the earliest written, because they indicate that it is a *newly-found* friend, who is to fill the empty place of those old ones who are gone:—

'Thy

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'Thy bosom is endeared with all hearts,
Which I *by lacking* have supposed dead,
And there reigns Love and all Love's loving parts,
And all those friends which I thought buried.'

Shakspeare's son died in August 1596, but clearly that loss will not bear the description in any way. If we turn to Southampton's life, we shall find the very loss of these 'precious friends,' and the precise lapse of time also. His father had died (as we have already stated) when Henry Wriothesley wanted two days of being eight years old; and about four years afterwards his elder brother died. That phrase 'lacking' has in it a touch of parental relationship. And as we read the Sonnet, this new love of the Earl for Elizabeth Vernon has come to him to replace the old, and restore to him all he had lost; that which death hid away he has found in her. She comes to him

'Hung with the trophies of my lovers gone,
Who all their parts of me to thee did give,
That due of many now is thine alone.'

The subject being death, will account for the graver tones that make the poetry so solemn and splendid.

When we read these as a portion of Shakspeare's '*sugred Sonnets among his private friends*' it adds a novel significance to the words of Meres. These are *love-Sonnets*, which was what Meres meant by his epithet; but love-Sonnets in so peculiar a fashion that if their true nature was such as we have been supposing, and he had any inkling of it, he would be compelled to generalise. He does not say sonnets *to* his friend or friends, but *among* his private friends. This was in 1598, the year in which the Earl of Southampton and Elizabeth Vernon were married;* therefore these sonnets, which are ante-nuptial, if written on the subject of the Earl's love, must have been amongst those mentioned by Meres, for they have the essence of his meaning. And who were Shakspeare's 'private friends'? We have his own positive evidence that Southampton was one, and a very dear one. No amount of negative evidence will alter that or dethrone the Earl to whom he dedicated. The sole evidence on behalf of the Earl of Pembroke is that of the players, or rather of the writer of the dedication to the first folio edition of Shakspeare's plays, whose gratitude was probably quite as much a lively sense of future favours

* Or early in 1599, for we learn by the 'Sydney Papers,' that the Earl was returning home from Paris on the 1st of November, 1598. And he was married, had been imprisoned in consequence, was out of prison, and in hopes of kissing her Majesty's hand by the 29th of March, 1599.—See 'Sydney Papers,' vol. ii. pp. 104 and 182.

to

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to himself as it was a sense of any past favours to Shakspeare. Southampton, we know, was a private friend of our great poet. And it is only the most natural thing in the world that Elizabeth Vernon should be his friend also.

We mentioned an image in Sonnet 27 which reappears in 'Romeo and Juliet,' where the reader will find that it occurs in Romeo's very first exclamation at seeing Juliet for the first time. This 27th Sonnet, according to our reading, is one of the earliest devoted to Southampton's love for Elizabeth Vernon—the first as they are arranged. And we think the figure placed too pointedly where it reappears not to have some significance. It suggests the possibility that this lady of the Sonnets may be glanced at in Juliet! Looked at in this light, the question of Juliet—

'Art thou not Romeo and a Montague?'

comes upon us with renewed force; for the fact is, that Southampton was a Montague by the mother's side, she being Mary, daughter of Anthony Browne, first Viscount Montague, and his name, Wriothesley, beginning with a letter different from the first letter sounded, may be alluded to in what has always seemed a little bit of the Nurse's nonsense in the fourth scene of the Second Act of this drama:—

'*Nurse.*—Doth not rosemary and Romeo *both begin with a letter*?

Romeo.—Ay, Nurse; what of that? both with an R.

Nurse.—Ah, mocker! that's the dog's name: R is for the dog. No; *I know it begins with some other letter*: and *she hath the prettiest sententious of it, of you and Rosemary*, that it would do you good to hear it.

Romeo.—Commend me to thy lady.'

Here perhaps is an *aside* on the part of the poet to his friends. It seems also exceedingly probable to us that we get another *aside* that glances at our reading of the Sonnets in the previous scene of this same Act. Mercutio says of Romeo in love, 'Now is he for the numbers Petrarch flowed in: Laura to his lady was but a kitchen-wench; marry, *she had a better love to be-rhyme her*.' Supposing the theory now under consideration to be the right one, the perfection of the banter here—as between Shakspeare and Southampton—would lie in an allusion unperceived by the audience, but well known to poet and patron. That such *asides* were frequent at that time we have no doubt whatever.

We now come to a series of Sonnets which are nearly grouped together, and which include Nos. 109, 110, 111, 112, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, and 125. These Sonnets tell a far different story; the dramatic interest deepens. They are pathetic, with a most passionate pleading; they are defiant of some

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some opposition and slander; they are filled with personal confessions; they are self-criminating, and quick with repentance; they are intensely personal, and one or two touches of literal likeness in external facts have caused them to be taken for the most actual and authentic representation that we have of Shakspeare himself. But *there is no likeness in the inner character. They do not agree with what we know of Shakspeare.* They do not accord with those Sonnets which are personal. These Sonnets look very like replies to expostulations on the subject of personal conduct and character. Yet, we repeat, they do not express either the conduct or character of Shakspeare himself. It is remarkable, however, that they most startlingly represent the character of Southampton. The young Earl, as is well known, was a brave, comely, munificent noble, of Nature's own making. He was ardent and true in friendship, when to be so was injurious to his own best interests; chivalric, and full of warlike fire.* But he was one of those who have the occasional flash and outbreak of the fiery mind; 'so much of earth, so much of heaven, and such impetuous blood!' His mounting valour was of the restless irrepressive kind that if it could not find vent in battles abroad it was apt to break out in brawls at home. The very man whose vices Shakspeare would feel to be more amiable than some people's virtues. His generous and self-forgetting nature was irritated and made reckless by the cruelty of Elizabeth, the Queen, in so wantonly opposing his marriage with Elizabeth, his love. His daring was at times turned into dare-devilry; his hardihood into fool-hardihood. At which sorry sight the 'fair Mistress Vernon,' and other friends of the Earl, would mourn, and bewail his getting into such bad courses and lamentable scrapes, or *scapes*, as Shakspeare would have called them.

These Sonnets may well have been written when the Earl had slidden deeper than ever into disgrace, and the fair Elizabeth had heard of his doings with averted eyes. The personal relationship here imaged is altogether different from that of Shakspeare and his patron or friend, Southampton.

> 'Oh, never say that I was false of heart,
> Tho' *absence* seemed my *flame to qualify*.'

'If I have *rang'd*,' he pleads, 'I return again,' and 'bring water for my stain.' How grossly improbable is it that Shakspeare should have written to his friend and patron thus:

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* Vide Sir J. Harington's 'Report concerning the Earl of Essex's Journey in Ireland.'—'Nugæ Antiquæ,' vol. i. p. 268.

'For

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'For if you were by *my unkindness* shaken
As I by yours, *you've passed a hell of time:*
And I, a tyrant, have no leisure taken
To weigh how once I suffered in your crime.
Oh that our night of woe might have remembered
My deepest sense, how hard true sorrow hits,
And *soon to you, as you to me*, then tendered
The *humble* salve which wounded bosom fits!'

Our poet was one of the most modest of men, therefore one of the last to have presumed on his friend's kindness, and have placed himself on an equality in that way!

The arguments of Sonnets 117 and 118 would be puerile if Shakspeare's own; worthy of a flirting coxcomb. 'Accuse me thus,' he would say, 'that I have scanted all wherein I should repay your great deserts; forgot to call upon your dearest love, whereto all bonds do tie me day by day. Say that I have *hoisted sail to all the winds* that would transport me farthest from you; given to others that which belongs to you, and was so dearly purchased. Say the worst of me that you can; accumulate all my *wilfulness* and errors, and then I shall plead in answer that it was *all done merely to prove the constancy and virtue of your love!*' And this to the person whose frown he is supposed to have feared! If we take Southampton to be the speaker in Sonnet 117, we shall see how appropriate it all is—

'That I have frequent been, with *unknown minds*,
And *given to time* your own *dear-purchased* right;
That I *have hoisted sail to all the winds*
Which should transport me farthest from your sight.' *

He had been abroad three years running, after he first began to woo Mistress Vernon. He had been in various foreign countries, Spain, France, Ireland; and in doing this he had hoisted sail to those winds that would blow him the farthest from her. Thus he had given to time that which was her own by right, for she had dearly purchased it by her sufferings on his account. In another Sonnet he has come home for good, and he only wants now to be forgiven once for all, and he will not again give way to that lust for action, which has been one of his sins. The excuse of the 118th Sonnet, if used by Shakspeare to his friend, would be still more absurd were it not more insulting. The Sonnets we are now speaking of include the two which have generally been thought to denote the poet's disgust at his player's life. But surely they are more true to the life and character of Southampton than of Shakspeare. 'Alas! 'tis true (I admit all you say) that I have

* Here we find the speaker is the same *absentee* that we heard speaking 'at limits far remote,' or on *distant shores*, in the earlier Sonnets.

gone

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gone *here* and *there*, and made myself a motley to the view.' The image may be drawn from the stage; but we do not see how it fits the relation of the poet to his patron. With what propriety could Shakspeare speak of making a fool of himself on the stage which had been their first meeting-place, and which was the fount of Shakspeare's honour; the delight of Southampton's leisure? Besides which we know that Shakspeare's life was no tossing to and fro, going *here* and *there* to make a fool of himself. His life was too steadily anchored in a steadfastness of character. Far more significantly does the image figure the young Earl's public follies to the very life.

Again:—

> 'Oh, for my sake do you with Fortune chide,
> The guilty goddess of my *harmful* deeds,
> That did not better for my life provide
> Than *public means* which *public manners* breeds.
> Thence comes it that *my name receives a brand*,
> And almost thence my nature is subdued
> To what it works in.'

There is one surface fact in this Sonnet by which it has been identified as Shakspeare's own personal expression. It is quite true in our *modern* sense that he got his living by *public means*. But all the internal evidence is opposed to personal interpretation. What *harmful deeds*, we should like to know, had the poet done in consequence of his connexion with the theatre? How could his name be branded, or 'receive a brand,' from 'thence'? He had no name apart from the theatre. His name was created there. He had no higher standard of appeal. He had not *stooped* to authorship or player's life. His living depended on the theatre: he met and made his friends at the theatre; he was now making his fortune by the theatre. How, then, could he receive a 'brand' from it? Supposing him to have had a private dislike to the life, which we doubt, it would have been perfectly out of place to express it thus to the man who had exalted the 'poor player,' however the world might look down on him. We cannot see why he should cry 'Alas!' and ask to be 'pitied,' and wish he were 'renewed,' and offer to drink some moral disinfecting fluid, no matter how bitter, and seek to do 'double penance,' when he was getting his living honestly, according to the lot that had befallen him. Besides, if he were the victim of Fortune, what motive would he have for self-reproach? He could not have been both the helpless victim of Fortune and the headstrong cause of his own misfortune; and *that* is the character implied. There is a sense of personal wilfulness

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fulness in doing *harmful deeds.* The bewailing here, as in Sonnet 88, is chiefly on account of '*The injuries that to myself I do.*' 'Do you *o'er-green* my *bad*;' and there is an endeavour to make Fortune responsible.

If we apply the language of these three Sonnets (110, 111, and 112) to Southampton, we shall find a far more satisfactory solution. It was perfectly true, and we know it, that *he* had gone here and there and made a fool of himself; done it publicly 'to the view.' And in doing these things, after meeting with Elizabeth Vernon, he must have 'looked on truth askance and strangely,' and made old offences of '*affections new.*' Fortune, he says, was the *guilty* goddess of his harmful deeds, in making him a public man, which begets public manners.

We must not forget that the 'public means' has two or three possible meanings. If applied to Shakspeare, it would express his *means of getting a living.* But it might also apply to a man who has to live his life so much in public that all he does is talked about. There is also a third sense, in which a person who received the pay of the Crown, as Southampton undoubtedly did, might speak of 'public means.' Here, however, the question may be thought to lie between public and private life, rather than between poverty and riches, or modes of payment—the life itself rather than the means of getting a living, which he wishes 'renewed.' The expression 'public manners' must be looked to a little more closely, and we shall see that the poet is writing of one who is of *public importance* in a far other sense than a player could be. Sonnet 25 will enable us to call Shakspeare himself once more to give evidence in the matter. He there tells us in what sense he uses the word 'public,' for he evidently considers that Fortune has debarred him from the triumph of 'public' honours. In his time the profession of player would not be 'public' according to Shakspeare's meaning when he uses the word. Southampton was a public man (he belonged to a public profession), and he *was* of sufficient importance to be criticised and flattered, and to be deaf to 'critics' and 'flatterers.' He was a soldier, not only under the English Crown, but also a soldier of fortune, when in trouble at home glad of any fighting that could be got. We find that on the 17th of March, 1598, Cecil introduced Southampton to the illustrious Henry IV. of France, at Angers, telling him that Lord Southampton had 'come with deliberation to do him service.'* As a soldier and a man of so fiery a spirit that it led him into brawls, he could fairly say—

* 'Sydney Papers,' vol. ii. pp. 87-90.

'*Thence*

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'*Thence* comes it that my name receives a brand,
And almost thence my nature is subdued
To what if works in, like the dyer's hand:
Pity me then and WISH *I were renewed.*'

Poor fellow! he was continually 'in for it.' Twice the Queen had to prohibit his fighting: once with the Earl of Northumberland, and once with Lord Grey.*

It will be observed that these Sonnets are written on some special occasion. Although various harmful doings are spoken of, there is a particular deed on the *tapis*, and it is one which has given rise to 'vulgar scandal.' In Southampton's case we are able to hit the blot exactly. We learn that on his return to England in October, 1597, he was one evening playing at *primero* with Raleigh and some other courtiers in the presence chamber. They continued their game after the Queen had retired to rest. Ambrose Willoughby, the officer in waiting, warned them that it was time to depart. Raleigh obeyed; but when Willoughby threatened to call in the guard and pull down the board, Southampton took offence and would not go. He struck Willoughby; blows were exchanged, and Willoughby tore out some of Southampton's hair. When the Queen heard of the affair next morning she thanked Willoughby for his part in it, and told him, probably with a fierce glance at one of Southampton's friends, 'he should have sent the Earl to the porter's lodge to see *who durst have fetched him out.*' The Queen ordered Southampton to absent himself from the Court. He was again in disgrace, with Mistress Vernon as a grieved looker on. By the aid of the agreeable gossip who gives us the above, we are able to see the effect of this disgraceful affair on Southampton's mistress:—

'I *hard of some unkindness* should be between 3000 (the No. in his cipher for Southampton) *and his Mistress, occasioned by some report of Mr. Ambrose Willoughby.* 3000 called hym to an account for yt, but the matter was made knowen to my Lord of Essex, and my Lord Chamberlain, who had them in Examinacion; what the cause is I could not learne, for yt was but new; but *I see* 3000 *full of discontentments.*' †

Is not this the very picture painted by Shakspeare in these Sonnets? But the lover pleads, and the fair Mistress Vernon listens kindly. She pities her lover, and effaces the impression which scandal had stamped on his brow. He does not care what the whole world may say about him now she is reconciled to him.

* Drake's 'Shakspeare and His Times,' vol. ii. p. 6. Harington's 'Nugæ Antiquæ,' vol. i. p. 271.

† 'Sydney Papers,' vol. ii. pp. 82, 83.

We

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We may note, in illustration of the line

'Pity me then, and wish I were *renewed*,'

the fact that after this unfortunate affair, and a little fighting along with Essex in Spain, the Earl attended to his senatorial duties in Parliament for a whole session, from October, 1597, to February, 1598.

As for Shakspeare, we have no doubt that he was more desirous of getting his theatre renewed, but thought that Fortune so far had pretty well provided for his life. And we hold it to be absolutely certain that his name never did receive a 'brand' on account of his 'public manners,' bred through being a player. His brow never was branded by *vulgar scandal*. And so evidently *public* are the *person*, the *act*, the *scandal* of these Sonnets, that we must have heard of them had they been Shakspeare's. He would be a man whose public 'manners' and public 'shames' and 'harmful deeds' were notorious; so much so that he sets it down to his profession. So the personal interpretation of Sonnet 36 would make Shakspeare to be of so suspicious a character, not merely in his private life, but *publicly* known to be so deeply dyed and darkly branded by the 'guilt' which he 'bewails' that for his friend to take any further notice of him would be to his own dishonour, and fatal to his 'good report.' It is quite impossible that a man whose calling degraded him and served to affix a brand on his brow, should have occasion to be 'deaf as an adder' to 'flatterers.' The personal theory here, as elsewhere, puts all into confusion: it is sufficient warrant for all that Steevens said of the Sonnets: it leads people to think Shakspeare wrote nonsense at times, and exaggerated continually. Also, the personal rendering deepens and darkens the impression of things which, when applied to the Earl and his Mistress, do not mean much, and are merely matter for a Sonnet, not for the saddest of all Shaksperian tragedies.

We do not know much of Shakspeare's life, but we have no reason to think that he ever uttered one personal complaint against Fortune, nor had he any cause that we know of. His career in life appears to have been one of steady prosperity. When he speaks on this subject in person, it is with a very quiet modesty. He does not accredit Fortune with any spite towards him, and shows none himself. He speaks of his 'well-contented day' (Sonnet 32); and once he alludes to the fact that he is debarred by Fortune from such triumph as results through 'proud titles' and 'public honours' (Sonnet 25); but that is all. The exclamations against Fortune occur in the Sonnets which we have supposed *devoted*, according to the theory which we are stating, to Southampton. In Sonnet 29 he is in 'disgrace with Fortune.' In Sonnet

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Sonnet 37 he is 'made lame,' that is, *disabled* by Fortune's excessive 'spite.' Again, in Sonnet 90, it is the 'spite of Fortune.' And, in Sonnet 111, he asks that for his sake the person addressed should chide 'Fortune' rather than him, for she is the 'guilty goddess' of his 'harmful' doings. In Southampton's case the excuse is appropriate. Fortune was against him in the person of the Queen, and her opposition to his marriage; and but for his being a *public* man and so much in the power of the Court for appointment and preferment, he would not have had so long and trying a fight with Fortune. He could have carried off his love and lived a calmer life; he would have escaped many a scar that he received in the struggle with such an untoward Fortune as at length landed him by the side of Essex at the scaffold foot, although he had not to mount the steps.

These Sonnets, which we may call our fourth group, may be considered as making what defence Shakspeare can on behalf of the Earl. They explain much that he has done; they offer excuses, apologies, contrite feelings, and repentant expressions of all kinds. They reply to what has been said of him, and, while admitting the worst that is true, they denounce indignantly much that is scandal:—

> 'No! I am that I am; and they that level at my abuses
> reckon up their own.'

And he says they count 'bad' what he thinks 'good!'*

The passionate feeling at times intensifies, and various signs indicate that they are addressed to a woman:—

> 'For nothing this wide universe I call
> Save thou, *my rose!* in it thou art my all.'

> 'What potions have I drunk of Syren tears.'

And

> 'Why should others false adulterate eyes,
> Give salutation to my sportive blood?'

Then, in conclusion of the quarrelling and unkindness, we have the voice of Shakspeare himself coming in with a summing-up of the whole matter:—

> 'Let me *not* to the marriage of true minds
> *Admit impediments.* Love is not *love*
> Which *alters* when it *alteration* finds,
> Or bends with the remover to remove:
> Oh no; it is an *ever fixed mark,*
> That *looks on tempests and is never shaken;*
> It is the *star* to every *wandering* bark,
> Whose worth's unknown, altho' his height be taken.

* Possibly an allusion to his love for the Drama.

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Love's *not Time's fool*, tho' rosy lips and cheeks
Within his bending sickle's compass come;
Love *alters not* with his brief hours and weeks
But *bears it out even to the edge of doom*,
If this be error, and upon me proved,
I never writ nor no man ever loved.'—*Sonnet* 119.

A most perfectly apposite discourse on the loves of Southampton and Elizabeth Vernon! Their love did not run smooth. His wandering bark required the stedfast star of her goodness and beauty. Both needed the word of cordial cheer to 'bear it out to the end of doom.'

The phrase in Sonnet 110—'a God in love'—has been held to indicate a man; but that view is completely neutralised by an expression in the tenth line of the same Sonnet. A Goddess in love would not have suited, so he employs an expression beyond sex. In a similar way Elizabeth was called a Prince. Shakspeare likewise changes the sex of his muse.

The jealousy regarding the Table-book tends to prove that it is a woman. Some busy tongue has been tittle-tattling, and informed her that a gift of hers has been held but lightly, and parted with by the Earl. The speaker makes his most complimentary defence (Sonnet 122). But he is intensely angered at the spy who had slandered him to his beloved.

'Hence thou suborned informer! * a true soul
When most impeached, stands least in thy controul.'
Sonnet 125.

There are various sentiments in these Sonnets which are only intelligible as excuses for a lover who considered that he was more sinned against than sinning, and we cannot attribute them to Shakspeare speaking of, or for, himself. For example:—

'Tis better to be vile than vile esteemed
When not to be receives reproach of being.'

Sonnet 124 is, indeed, remarkable when read by the light which we can throw on it from the history of the Earl of Southampton:—

'If my dear love were but the child of state,
It might for Fortune's bastard be unfathered,
As subject to Time's love, or to Time's hate,
Weeds among weeds, or flowers with flowers gathered.
No, it was builded far from accident;
It suffers not in smiling pomp, *nor falls*
Under the blow of thralled discontent,
Whereto the inviting time our fashion calls:

* Was that Mr. Ambrose Willoughby?

It

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It fears not *policy* that *heretic*,
Which works on leases of short numbered hours,
But all alone stands hugely politic,
That it nor grows with heat nor drowns with showers.'

Shakspeare might have spoken this Sonnet without any conflict with the historic circumstances; also he might defy Time and all state-policy to alienate him from his friend, although state-policy was not likely to be exerted for such an end. But the speaker here is about to face a possible death, and that which would not be appropriate to the Poet speaking of his friend, is appropriate to Southampton speaking of his love. It may be read as an expression of the Earl's feeling when he is contemplating going to Ireland. His love, he says, is no mere child of state or play-thing of the Queen or her 'policy,' which is such a heretic to love, although—ominous hint!—it works on a *short lease*. Time has no power over it. He may fall beneath the blow of '*thralled discontent*'—the *rebellious* Irish—to deal with which the 'inviting time' calls 'our fashion'—that is, England's chivalry; but his love shall still live on. It is fixed; it stands alone, 'hugely politic.' There is an airy exultation or tone of lofty defiance in this Sonnet. And it is well accounted for by the fact that *before he accompanied Essex to Ireland, in* 1599, *Southampton married Mistress Vernon in spite of the Queen!* His love is no longer the poor 'unfathered bastard' of Fortune. It is crowned at last, and this is their day of triumph, even though the Queen do impotently thrust them into prison for awhile.

It may be seen that a large number of the Sonnets *devoted to* Southampton are written during the Earl's absence from England. Sonnets 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, and 52 imply absence at a distance—'injurious distance'—'limits far remote,' on the part of the speaker. Again, there has been an absence in Sonnet 56 and in Sonnets 97, 98, and 99, which is curiously corroborated in the 100th Sonnet. Another journey is indicated in Sonnet 113. And it appears to us that the 39th Sonnet, which is a personal one (we take it that Shakspeare never confuses the characters, and that where he speaks of writing or singing, the Sonnet is personal), tells us quite plainly how the Poet first began to write dramatically for the Patron. It looks like an answer to a request. He feels unworthy to sing of him, and he is glad to make the *absence*, the *separation*, an excuse for doing so. The 'sour leisure' of the Earl's absence is to give him 'sweet leave' to 'entertain the time with thoughts of love.' The separation shall teach him 'how to make one twain,' by 'praising [writing about] him *here* who doth *hence* remain.' This Sonnet occurs at the time of the Earl's first absence, as

 shown

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shown by the Sonnets relating thereto; and so Shakspeare began to write Sonnets on the subject of Southampton's love, his character, and his fortunes; his absence offering the strongest motive; and in this way he 'entertained the time with thoughts of love.'

It may also be urged that if the 77th Sonnet be properly interrogated, it will tell the reader *how* a large number of the Sonnets were written *for* Southampton. The commentators have hitherto assumed that Shakspeare made his friend a present of a 'table-book' with this Sonnet; and added, helplessly enough, that the friend must have done the same in Sonnet 122; but it is *not* written on making a gift. The subject is the old one of making a fight with Time. The writer is at the time writing in *the* book, from which he draws one of a series of reflections bearing upon his subject. The mirror, he says, will tell him how his 'beauties wear;' and the dial will show him Time's stealthy progress to eternity. '*This* book' will also teach its lesson. Its vacant leaves will take the mind's imprint; and he advises his friend to write down his own thoughts in these '*waste blanks*,' and they will be a living memory of the past, one day—just as the mirror is a reminder to-day. If he will do this, the habit—'these offices'—will profit him mentally, and much enrich the book. Evidently this is a book for writing in, and as evidently Shakspeare is *then* writing in it. Moreover it has 'vacant leaves'—'waste blanks;' therefore it will have pages that have been filled. It has already been enriched, but if the owner of it—Southampton—would also write in it, the book would be much richer than it is now. '*This book*' shows it in Shakspeare's hand, and '*thy book*' tells us it belonged to the Earl. Into this book, then, we think many of the Sonnets may have been written, as contributions are made to an album. In this particular Sonnet we see the poet actually writing in the book. We may see likewise how naturally he would thus come to write upon Southampton's affairs through the medium of this book, which would pass from poet to patron, and afford matters of peculiar interest when Mistress Vernon and the Earl looked over it together. Nor is it wholly inconceivable that this book was a present from Mistress Vernon to the Earl, and that it is the very one which we find he has parted with in Sonnet 122. That was a '*record*' of her, but his mind and memory, he says, retain a far deeper record.

> 'That *poor retention could not so much hold*,
> Nor *need I tallies thy dear love to score*;
> Therefore to give them from me was I bold,
> To trust *those tables* that *receive thee* more.'

Here the book is for the purpose of keeping count, as it were, of

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of his love. It has been devoted to her, but the 'poor retention could not so much hold;' and he has given it away. We suspect also that this book contained the Sonnets mentioned by Meres; and after it was given away by Southampton, it ultimately drifted into the hands of Thomas Thorpe, and formed the nucleus of his collection.

It is demonstrable that *the poet did not contemplate being known to the world as the writer of these Sonnets.* The work was a cherished love-secret on his part, all the dearer for the privacy. He thought of doing it, and he believed it would live, and that his friend and all the love between them should live on in it, but *he himself was to steal off unidentified.* In Sonnet 81, he says:—

'Your name from hence immortal life shall have,
Tho' I, *once gone, to all the world must die:*
The earth can yield me *but a common grave,*
When you entombed in men's eyes shall lie.
Your monument shall be my gentle verse.'

Clearly the Sonnets were to be *nameless*, so far as the author was concerned, or Shakspeare must have been a sharer with his friend in both the immortal life and monument! Again, he says, when he is dead—

'Do not so much as my poor *name* rehearse,
My *name* be buried where my body is.'

And in Sonnet 76, there is a kind of 'hush!' He speaks of his friend so plainly, that 'every word doth almost tell *my* name,' and from whom the Sonnets proceeded, as if that were self-forbidden. He assures his friend of immortality, he speaks of having an interest in the verses, for they contain the 'better part' of himself consecrated to his friend, but he does not contemplate living in them by name.

This view of the subject will explain what has always appeared so great an anomaly in the poet's character. Readers never could reconcile his carelessness about fame with his many boasts respecting immortality. It appears to us that Shakspeare's Sonnetteering for Southampton was nearly done when the Earl did at length marry late in 1598 or early in 1599. And from this we assume that the Sonnets which were begun by the poet, advising the young Earl to marry, and continued from time to time all through the long, unquiet course of his wooing, were concluded by the marriage. There is one exception in Sonnet 107, and it will worthily crown our illustrations:—

'Not *mine own fears*, nor the *prophetic* soul
Of the wide world *dreaming on things to come,*
Can yet the lease of my true love controul,
Supposed as forfeit to a confined doom. Tho

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The *mortal Moon* hath her *eclipse endured*,
And the sad augurs mock their own presage,
Incertainties now crown themselves *assured*,
And peace proclaims Olives of endless age.
Now with the drops of this most balmy time
My love looks fresh and *Death to me subscribes*,
Since spite of him I'll live in this poor rhyme,
While he insults o'er dull and speechless tribes.
And thou in this shalt find thy monument,
When *tyrant's crests* and tombs of brass are spent.'

There can be no misgiving or mistake here. That Sonnet was written on the death of Elizabeth, and the consequent release of Southampton from prison.

The Earl had been condemned to die for his part in Essex's mad attempt. He was left in prison many weeks, expecting death. His sentence was at length remitted, but he was kept in confinement until the 'mortal moon' had 'her eclipse endured.' And it tells us of Shakspeare's fears for his friend—how he had trembled, the outer world had prophesied, and the Augurs had foreboded the worst. How he had supposed the lease of his love forfeited by that 'confined doom!' But all the uncertainty is over now. His love looks 'fresh with the drops of this most balmy time.' The new king calls him from a prison to a seat of honour;* and the poet can crow over Death this time, and his friend shall find a monument in his verse, when the 'crests' and 'tombs of brass' of all such tyrants as Elizabeth have passed away.

We would here remind our readers that Elizabeth Vernon was cousin to the Earl of Essex. It has been felt that Shakspeare was somehow mixed up with Essex's affairs. The order from Essex House for 'Richard II.' to be played at the Globe Theatre on the eve of the Earl's attempt is significant. But our Poet's intimacy with Southampton would explain all. We suspect that the influence of Southampton and Shakspeare did unconsciously work on the national mind, and tend to create a certain glamour of poetry and pity around the headstrong Earl, who, in return, threw a dark shadow over his friends, and in this shadow the world has lost sight of Southampton and his friendship for Shakspeare. In the Duke of Manchester's recent work will be found two of Essex's letters, which are full of Shaksperian suggestion. The Earl, in an address to the Lords of Council, asks, 'Was it treason in my Lord of Southampton to marry

* Wilson thus words it: 'The Earl of Southampton, covered long with the ashes of Essex his ruins, was sent for from the Tower, and the King looked upon him with a smiling countenance.'—'History of Great Britain' (1653), p. 4.

my

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my poor kinswoman, that *neither long imprisonment nor any punishment besides, that hath been usual in like cases, can satisfy or appease?*' And what *he* had done, Southampton said on his trial, was purely owing to his affection for the Earl, his kinsman.* There was ample reason both for the bitterness and the rejoicing expressed in that Sonnet! It is pleasant to find Shakspeare standing by his friend's side, taking part with him. We know that the Poet was reproached for his silence on the death of the Queen. In Chettle's 'Englande's Mourning Garment' (1603), he is taken to task under the name of 'Melicert.'

> 'Nor doth the silver-tonged Melicert
> Drop from his honied Muse one sable teare
> To mourn her death that graced his desert,
> And to his laies opened her royall eare.
> Shepheard, remember our Elizabeth,
> And sing her rape done by that Tarquin, Death.'

But the Shepherd had his own private reasons for being deaf and dumb; he remembered another Elizabeth.

This Sonnet, then, must have been written as late as 1603. And there is the most curious proof that it was one of those *odd* Sonnets which the printer did not know where to place. The 104th Sonnet tells us that Shakspeare has then known his friend three years; therefore it was not written later than 1594. The 108th is also one of the earliest, and in it the writer calls his friend 'Sweet Boy.' And this 107th Sonnet is stuck between the two. There are but two Sonnets between the Sonnet of 1594 and that of 1603. We could not give a more forcible illustration of the way in which the Sonnets were sent to press. And this fact alone proves that the printer made no attempt to re-arrange them according to any secret knowledge of their begettal. As he received them so has he given them to us.

We have now claimed and reclaimed nearly 120 of the Sonnets as addressed to Southampton, or *devoted to* his affairs. We feel so certain that at least the whole of the first 126 are bound up with Southampton, that we ought to be able to account for the remainder of them. Sonnets 40, 41, and 42 have been held to tell a story very damaging to our Poet's moral character. We shall show that at least another reading is possible. If the Earl of Southampton had been allured from the side of his mistress for awhile by some friend of hers, these three sonnets would very fitly express her feelings. She would have the right to speak of

* He might have added his affection for Elizabeth Vernon, for she and her friend Penelope Rich were strong partisans of Essex; Elizabeth Vernon defiantly so.

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'those pretty wrongs that liberty commits when *I am sometime absent from thy heart*,' but Shakspeare could not. Mistress Vernon might chide the Earl for breaking a 'twofold truth'—

> '*Hers* by thy beauty tempting her to thee,
> *Thine* by thy beauty being *false to me*.'

But Shakspeare was not in any sense free to reproach the Earl in such an affair as is commonly supposed. What of the truth that he would be breaking? According to one very possible reading, then, the 41st* and 42nd represent Mistress Vernon as speaking to the Earl; but the 40th would be addressed to the woman who had stolen, or been supposed to steal, the Earl. The 41st Sonnet tells us it was the *woman* that *wooed*, and here the '*gentle thief*' is reproached in person! We presume that Sonnets 33, 34, and 35 are connected with this part of the subject. The face in tears (Sonnet 34), and the expression 'all men make faults,' are both more womanly than manly. So is the travelling forth '*without my cloak*;' also, the 'loss in love that touches me *more nearly*;' and 'such civil war is in my *love* and *hate*.' The expression 'to him,' we take it, is merely by way of a general and proverbial illustration. Well, then, in the 35th Sonnet we have the 'sweet thief' again spoken of in a way which shows that she must be addressed in person in Sonnet 40.† According to the personal reading of these Sonnets, the speaker must address the thief in person here—

> '*Lascivious grace!* in whom all ill well shows,
> *Kill me with spites*, yet we must not be foes!'

There is more meaning, however, if Mistress Vernon be the speaker, and Penelope Rich, for example, should be the friend. She and Elizabeth Vernon were cousins, and very intimate. The description 'lascivious grace!' is very appropriate, and, if this be the lady, there were reasons why the two should *not be foes*. Some such affair as this seems to be glanced back at in Sonnet 120:—

> 'That you were *once unkind* befriends me now.'

On which occasion the speaker holds that the lady wronged him.‡

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* How do readers, with the personal interpretation, propose to make Sonnet 41 tally with Sonnet 70?

† In 'A Midsummer Night's Dream,' Hermia thus reproaches Helena,

> 'You thief of love! What, have you come by night,
> And stolen my love's heart from him?'

‡ Of the first 126 Sonnets, those in which Shakspeare speaks personally, according to the theory we are stating, include Sonnets 1 to 26, 32, 38, 39, 54, 55, 56, 60, 62 to 65, 67, 68, 71, 72, 73, 74, 76 to 86, 100 to 108, 115, 116, 126; and the rest, without exception, would appear to be devoted to Southampton and Elizabeth Vernon.

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The latter Sonnets, beginning with the 127th, can scarcely have been procured from the same source. For, had they been so, we should not find them massed together at the end. Some of them were certainly written *as early* as those first printed—the 127th for example,—and if held in the same hands they would have come in earlier.* But that they were in different and *looser* hands we may infer from the fact that a piratical publisher could obtain two of them for printing in 1599. Southampton could not have been the begetter of these unless there was a 'Rosaline' before 'Juliet.' And if Thorpe did really dedicate to 'William Herbert,' then it would be probable that some of these latter Sonnets were written for that young nobleman; and Thorpe concluded that he was the 'only begetter' of Shakspeare's Sonnets. But we have no space to discuss the subject here, and we only profess to deal with those Sonnets which have the appearance of being connected, in the ways we have shown, with the Earl of Southampton.

It must not be thought that we are losing sight of Shakspeare's personality whilst eliminating the impersonal Sonnets. We are drawing all the more closely to himself. In our reading we lose the phantom Shakspeare who could ungraciously forget his early friend, to whom he had made public promises, given hostages for the future, and dedicated love without end; who could sing of his friend's eternal truth, after passionately denouncing his falsehood, and talk of locking up his jewel lest it should be stolen after it had been filched from him; who could slavishly prostrate himself at the feet of a boy; who could hypocritically reprove his friend for his loose conduct and lament his immoralities, whilst he himself, a married man of ripe age, was partner with the boy in an intrigue with some married woman; who could accuse himself of all sorts of inconsistent things, grow querulous at the slightest cause, and ask pity on all kinds of false pretences; who could write sonnets on his own and his friend's disgraceful amours, and supply copies to their friends for the purpose of raising a laugh at their mutual frailty—for *such, in defiance of dates, facts, and all that we know of our Poet's life and character, or gather from his works*, is the Shakspeare of Messrs. Boaden and Brown's theory of the Sonnets—and we have found the real man as he once lived, and loved his friend Southampton, and showed an interest in his passion for Elizabeth

* Indeed, Sonnets 133, 134 and 144 may be spoken by the speaker of 40, 41, 42; and instead of two lovers with one mistress, we have two lady-friends and one lover—

'laborantes in uno
Penelopen vitreamque Circen.'

Vernon;

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Vernon; took sides with them when they were thwarted by the caprice of the Queen, and resented it very strongly; made the most ingenious defence, in play and in earnest, for his friend; fought for him against 'old Time,' and evil 'Fortune,' and 'all-oblivious enmity;' laboured to polish his virtues when they rusted, and lifted them up shiningly in the eyes of his beloved, and strove to shield them from the tarnishing breath of scandal; probably seeing many sad things and having many sad thoughts, but holding on to him faithful and loving to the end.

From his Dramas we obtain some few traits of personality and facts of Shakspeare's own life. It is very interesting to watch the growth of his mind. And we can get no right estimate of the man unless we do this, and see how he worked, and how he waxed in energy. Shakspeare did not come into this world ready-made, or bring his poetry with him. He was one of the greatest Realists that ever wrote and he got his poetry out of life. In doing this he had to begin at the beginning. Of course he had a most marvellous illumination of the seeing eye, a power of absorbing knowledge rather than acquiring it; a large and loving spirit that would brood over the meanest materials until the influence passed into them and quickened them. And yet this man, so magnificent in resources, so lavish of his wealth, must have been a very miser in hoarding up the least fruits of life and experience; all life was picture and all persons portraits to him. The difference betwixt the first sketch of Hamlet and the finished play alone makes the man mortal, imperfect, almost one of us! The writer as well as the drama is enlarged to 'almost as much again' in the completer work. Then, the early works are full of puns and comparisons, and are overrun with imagery. He played with words, says one writer, to 'please a quibbling age.' And we feel that he despised himself for doing so. He had no heart in it. No bitterer comment was ever made on the confirmed habit of jesting with meanings and playing with words than he himself supplies in one of his earliest plays, 'Love's Labour Lost,' where 'my Lord Biron' is told to practise his witticisms for twelve months upon the sick and dying in an hospital.

The early plays contain the 'spring and foison' of Shakspeare's poetic life, overrunning with leafy richness and the luxuriant undergrowth of his poetry. And how the stature and strength of his work increases year by year, striking root yet deeper and broader in English earth, but lifting up its stately branches into airy regions. What a growth from the 'Two Gentlemen of Verona' to 'Lear;' from the slender sapling to the tree

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tree whose girth we may not span! We can see how his expression chastens and grows rich with the most precious plainness of speech; sublime with simplicity. We may see also in his early plays what were his personal relationships to the England of that memorable time which helped to mould him: see how the war stirred his nature: how he fought the Spaniard in feeling, and helped to shatter the armada. We learn how these things made him turn to his country's history, and portray its past and exalt its heroes in the eyes of Englishmen. How often does he show them the curse of civil strife, and read them the lesson that England is safe so long as she is united! Thus he lets us know how true an Englishman he was; how full of patriot fire and communicative warmth.

Indeed, the mention of England's name offers one of our best opportunities for a personal recognition. There are times when he quite overruns the speech of a character with the fulness of his own feeling. In one or two instances this is very striking; for example, in that speech of old Gaunt's in 'Richard II.,'* at the name of England the writer is off, and cannot stop. His own young blood leaps along the shrunken veins of grave and aged Gaunt; Shakspeare's own heart throbs through the whole speech; the dramatic mask grows transparent with the light of his own kindled face, and you know it is Shakspeare's voice that is speaking. As he gets older and more perfect in his way of working, either his unconsciousness of self increases or else he grows more cunning in his concealment. Again, we have but to read the speech of our King Harry V., on the night, or rather the dawn, of Agincourt, to feel how keen was the thrill of Shakspeare's proud patriotism. Harry was a hero after our poet's own English heart, and he takes great delight in such a character.

We know, too, that Shakspeare was a dear lover of his native woods and wild-flowers, the daisy, the primrose, and the cowslip; but most of all, we think, he loved the violet. *This* was his darling of all the wild-flowers; and how lovingly he has distilled or expressed the spirit of the violet into one of his sweetest women, and called her *Viola!* His favourite birds also are the homely English singing-birds, the lark and nightingale, cuckoo and blackbird, that sang to Shakspeare in his childhood, and still sing in the pleasant woods of Warwickshire.

He was also a sturdy out-spoken Englishman. See the character he draws of Henry VIII.; and hear him plead the cause of Catherine, well knowing that the King's daughter Elizabeth

* Act 2nd, Scene 1st.

might

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might be one of the listeners, and that it was her mother who had taken the poor Queen's place whilst it was yet warm. He had an eye very keenly alive to the least movement of the national life. When the new map of England is published he takes immediate note of it. Maria, in 'Twelfth Night,' says, 'He does smile his face into more lines than are in the new map with the *augmentation of the Indies*.' And when the two crowns of England and Scotland are united in the person of James, Shakspeare alters the old doggrel,—

'Fi, fo! fum!
I smell the blood of an Englishman,'

into

'I smell the blood of a *British* man.'

He was undoubtedly monarchical in feeling, and had great loyalty to what we call the Constitution. But he looked more to the joints of the armour of our national life than to any special piece of it. He was a great upholder of the national honour, and seems to have suspected that the trading classes might not prove the truest bearers of the banner. He may have foreseen the modern tendency to a dry-rot in the commercial spirit. What he thought of the mob we may read in 'Jack Cade's rising.' He treats it rather like Marshal Lobau with his fire-engine. He has especial delight in all the nobilities of nature and the personal influence of aristocracy.

Coleridge says rightly there is not one really vicious passage in all Shakspeare. There are coarse things, for the customs and language of the time were coarse. But there is nothing rotten at the root, nothing insidious in the suggestion. Vice never walks abroad in the mental twilight wearing the garb of virtue. You hear the voices of Wrong and Right, Truth and Error in his works, but there is no confusion of tongues for the confounding of the sense. He has no softness for sentimental sinners, such as Goethe shows for his 'Faust,' and lets down no drawbridge at the last moment to help them over the dark gulf. His lines are drawn as sharply as is the scriptural decree that the tree shall lie as it falls.

He has infinite pity for the suffering and struggling and wounded by the way. The most powerful and pathetic pleadings on behalf of Christian charity that are to be found anywhere out of the New Testament have been spoken by Shakspeare. He takes to his large, warm heart much that the world usually casts out to perish in the cold. There is nothing too poor or too mean to be embraced within the circle of his sympathies. He sees the germ of good in that which looks all evil to the careless passers by, for his eyes

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eyes are large with love and have its 'precious seeing.' If there be only the least little redeeming touch in the most abandoned character he is sure to point it out. After all, it is the best hearts that are the truest mirrors even of this world, for it is God's world, bad as we have managed to make it.

His luminous smile falls on the weed as well as the flower, thistle as well as the palm-tree, the poor hovel as well as the palace-home. It lights the jewels of the hero's crown, and it lets the veriest motes dance in its sunbeams. He does not fly into a passion with stupidity, or ignorance, or pretension. He knows how large a part these play in the natural scheme of things; that they are fathers of families and respectable householders, and are represented in parliament.. He looks on many things which put the little ardent folk out of temper with his calm, slow, wise smile, as though he would say, 'If God can put up with all these queer creatures and ignoramuses, and simulations of human beings in his scheme of creation, there is no reason why I should fume and fret, or denounce them, or *argue* with them. He finds room for them all in his plan; I'll make a place for them in mine.' And no botanist ever culled his rarest specimens more lovingly than Shakspeare his samples of what some might Pharisaically call 'God's own unaccountables.' How he listens to the long-winded garrulousness of the ignorant, whether simple or knowing. Pearls might be dropping from its lips, or about to drop from them. He does not say let no dog bark, or donkey bray in my presence. On the contrary, he likes to hear what they have to say for themselves, draws them out, and sometimes fools them to the top of their bent. It is as though he thought Nature had her precious secrets hidden here as elsewhere, and with sufficient patience we should find it all out, if we only watched and waited impartially. See the generous encouragement he gives to Dogberry. How he draws him out, and makes much of him. You would say he was 'enamoured of an ass.' But perhaps the glory of all his large toleration shines out in his treatment of that 'sweet bully' Bottom.

If ever old Time had a conqueror in this world, or found a match in mortal mind, it is in William Shakspeare; and it is exceedingly interesting to notice what a sense our poet has of the power of his grim antagonist. He appears to watch him at his work, he measures his prowess, he taunts him, and continually flings hard names at him. Allied to this feeling of Shakspeare's is his profound sense of mortality. Some ghostly memory seems to haunt him when he stands near the grave or speaks of the charnel. This feeling reaches its climax in those lines written for

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for his tombstone, which lines we should believe were Shakspeare's, if only on account of this feeling:—

'Good friend for Jesu's sake forbear
To dig the dust enclosed here:
Blest be the man that spares these stones,
And curst be he that moves my bones.'

We may also find in Shakspeare an appalling sense of the supernatural, the nearness of the spirit world, and its power to break in on the world of flesh when nature prays for help, or darkly conspires to let it in! His working province was the world of human life. As a dramatist he had to give that life a palpable embodiment in flesh and blood, and endow it with speech and action. But he knew that human nature was made of spirit as well as flesh, and that it is under the 'skiey influences.' What an illustration of this is the teaching of Romeo's life and death! It is a perfect dramatising of St. Paul's saying, 'the good which I would, I do not; and the evil which I would not, that I do.' When he is the cause of his friend Mercutio's death, he 'thought all for the best;' he meant well, and such is the end of our well-meanings so often!

It seems to us that one great reason why 'Hamlet' will always remain so perplexing a study to those who seek to divine Shakspeare's intentions, is because his characters are so much a part of nature as to include what men call the supernatural, and, in this case, whatsoever 'Hamlet' proposes, it is Fate, as we say, which disposes. It is not Hamlet who finds the solution of his problem of life and death: it is Fate that catches him up in its surer grasp and swifter execution, so that when the final crash comes, Hamlet is one of the most weak and helpless victims in the higher hands. Divine laws override our human wishes. The innocent suffer alike with the guilty, and things do not come about as they were foreseen. Thus it is in life! And so it is in Shakspeare. He knew there was a Divinity that shapes our ends, rough-hew them as we may. He feels that this human life is all very wonderful in its play of passions, its pleasures and its pains, with all their crossing and conflicting lights and shadows, and he does what he can to shed a little light on the vast mystery. But he feels how small is this little island of our human life, set in the surrounding ocean of eternity, and how limited is the light that he can throw upon it and upon the darkness that hems us in. He knows there is an unfathomable sea where we can find no footing. We must swim, if we are to keep up at all. In common with the rest of the universe, we have to repose upon *unseen foundations*. We cannot ignore the spirit-world, and if we do not get help

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help from it, we are pretty sure to get hindrance. For example, in 'Macbeth,' Shakspeare shows us that looking, longing, irresolute mood of mind, which is the Devil's especial delight, because with such he is quite sure of a nibble for his bait. Here we have the perfect type of the wavering, undecided soul that will peer, *very cautiously* of course, over the perilous precipice in such a way, that the Weird Sisters are evoked from the shadowy gulf below, and in such a tempting, balancing attitude, that it is quite easy for the Devil to steal behind and topple the peering spirit over.

The more we study the works of Shakspeare, the more do we feel how natural piety made a large part of the cheerful sunshine that smiles out in his philosophy of life. And in great emergencies we may see the flash of a religious feeling, large as life and deep as death. How frank and bold is that expression of faith where Banquo exclaims—

'In the great hand of God I stand!'

Again, when the fatal presentiment comes over Hamlet, what does he say?—

'Thou knowest not, Horatio, how ill all is here about my heart; *but* there is a special Providence even in the fall of a sparrow.'

What a world of meaning too there is in that saying of the rogue Autolycus,—'As for the life to come, I sleep out the thought of it'! What an illustration is that of the blind ostrich policy in spiritual matters! He makes a frequent and fervent appeal to the world hereafter that is to make our 'odds all even,' and to Him who is the 'top of justice.' 'Comfort 's in heaven,' says old York, 'and we are on the earth.' Reverence he calls 'that Angel of the World.' And we know how tender and gracious grows his language, in 'Hamlet,' at mention of our Saviour's birth. How noble is the address to his soul in that solemn 146th Sonnet! He was no positive philosopher who is put out by a Providence,—that incalculable force which for ever breaks through dead law with breathing life! He may not have been what is called a 'professing' Christian, but he was a most practical one. He had the root of the matter in him. We should apply to him his own description of Benedick—'The man doth fear God, howsoever it *seems* not in him *by some large jests he will make.*'

It is pleasant to think of our great Poet so amply reaping the fruits of his prudence and industry so early in life, and spending his calm latter days in the old home of his boyhood, which he had left afoot and come back to in the saddle.

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saddle. We know how he clung to his native place all through his London life, hear how he went back once a year to the field-flowers of his childhood—as Chaucer says, to 'get some green.' And at last he had come back to live and die and be buried at Home. He had come back laden with honours and bearing his sheaves with him, wearing a crown such as few of his fellow-townsmen could see, but having also such possessions as they did appreciate. They looked up to him now, and the son of poor John Shakspeare was a most respectable man. He could sit under his own vine, and watch the ongoings of the country life and wait for the sunset of his own, live in the bosom of his own family, walk forth in his own fields, plant his mulberry-tree, compose several of his noblest dramas, and ripen for his rest in the place where he had climbed for birds'-nests, and, as they say, poached for deer by moonlight. We think he must have enjoyed it all vastly. He entered into local plans, exacted his legal dues, and sided with his fellow-townsmen in promoting local objects. He 'could not bear the enclosing of Welcombe,' he said. We find him (where we can trace him at all) acting as a sturdy, upright, matter-of-fact Englishman, and his character corresponds with the bust in the Church at Stratford.*

We suspect that Shakspeare felt prematurely aged before he left London finally for his own native air. He had done so much work, such ardours had gone out of him; and in one of his Sonnets, the 73rd, he appears to indicate how largely his labours had drawn upon his life. It is mournful and very touching, if we think of it as portraying our own Shakspeare when he could not have been much over forty! It has a touch of the yellowish tinge that will come over the literary vision at times, when a bit of the best work has been lately done. He must have recovered tone again, and his life put forth a new leaf in its Stratford privacy, for he grew some

* For the various likenesses of Shakspeare, which are more or less authentic, together with the 'Stratford Portrait,' which has not the remotest resemblance in the world to the supposed originals, see 'Life Portraits,' a recent collection beautifully photographed and well edited, forming a most acceptable and seasonable book. A happy remark in illustration of Shakspeare's smile was made by R. B. Haydon in a note written by him, June 13th, 1828, in the album kept at Stratford Church. Speaking of the bust, he says, 'The forehead is fine as Raphael's or Bacon's, and the form of the nose and exquisite refinement of the mouth, with its amiable, genial hilarity of wit and good nature, so characteristic, *unideal*, bearing truth in every curve, with *a little bit of the teeth showing at the moment of smiling, which must have been often seen by those who had the happiness to know Shakspeare, and must have been pointed out to the sculptor as necessary to likeness when he was dead.*'—'Shakspeare Society's Papers,' vol. ii. p. 10. Chantrey used to say of this bust that it must have been made from a cast, because everything that depends upon the sculptor himself (*e. g.* the hair and beard) shows a great want of art, while the forehead is surpassingly fine.

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of his lustiest evergreens there; did some of his best work, bright with health, and created two of his most loveable women, 'Imogen' and 'Perdita,' full of English sweetness to the core, with the pure breath of his country life breathing fragrantly through them.

We get a fact slightly touching Shakspeare's domestic life from the Chamberlain's accounts of the year 1614:—

'Item, for on quart of sack, and on quart of clarrett winne, given to a preacher at the New Place, XX*d.*'

Mr. Dyce surmises that the poet may have lent his house for the occasion in compliance with the wishes of some of his family or neighbours, whom he was too like-minded to oppose, though he could have had little sympathy with a Puritan preacher. Possibly the connexion may have been through Shakspeare's daughter, Susanna, who may have lived at New Place. Her epitaph tells of her being 'wise to salvation,' and a good Christian. And we doubt not the poet was 'at home' to a friend of Mistress Hall; sat in his own seat, and presided at his own board. The tradition runs that he caught his death through leaving his bed when ill, because some of his old friends had called on him.*

ART. VI.—1. *Brazil: Correspondence laid before Parliament.* London, 1863.
2. *Correspondence respecting Affairs in Japan.* London, 1864.
3. *Correspondence respecting the Insurrection in Poland.* London, 1863-64.
4. *Denmark and Germany: Correspondence.* London, 1864.

WHATEVER differences may exist as to the policy which this country ought to have pursued in the various conflicts by which Europe and America have been recently disturbed, few will be found to dispute that she occupies a position in the eyes of foreign Powers which she has never occupied before during the memory of any man now living. We

* We have no space for more than a word of welcome to Mr. Dyce's new and beautifully-printed edition of the Works. As a critic of Shakspeare, Mr. Dyce combines qualifications which have never before met in one man; and fearlessly following his own judgment he is giving us an edition worthy of both editor and poet. The Cambridge Shakspeare, by Messrs. Clark and Glover, shows care and labour in the editing, although we cannot approve of the principle upon which it is founded; and it is elegantly got up. Mr. Howard Staunton presents us with the first two parts of a facsimile of the first folio, reproduced by means of photo-lithography. The copy of Shakspeare's likeness from the Droeshout Etching is the most lifelike and vigorous we have seen.

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have been brought up to believe that England's voice is of weight in the councils of the world. Our national pride has been fed by histories of the glorious deeds of our fathers, when single-handed they defied the conqueror to whom every other European nation had been compelled to humble itself. Resting upon these great deeds of past days, we have borne ourselves proudly in our dealings with other countries, speaking in the tone of those who have proved by action the weight and significance of their words. Until recently the rank we have thus assumed has been accorded to us readily. In spite of reduced armaments and of the predominance of the Quaker interest in our councils, the authority of England remained for a long time undiminished. Those who remembered the Great War refused to believe that England could not make good her threats or her promises if she thought fit; and, therefore, her representations in many negotiations of deep European moment were listened to with respect. Whatever the language in which they were couched, whatever the wisdom of the statesman from whom they came, foreign Ministers never forgot that they were backed up, in case of need, by the fleet that had baffled Napoleon and the army that had fought at Waterloo.

But this condition of things has lamentably changed. No one can be in the least degree conversant with the periodical literature of foreign countries, or hear ever so little of the common talk of foreign society, without being painfully aware that an entire revolution has taken place in the tone of foreign thought in regard to the position of England. Her influence in the councils of Europe has passed away. The reputation of material power upon which that influence was based has suddenly evaporated. It now fails to make even the faintest impression upon States that formerly yielded themselves absolutely to its spell. Our diplomatists are at least as active as they were at any former time. Their vigilance is as keen, their interference is as incessant, their language is bolder and far more insolent than it was in better times. But the impulse is gone which gave it force. That appearance of warlike power which used to give dignity to its imperious tones no longer imposes upon its hearers. Its vehemence of language falls dead and impotent upon minds penetrated with the conviction that the storm which is assailing them is nothing but words—brave words possibly, but still only words. The language of speakers and writers out of doors faithfully echoes the views that guide the statesmen of foreign Cabinets. Englishmen were, perhaps, never very popular on the Continent. Satirists and wits have always amused themselves with caricaturing the somewhat angular peculiarities that mark our national character, and the portrait was seldom flattering.

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But still the reproaches expressed or implied were of a kind that is not very difficult to bear. Pride, uncouthness, foolhardiness, formed the staple of the sarcasms levelled at us by foreign writers. Undue roughness and violence were the mark at which they were aimed. They were derogatory rather to our claims to the polish of civilization than to any more sterling qualities. Sometimes other blots were hit,—our supposed perfidy, our selfishness, our shopkeeping propensities. But, whatever else was said of us, no one ever thought of impugning an Englishman's courage. If the Great War had done little for our popularity, it had at least left deeply graven on the minds of Continental populations that we could fight. But all this is changed now. All the respect for our national character which was founded upon a belief in its bull-dog characteristics has disappeared. Our courage is not only disbelieved, but it is ridiculed as an imposture that has been found out. English bravado and English cowardice are the common staple of popular caricatures. The Englishman furnishes to Continental wits the same sort of standing butt that the Yankee presented to us some three years ago. The estimate of the English character that is felt in every circle and class of society abroad, and expressed without reserve by the press, may be summed up in one phrase, as a portentous mixture of bounce and baseness.

It may be worth while for those who are the subject of such a change of view to investigate its causes. However satisfied we may be that it has no just foundation in any real alteration of the national character, our repute with other nations cannot be a matter of indifference to us. We will set aside the feelings which may be supposed to have inspired a Castlereagh or a Chatham. Such ideas may seem antiquated now, or, at least, unsuitable for an era of octogenarian statesmanship. But, upon the least ideal and most commercial views, it is not convenient to be despised. The defence of a high reputation is, after all, a cheap one. A nation which is known to be willing as well as able to defend itself will probably escape attack. Where the disposition to fight in case of need is wanting, or is dependent upon some casual and fleeting gust of passion, the political gamblers who speculate in war will naturally be inclined to invest in the venture of aggression. The policy which invites contempt seldom fails to earn a more substantial punishment. It is rarely permitted to take refuge in the cynical adage that hard words break no bones. Contempt is soon followed by open insult, and insult meekly borne draws injury quickly after it. And there is a point where injury becomes intolerable, and even the most submissive must turn. Indifference to reputation seems the cheapest

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and easiest policy while it is being pursued; but it only deserves that character until the limit of tameness has been reached. The time must come at last when aggression must be resisted, and then, when it is too late, the expensiveness of a name for cowardice forces itself upon every apprehension. We shall enter, therefore, without any fear of being suspected of unduly martial prepossessions, upon a brief examination of the foreign policy by which the Government have brought the fame of England to the condition in which it now finds itself. We fervently desire peace; but we desire it in the only way in which it can be had. Peace without honour is not only a disgrace, but, except as a temporary respite, it is a chimera.

The reasons of this change in European opinion towards us, so humiliating to our feelings, so dangerous to our security, are not difficult to find. Large bodies of educated men are not often entirely wrong in their judgments, though the truth in them is mixed up with error. Our critics abroad are mistaken in believing that the character of the English people is changed from what it was in times that are now historical. The inhabitants of these islands are as sensitive to the preservation of their honour and as keen to resent any insult passed upon it as they have been at any previous period. And yet it is not the less true that our policy has really borne the character which has been affixed to it abroad. It has been essentially a policy of cowardice. This word is often loosely used, and, in a mere invective, may only be the imputation with which an opponent tries to blacken a policy of moderation. We have no intention of using it in so lax a sense. A policy of moderation is one to which no Christian man could raise an objection; and there are few countries bound over in such heavy securities as this to do its duty in that respect as a Christian nation. But a policy of moderation and a policy of cowardice, though often confounded in the angry strife of words, are in reality easily distinguished by those who do not wish to confound them. Consistency is the simple test that will unerringly separate true moderation from its base counterfeit. Courtesy of language, a willingness to concede, a reluctance to take offence, if they are impartially extended to all, will always, even when they are carried to excess, command respect and admiration. In the same way, a tribute, partly of fear, partly of honour, will always be paid to the combativeness that has no respect of persons. It is only when the two qualities of heroism and meekness are cunningly combined that they earn unmitigated contempt. There are occasions when the reproach of cowardice must be employed even by those who have the most earnest horror of bloodshed. If the word has a meaning, it is applicable

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to a policy which, according to the power of its opponent, is either valiant or submissive—which is dashing, exacting, dauntless to the weak, and timid and cringing to the strong.

That these are no exaggerated charges against the policy which has been recently pursued a brief retrospect will suffice to show. It will be unnecessary to go far into the past, or to enter into any detailed narration. We will not go back so far as Don Pacifico, or even to the story of Sir John Bowring and the lorcha 'Arrow;' we will not enter into such small matters as the bombardment of Tringanu, or the burning of Epé, or the dismantling of the Ionian Islands, though these are all cases of recent occurrence. It is not necessary to examine every manifestation of the one pervading spirit; we shall content ourselves with gathering a few prominent cases of either kind into two groups, so that we may exhibit our Government in both its characters to the best advantage. It will be found that each picture throws the other into relief, and brings out its details more clearly. It is impossible to do full justice to the Foreign Secretary in his heroic mood, unless we study him in his Christian aspect as well. It is impossible, until we have heard him roar like a lion in the Southern or the Eastern Seas, to feel all the tenderness of his lamb-like bleating at home.

We will take him first in the heroic vein. Two typical cases have occurred within the last eighteen months illustrative of the mode in which we deal with the smaller class of Powers—those, that is to say, like Brazil or Japan, whose force is utterly incommensurate with ours, and whose resistance we could crush, not only without danger, but without any appreciable addition to our estimates. Our intercourse with such Powers may be fairly looked on by foreign critics as displaying the disposition and spirit of our Government in its plain undisguised reality. A man's genuine character comes to light only when all prudential restraints are removed. You never can tell from a man's demeanour in society whether he is a domestic tyrant or not. A bullying schoolboy is admirably behaved in the presence of his master: a martinet colonel is often only known at head-quarters by his attractive and obliging manner. Men are apt to apply the same rules to the judgment of nations, and to believe that in their dealings with communities that cannot resist them the true national character peeps out. It is probably on this account that a good deal of attention has been directed abroad to the difficulties we have had with Brazil and Japan; and on the same ground they have created a corresponding uneasiness in the minds of all who are tender of England's reputation at home.

The dispute with Brazil was two-fold. It commenced with a quarrel

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quarrel upon the subject of a wreck. A vessel was stranded in a gale of wind upon the sandy shore which forms the coast line of the southern extremity of Brazil. The coast opposite which she was wrecked was a wild and desolate country. It was a narrow tongue shooting out southwards from the main body of the vast empire of Brazil, and stretching between the republic of Uruguay and the sea. The coast was inhospitable; its scanty population was rude and barbarous; and the proximity of the unguarded frontier offered a ready refuge, and therefore a powerful stimulus to crime. The population naturally became wreckers. The same set of conditions have produced the same result all the world over. At all events, it is not for us, with Cornwall, Kerry, and the Bahamas in our recollection, to affect surprise at such a consequence. Chiefly, it appears, on account of the evil reputation which attached to this population, the English Consul on the spot persuaded himself that this wrecked English vessel had been plundered and the crew murdered. The evidence on which he relied was not in itself very convincing. There were some indications of plunder. A Bible and some empty packing-cases were found in the house of the chief landed proprietor in the district. It was said that they were picked up on the beach, but of course it was possible that they might have been stolen from the wreck. Some chests, uninjured by the sea, were also found upon the beach. The crew were lost, and only four bodies were recovered. An inquest was held upon them, and the verdict returned was that they had been drowned; but, of course, it was possible that the verdict was false, and that the sailors might have been murdered. It was said that some other bodies had been seen, but when the Consul came down only these four were to be found. The reason given was that the sand, which drifts in large masses upon that flat coast, had buried them, so that it was impossible to discover them again. This might have been true; on the other hand it might, of course, have been a falsehood, designed to conceal the fact that they had been made away with. This was the whole of what could be called evidence on the subject. There was besides a surmise on the part of the Admiral at Rio, who never came down to the spot at all, but merely decided upon the reports of the Consul, that the fact that a certain boat was discovered in a certain position was an evidence that the crew, or some of them, had contrived to reach the shore in safety. But beyond these vague indications there was not a particle of evidence. None of the cargo of the vessel was found, which, as she was laden with iron and soda, and was wrecked a considerable distance from the land, was not on the whole surprising. It is quite clear that on such a state of facts it

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it would have been almost impossible, even in England, to have procured a conviction against anybody. Of the crew, whom the Consul alleged to have been murdered, there were only four corpses found, and they, on judicial inquiry, were decided to have been drowned. It is quite evident that an indictment for murder would have broken down in such a case. But all the difficulties of the case were seriously enhanced by the neighbourhood of the wild frontier of Uruguay. It was hard enough to make out a charge, but it was a good deal harder to find any one against whom to make it. The Consul contrived to build up, out of the materials we have described, a case of faint suspicion that a crime had been committed, and a wretched enough case it was. But he never even suggested a criminal. It was manifest that if a crime had been committed the perpetrators of it were safe in some one of the wild republics that line the tributaries of the River Plate. It is not too much to say that when there is only a half-proved crime, and no criminal at all, the necessary materials for prosecution are seriously defective. The best system of criminal jurisprudence in the world would have been baffled. It is needless to say that the Brazilian, which, being founded on the Portuguese law, is not one of the best, was hopelessly impotent. The Consul, and the Minister at Rio, and the Central Government did their best to quicken its operations, but as there was neither evidence nor culprit its footsteps were slow, and it never advanced to anything more conclusive than two or three resultless interrogatories.

Great allowance must of course be made for the feelings of disappointment with which the owners of the wrecked ship and the relatives of the missing seamen received the intelligence that the legal proceedings in the Brazilian Courts were being protracted from month to month without any practical issue. And the English Foreign Office were undoubtedly justified in urging that every measure should be taken which it was possible for the executive to adopt for the purpose of accelerating their progress. But it is clearly absurd to lay down that every state with which you have dealings shall come up to your own standard in the certainty and the promptitude of the punishment of crime. It is not so long since the New Police was extended to our own rural districts that we can afford to go to war with every power that is not blest with so efficient and so ubiquitous a force. It may be comparatively easy to patrol little countries like England or France; but it is simply ridiculous to insist that a control equally effective shall be maintained over the outlying and sparsely populated regions of a colossal empire like Brazil. For a time

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a time this reasonable view appears to have prevailed in the English Foreign Office. Lord Russell happened at that juncture to be abroad. It was the autumn when he was beguiling the tedious evenings of his hotel at Gotha by writing that celebrated despatch which was destined to plunge central Europe—and perhaps more than central Europe—into war. Mr. Layard was in charge of the Foreign Office; and so long as Lord Russell remained abroad there was no indication in the English despatches of the storm that was gathering over the head of unfortunate Brazil. But in due course of time Lord Russell returned. If one were to judge simply from his published correspondence we should gather that the suavity of his temper had not been improved by his residence abroad. However, if it had not been for an unlucky coincidence, his wounded feelings might have had time to heal, or they might have found some other outlet. This unlucky coincidence was the so-called insult offered to three officers of Her Majesty's ship 'Forte.'

The details of this case are sufficiently well known to spare us the necessity of going into them at any length, and it is a task which we shall willingly abridge. No Englishman can recount the circumstances which brought his country to the verge of war, for a cause of offence so apocryphal and so paltry, without feelings of mortification and shame. The facts are shortly these:—Three officers—two midshipmen and a chaplain—of H.M.S. 'Forte' went out from Rio for an excursion into the country. In the afternoon they dined at a country inn and drank some liquor, of which the amount has been the subject of some controversy. On their return they are said to have given unmistakeable evidence that their hearts were gladdened within them by the good fare of which they had partaken. To this imputation they raise a loud demur, and the dispute is one which it is not easy to decide. On the one hand, one of the well-known phenomena of the happy condition which is ascribed to them is a profound conviction on the part of the subject of it that he is perfectly sober—a conviction which even takes the form of believing that every one else is drunk. On the other hand, Portuguese manners are apt to be stiff; and a Portuguese, not well acquainted with our sailors, may not improbably have imagined that the jovial ways of Jack ashore could only be imputed to an artificial cause. Be that as it may, they travelled on their road until they came to a certain guardhouse on their way to Rio, and at this guardhouse they found a sentry. What passes between gentlemen who have dined and the guardians of the public peace is always a matter of some dispute; and in this instance the usual uncertainty is complicated by the fact that the Englishmen

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men could speak no Portuguese, and the sentry could understand nothing else. The Englishmen's account of the matter is that the sentry came up to them and that thereupon they asked him a civil question, and that he forthwith knocked one of them down with the butt end of a musket. The sentry's account of the matter is that they came up to him flourishing a stick in his face, and making an uncomplimentary remark about his trousers—which appear to be the sore point of a Brazilian soldier—and that he took them up because they tried to take hold of his legs and throw him over the parapet. It is obvious that he misunderstood them; for if they could not speak Portuguese at all, it is quite clear that they could not have observed intelligibly to him upon his trousers. But it was a mistake that was very likely to occur, and one that if it happened in Europe no Government would dream of treating seriously. The temporary incarceration of an Englishman in a foreign country who could not speak a word of the language, in consequence of some mistaken suspicion on the part of a subordinate officer, is not a very uncommon incident of travel. The three officers in this case were not in uniform; they had nothing to indicate that they differed from ordinary Englishmen except that one of them wore some naval buttons, to which he declares that he directed the attention of the officer on guard. The officer, however, was not learned in buttons, and no light seems to have been thrown upon his mind by the study of these ornaments. Accused of intoxication, and unable, for the best of reasons, to give a good account of themselves, our heroes were locked up. But their sorrows were not of long duration. They obtained writing materials and contrived to communicate with the English Consul; and as soon as their rank was explained to the authorities by somebody who did understand Portuguese, they were released at once. In forty-eight hours from the time of that rustic dinner which brought them into so much trouble, they found themselves safe on board the 'Forte' again.

We are happily spared the necessity of inquiring whether any offence was given to the British Government in the course of this ridiculous adventure. The matter has been decided before a thoroughly competent tribunal. After hostile measures had been taken, the British Government, made somewhat more reasonable by the arrival of the Parliamentary session, consented that the case should be referred to the arbitration of the King of Belgium. King Leopold, no hostile arbiter, examined into the case and gave his solemn decision that no offence had been intended or had been given to the British navy. The language he employs disposes of the whole case so completely, that it is worth extracting:—

'Considering that it is in no way shown that the origin of the conflict

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flict was the act of the Brazilian agents, who could not reasonably have had motives for provocation:

'Considering that the officers at the time of their arrest did not wear the uniform of their rank, and that in a port frequented by so many foreigners they could not expect to be believed on their mere word when they declared that they belonged to the British navy, while there was no outward sign of their rank to support their declaration; that consequently, once arrested, they ought to have submitted to the existing laws and regulations, and had no right to require any treatment different to that which would have been applied in similar circumstances to all other persons: * * *

'Considering that the functionary who caused them to be released ordered their release as soon as he possibly could, and that in acting thus he was prompted by the desire to spare these officers the disagreeable consequences which, in conformity with the laws, must necessarily have been entailed upon them from any further steps taken in the matter:

'We are of opinion that in the mode in which the laws of Brazil have been applied towards the English officers there was neither offence, nor premeditation of offence, to the British navy.

'Done and given in duplicate, under our royal seal, at the Palace of Lacken, the 18th day of June, 1863.

'(Signed) LEOPOLD I.'

Such are the merits of this case, ascertained upon indisputable authority. It remains to be seen what treatment it received from the British Government before it was referred to arbitration. It is necessary to bear in mind the decisiveness and the strong wording of King Leopold's award in order to appreciate rightly the character of the measures we are about to describe. It is evident the British Government had no case at all: they had not a shadow of a grievance. Unless it was to be admitted that British officers, undistinguished by any of the insignia of their rank, were at liberty to set at defiance the laws of any country in which they might deign to set foot, it is manifest that the officers of the 'Forte' were not only not injured, but received less than their deserts. Such would no doubt have been the view of the case taken by Lord Russell if he had had a strong power to deal with. But Brazil is a weak power, and the course that was pursued towards her is instructive.

We have already observed that as long as the difficulties with the Brazilian Government were confined to the question of the wrecked ship, the language of the Foreign Office was moderate. They pressed for further inquiry; but they used no menace, and made no unjustifiable demands. The last of these more moderate letters was dated August 30, 1862. That was shortly before the time at which Lord Russell undertook that pleasant excursion to the

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the cheerful hotel at Gotha, of which all Northern Europe is now smarting under the effects. But during the month of September, and the first week in October, while this happy rustication in a small German *Residenz* was in progress, the intelligence of this appalling outrage upon the majesty of the British navy arrived in Downing Street. A sudden change sweeps over the tone of Lord Russell's despatches. Something, no doubt, must be allowed for the irritating effect of extraneous circumstances of mortification over which the Government of Brazil had certainly no control. But still it is impossible to doubt that if Lord Russell had had Russia, or France, or America to deal with, he would have proceeded with greater courtesy and caution. He did not wait for a moment to investigate the circumstances of the case. He did not even write to demand an explanation. He did not propose that the question should be submitted to arbitration. He accepted at once, in its most exaggerated form, the statement of the three young officers, and sat down without delay to write a despatch in his most hectoring style to the English Minister at Rio. It was not till October 6, 1862, that he received the full details of the case of the 'Forte,' and on the 8th he fulminated two furious missives. The first concerned the case of the wrecked ship, though it is evident that the sudden vehemence of tone in which it was conceived was due to the other matter. It contained a demand for compensation for the plunder of the ship, but, at the same time, an offer to refer the question of the amount of compensation due to an arbiter. But the whole fury of the storm broke upon the head of the Brazilian Government in the second despatch of the same date, which concerned the affair of H.M.S. 'Forte.' In this despatch Lord Russell explains the terms on which he is prepared to overlook the offence which the Brazilian Government had given—an offence of which King Leopold has taught us to estimate the reality. Lord Russell's terms were as follows:—

'Her Majesty's Government cannot submit to have such an outrage unatoned for, and you will therefore embody the foregoing remarks in a note to the Brazilian Government, warning them at the same time of the serious light in which Her Majesty's Government have viewed the case, and you will demand:—

'1. That the Ensign of the guard be dismissed from the service.

'2. That the sentry who commenced the attack shall be adequately punished.

'3. That an apology be made by the Brazilian Government for this outrage on British naval officers; and

'4. That the Chief of the Police and the official at the Rio police-station be adequately punished.

'I shall acquaint you by another opportunity with the measures which

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which Her Majesty's Government propose to take, in the event of the Brazilian Government refusing to comply with these demands.'

Demands such as these, on account of an outrage which was absolutely ideal, were more than even a feeble state like Brazil could be expected to endure. They could not punish their own officers for doing what was simply their duty, in order to satisfy the arrogant demands of an overbearing foreigner. Is it not humiliating to compare this despatch with the solemn judgment of the King of the Belgians given some months later; and to reflect that these demands, so violent, so haughtily preferred, advanced without even an apology for investigation, coupled with no offer of arbitration, were founded on a grievance that was a simple fiction? The demands were, of course, not complied with; and the Minister, under Lord Russell's directions, at once proceeded to hostile measures. The ships of a number of peaceful traders plying from the port of Rio were seized one fine morning without notice or warning, and carried off under the guns of a British fleet. The Brazilian Government, overmatched by the naval superiority of England, yielded at once. It consented to pay whatever might be demanded for the wrecked ship, and proposed to refer the matter of the officers of the 'Forte' to arbitration. The proposal reached England when Parliament had already assembled, and the manifest temper of the two Houses deterred Lord Russell from renewing the arrogant freaks of the autumn. The arbitration was accepted, and, as we have shown, its result was to establish that there was no shadow of a ground for the insolent demands we have quoted.

Now, what would be the conclusion which an unprejudiced spectator would naturally draw from these proceedings as to the character of Earl Russell and the Government he represented—supposing him always to be ignorant of any other portions of their foreign policy? He would infer that theirs was a character of the most martial and pugnacious type. They would seem to him hasty, perhaps, and ferocious; but still endowed with the virtues which belong to such a character, impetuous and dauntless, and regardless of consequences where honour was at stake. Such would be the impression which the Brazilian affair, taken by itself, would leave upon his mind. Let us lay the picture to heart, and turn to another scene.

Few countries are less similar to each other than the closely populated islands of Japan, inhabited by an ancient and unmixed race, and the huge continental empire of Brazil, sparsely occupied by a thin population of mixed African, Red Indian, and European blood. But for the purposes of the English Foreign Office they have certain material features of resemblance. Both of them have qualities

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qualities which fit them to furnish a field on which the warlike and heroic side of the policy of the present Government may be displayed. They are feeble governments ruling over a rich country. Their trade is valuable enough to excite the cupidity of European merchants, while their force is insufficient to resist a European fleet. Such a combination is attractive to a Government like that of England at this moment, that is forced to shape all its foreign and all its domestic policy with a view of picking up stray votes in the House of Commons. The opportunity is most fascinating of coming forward at once as the champion of the British merchant and of the British flag—of uttering endless flourishes about *Civis Romanus*—and running all the while no risk of defeat nor even of embarrassing expenditure. Japan presents this union of advantages in a high degree; and therefore Japan has been much honoured with the attention of Downing Street in recent years.

Our first introduction to that country in modern times was in the negotiation—some have called it the extortion—of a treaty, which was concluded by the Government of the Tycoon, without the usual constitutional sanctions, against the known feelings of a large number of the most powerful families, and against the inveterate prejudices of all the population who were not actually engaged in the trade of the seaport towns. It was in truth, for many of its provisions, about as valuable an instrument as a treaty with the Emperor of Germany, to which his chief feudatories objected, would have been six hundred years ago. Actual commercial facilities at a certain number of ports were concessions which it was in the power of the Government to secure. But there were others which its authority was unavailing to guarantee. Two provisions of this class have been pushed conspicuously forward by the events that have since taken place. One of them was the residence at Yeddo, and the other was the right to travel for a distance of twenty miles from the open ports. Both were needless. One had been exacted as a mere point of dignity; the other had been asked for in order to supply the British merchants with a cantering ground after office hours. But both were profoundly distasteful to the ruling classes of Japan. That the foreigner should set foot in Yeddo was to their minds as terrible a profanation as it would be to a Mahometan pilgrim to see the Giaour in his holy city. The right to travel upon the great inland roads was objectionable on other grounds. The frequent journeys of the Daimios or great lords to and from the capital are—or till lately were—an important part of the Japanese constitution. The expense of travelling to and fro with the immense retinues these

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these potentates were forced to maintain was enormous; and it served to paralyse the political power which their vast wealth would otherwise have given them. Consequently, the passage of these great nobles with vast retinues was a constant occurrence upon the roads that led to the capital. The undisciplined, irregular soldiery that composed them were the wildest and most savage portion of the Japanese population. A foreigner was as unsafe among them as a tithe-collector in the south-west of Ireland forty years ago, or as a drunken man, worth plundering, would be in Whitechapel at midnight now.

However, little enough of all this was known to the English at the moment when they forced their unwelcome commerce on Japan. These and other conditions were exacted and were freely granted by the Ministers of the Tycoon. The wrath of the Daimios, and the subsequent complications that loomed on the horizon, were more distant dangers than the fleet which had just awed into submission the huge empire of China. Mutual congratulations were exchanged, the new treaty was sent home, and it was proclaimed with a loud flourish of trumpets, that Japan was at last open to European civilisation. But the difficulties remained nevertheless. The Japanese did not like our commerce; and the conduct of some of our merchants, who treated them as if they were a conquered race, was not calculated to make them like it more. The feeling was especially hostile among the armed retainers of the great Japanese families, who naturally represented the warlike and anti-foreign element in the empire. Attempts to assassinate the foreigners began to multiply, especially in the capital. There was no proof or ground for suspecting that the Government were implicated in these outrages. On the contrary, they themselves were exposed to attacks of the same kind on account of the concessions, new to the history of Japan, which they had made to the foreigners. At last the capital became untenable; and the Ministers of Foreign Powers were compelled to withdraw. But it was not until the old hatred between the natives and the foreigners had been stimulated to such a point that both Government and nobles had lost the power of restraining their people. By a certain portion of them the slaughter of foreigners came to be looked upon as a religious act, which a man might profitably devote his own life to perform. On some of those by whom Englishmen were assaulted were found papers, in which the assassin set forth the holy intentions with which his enterprise was undertaken, in order that if he fell his motives might not be misconceived.

It was in such a condition of things that an act of incaution was committed by one of our countrymen, from which deplorable consequences

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consequences have arisen. The road between Yokohama, a treaty port, and Yeddo was, as we have said, opened to foreigners for a certain distance; but it was also the road along which the Daimios were in the habit of travelling with their huge armies of retainers. On the days when one of the Daimios was expected, it was the custom of the Japanese Government to warn the foreigners at Yokohama of the fact, that they might avoid the road for that day. One day, unluckily, either the Government despatched their information too late or their messenger was too slow, or for some other reason, the announcement that one of the Daimios was expected did not reach the English consul till the middle of the day on which he was to pass. Before the warning could be given a Mr. Richardson, with a party of friends, had started for a ride upon the perilous road. He had not gone far before the expected cortége appeared in sight—a long military line of more than a thousand men. It seems to be the rule that all who meet one of these Daimio processions must get out of the road, as a mark of respect. Mr. Richardson either did not know the etiquette, or he determined to assert his rights as a true-born Briton, and to disregard it. On came the cortége, the Daimio in his litter in front, and behind him a long column of armed retainers—not apparently all belonging to his clan, for three different cognisances were noticed upon their coats. Mr. Richardson stood his ground, or at least only drew up upon one side, going on at a foot's pace. Half the line passed him without taking any notice; but as the centre part of the procession swept by a half-naked ruffian rushed out from the ranks and barred the way. Then, and not till then, the party turned their horses' heads and fled. At the moment they were turning the same man struck at Mr. Richardson and wounded him mortally. The party spurred their horses into a gallop. As they sped along several lance-thrusts and sabre-cuts were aimed at them; but no one was struck mortally except Mr. Richardson. Before they had reached a place of safety he fell from his horse dead, and they were compelled to leave him behind. There is a vague story that he afterwards revived and was finally put to death by some other swordsmen who came up. But it rests purely upon the statement of a Japanese woman, who neither knew him nor his assailants, and her evidence was taken by persons whose familiarity with her language was open to some question.

The Japanese Government were evidently much distressed at this terrible occurrence. They gave the best proof of it by laying out a large sum of money to prevent its recurrence. They immediately erected a series of guard-houses along the road, to be held by their own troops, in order to furnish a refuge to foreigners

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foreigners who might be attacked; and they commenced at once the construction of a new road, so that the necessity for the Daimios and the foreigners using the same road should no longer exist. They further made efforts to catch the murderers, and there is no evidence that those efforts were anything but strenuous and sincere. Now what, under these circumstances, was the English Government to do? In Europe, in such cases, it is not usual to throw the responsibility upon the Government of a country where a crime is committed, unless the officers of the Government itself have been implicated in the affair. Plenty of English subjects have been Lynched in the United States, or taken by brigands in Italy, or murdered in other countries, without producing any diplomatic collisions between the English and the foreign Government. General Haynau was nearly mobbed to death by the drunken draymen of Bankside; but no pecuniary satisfaction, no apprehension of unknown delinquents, has been demanded from Vienna. If a Frenchman got his throat cut in St. Giles's, or a German emigrant was shot by a bushranger in Australia, the dignitaries of our Foreign Office would be very much surprised if they were to receive an indignant despatch and a claim for compensation from the Governments of Paris or Berlin. But even upon the ground of the precedents we ourselves have established in our dealings with weaker Powers, such as Greece or Brazil, they could only demand the punishment for the offender if he could be caught, and a moderate compensation for the families of the sufferers. There is no sort of precedent for any demand beyond this. We have never ventured to address a demand even so strong as this to any Power of equal strength; and we have certainly never submitted to any such claim ourselves. A precisely similar case had occurred to the Russians, who do not usually sin on the side of moderation. A Russian naval officer and two men had been attacked and killed in the very streets of Yokohama. The Russian commander demanded compensation and the execution of the murderer. But when the assurance was given to him that the murderer should be executed as soon as he could be caught, he naturally expressed himself contented.

But Lord Russell was resolved to go far beyond this. It was soon after he had sent the fire-eating orders to Brazil to have an officer of the guard dismissed for his ignorance upon the subject of buttons; and his hand was in. He wrote to the Consul as follows:—

'You are instructed to ask as reparation from the Japanese Government:—

'1. An ample and formal apology for the offence of permitting a murderous

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murderous attack on British subjects passing on a road open by treaty to them.

'2. The payment of 100,000*l.* as penalty on Japan for this offence.

'Next you will demand from the Daimio Prince of Satsuma—

'1. The immediate trial and capital execution, in the presence of one or more of Her Majesty's naval officers, of the chief perpetrators of the murder of Mr. Richardson.

'2. The payment of 25,000*l.*, to be distributed to the relations of the murdered man.

'If the Japanese Government should refuse you the redress which you are thus instructed to demand, you will inform thereof the Admiral or Senior Naval Officer on the station, and you will call upon him to adopt such measures of reprisal or blockade, or both, as he may judge to be best calculated to attain the end proposed.

'If the Daimio Satsuma should not immediately agree to and carry into effect the terms demanded of him, the Admiral should go with his own ship, and with such others as he may think fit to take with him, or he should send a sufficient force to the territory of the Prince. The Admiral or Senior Naval Officer will be better able to judge than Her Majesty's Government can be, whether it will be most expedient to blockade this port, or whether it will be possible or advisable to shell the residence of the Prince.

'I have also been informed that the Prince of Satsuma has steamships brought from Europe, of considerable value. These might be seized or detained till redress is obtained.'*

The present Government are perpetually urging on Parliament that their policy is based upon the golden rule of doing to others as they would that others should do to them. Did they ever try to apply their golden rule to the Japanese? If so, we must believe that if the Japanese Ambassadors had been garrotted in the streets of London—no unlikely occurrence—and if our admirable police had failed to catch the garrotters—a contingency still less improbable—that then Lord Russell would have thought it perfectly just that England should have had to pay 125,000*l.*; and that if it was found impossible ultimately to catch the garrotters, that then Osborne should have been bombarded, and the Queen's yacht taken in pawn. Everyone knows that Lord Russell would not have thought it just. His practical reply to all such comparisons is, 'Væ victis!' Japan is the weaker Power, and therefore England is not ashamed to mete out a measure of justice to Japan which she would think it intolerable that any other nation should mete out to her.

The sequel is well known. The unhappy Satsuma could not execute his criminal for the same reason that Mrs. Glass could not cook her hare. Before you can execute your criminal, it is

* Despatch, Dec. 24th, 1862.

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necessary to catch him. The murder in question was not committed upon Satsuma's ground. There was no proof that it was the act of one of Satsuma's men. It was undoubtedly a relative of his that was at the head of the line of march; but among his followers three several devices were seen, and only one of those was Satsuma's. But considerations of this kind do not distress Lord Russell much when he is launching his thunders against a safe opponent. Without stopping for a moment to inquire whether the culprit was one of Satsuma's men, or whether, if so, he was known to Satsuma, or whether he was within Satsuma's jurisdiction, Lord Russell decided that that Daimio must be summoned, under pain of being shelled, to execute him forthwith. Accordingly the British Consul and the Admiral steamed down to Kagosima, where Satsuma's residence was, and required him within four-and-twenty hours to consent to the immediate trial and execution of the murderers. The Daimio himself happened to be absent; but his Minister returned the answer which most Ministers would have returned under the circumstances. But that it is expressed in courteous language, it probably does not differ from what Lord Russell himself, in a similar position, must have written:—

'It is just that a man who has killed another should be arrested and punished with death, as there is nothing more sacred than human life; and although we should like to secure the murderers, as we have endeavoured to do since last year, it is impossible for us to do so, owing to the political differences existing between the Daimios of Japan, some of whom hide and protect such people; and besides this, the murderers are not one but several persons, and therefore find easier means of escape. . . . . If, therefore, we can detect the offenders in question, and after examination find them to be guilty, they shall be punished, and we will then inform the commanders of the men-of-war at Nagasaki, or at Yokohama, in order that they may come to witness their execution. You must therefore consent to the unavoidable delay, which is necessary to carry out these measures.' *

But the English Consul would consent to no such delay. He acted as if he had desired, not the arrest of the murderers, but the opportunity of glorifying the English name by an appalling act of revenge; and the full approval of his conduct, which he subsequently received from Lord Russell, shows that he knew the master whom he served. Another day passed, in the course of which the Ministers of Satsuma came off to have a verbal conference with the Consul and the Admiral. Of the style in which this conference was conducted by the English

* Jap. Pap., p. 95, 1864.

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authorities, an idea may be formed from the following specimen extracted from their report of it :—

'*Admiral Kuper:* The settlement of this matter can no longer be delayed. Kagosima is at my mercy; hostilities once commenced, the town would be destroyed; and I shall stop your trade both here and at the Loochow Islands.

'*Colonel Neale:* Such is not our wish: but if you compel us to do so, it will be your own fault.

'*Japanese:* We will report all this.

'*Admiral Kuper:* You must remember that we are one of the first nations in the world, who, instead of meeting civilized people, as you think yourselves, in reality encounter barbarians.

'*Japanese:* We cannot discuss these subjects; but we will report all this to our Government.

'*Colonel Neale:* Evasion or delay can no longer be submitted to.

'(*Japanese rise to leave.*)' *

The Japanese probably thought that if this was a specimen of Western civilisation, the less they had of it the better. The interview took place late in the evening. Early the next morning the Admiral commenced hostilities. He attempted to cut out some steamers belonging to the Prince. The Japanese batteries opened fire; the English ships returned it, and bombarded Kagosima; and the upshot was that two days later the Consul was able to write in a tone of genuine satisfaction—'The operations were attended with complete success. . . . . The fire, which is still raging, affords reasonable ground for believing that the entire town of Kagosima is now a mass of ruins.' † The sequel is instructive. The object which Lord Russell professed to have in view—the execution of the murderers—was never attained, even with all this violence. If ten Kagosimas had been burnt to the ground, Prince Satsuma would have been unable to bring the murderers to trial, until he had performed the preliminary operation of catching them. Three months later Colonel Neale was compelled to make the humiliating admission that, with the best intentions, the Prince of Satsuma was in no condition to find the murderers; and that it was, therefore, idle to insist upon an impossibility.

These two cases furnish very fair specimens of the nature of English foreign policy towards the weakest powers. In principle it is overbearing, exacting, pushing every right to the extremest limit; and where the very existence of a right is doubtful, cynically throwing the sword into the balance. In execution these principles are carried out with no diplomatic courtesy; and

* Jap. Pap., p. 99. † Ibid., p. 97.

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with no consideration of the feelings or the wounded honour of those to whom they are applied, but rather with an ostentatious insolence. It is throughout a tone by which the weak are made to feel their weakness—to drink the bitter, bitter cup of inferiority to the very dregs. Admiral Kuper's observation to the Japanese Ambassadors admirably expresses the attitude generally adopted by the English Foreign Office, whom he was serving, to every weaker power with whom they may come into collision: 'You must remember that we are one of the first nations in the world, who, instead of meeting civilised people as you think yourselves, in reality encounter barbarians.'

This is of itself not a character which the English people will be gratified to learn that they have acquired. But it becomes still less satisfactory when we come to consider the other qualities by which it is supposed to be accompanied and set off. Bullying the weak is not an amiable characteristic; but whether it is to be looked on simply with dislike or with bitter contempt depends upon whether it is reserved exclusively for the weak. If we take towards other powers, such as America, or Germany, or Russia, the same strong measures to enforce a respect for treaties, or a respect for the *Civis Romanus*, that we have taken towards Japan, then, of course, the worst that could be said of us would be that we are an irritable, tetchy nation, whom many people might hate, but with whom few would care to meddle. But if the truth should be the reverse of this—if our insolence should not be universal, but discriminating, and our bluster only strong upon the stronger side—if we have suffered the rights of British subjects to be set at nought with impunity in New York, while they are asserted with reckless precipitation in Brazil—if we allow the treaties that have been made with us to be trodden under foot in the United States, and in Russia, and in Germany, while we vindicate them with unreasoning violence in China and Japan—if the habitual menace which constitutes our diplomacy is followed up with peremptory ferocity in dealing with weak powers, and abandoned timidly in the face of strong ones—then language is scarcely rich enough to express the scorn with which our pusillanimity will be branded, not only by the contemporaries whom our arrogance has irritated, but by the passionless doom of history.

America may fittingly engage our attention first. It is not very often that precise parallels can be drawn between two different cases of diplomatic action, for no two sets of events ever resemble each other quite accurately. But it so happens that one of the questions that have formed matter of correspondence between the English and Federal Governments during the last two

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two years, corresponds in some of its leading circumstances with the case of the midshipmen of H.M.S. 'Forte,' to which we have referred. The correspondence is, of course, only general, but it is sufficient to exhibit the difference of spirit in which British subjects are defended against a Government that possesses military resources, from that which is shown in dealing with a Government that is defenceless. It must also be remarked that we do not select this case because it is by any means the worst of those in which the Foreign Office has shown a pusillanimous spirit in its dealings with the United States, but merely because its extreme simplicity facilitates a comparison.

The case was this:—Mr. Shaver was a Canadian, a British subject, and a descendant of American Loyalists. It is possible that his descent did not make him very friendly to the Federals, or cause him to find favour in the eyes of the United States officials. He had never lived outside Canada, but he was an agent of the Grand Trunk Railway, and in the performance of his duties he occasionally visited Detroit, in Michigan, which is just across the frontier. One fine day he was pounced upon by a United States marshal, carried off, and thrown into a dungeon at Fort Lafayette. He wrote to the British Consul and the British Minister at Washington. No charge was alleged against him—no warrant shown for his committal. The only ray of hope that was offered to him was a proposal that he should be released on the condition that he, a British subject, should take the oath of allegiance to the United States. The remonstrances of Lord Lyons were without avail. The only reply to them which Mr. Seward would vouchsafe was that Mr. Shaver had been engaged in carrying revolvers to the rebels, and had acted as a spy in their behalf—offences which, at Detroit, many hundred miles from the nearest Confederate outpost, did not constitute, even if it had been just, a very serious imputation. But it rested on no sort of evidence except Mr. Seward's assertion, and it was strenuously denied by the unlucky prisoner himself. No redress, however, was to be obtained. Lord Russell was absolutely silent. The polite notes addressed to Mr. Seward by Lord Lyons received only a rough reply. At last, after three months of illegal imprisonment for no offence of which even a vestige of proof was offered, an oath was tendered to him that he would not hold any correspondence with persons residing in the Confederate States, or enter into any of them, or do anything hostile to the United States. Such an oath Mr. Seward had no sort of right to extort. It was attempting to control the acts of a foreigner at a future time when he should be resident under a foreign jurisdiction. But there was no help for it. His Government had abandoned him,

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him, his health was broken by long confinement, and his family were being ruined by his absence. Under these circumstances he took the oath, and was released. But no compensation has ever been given to him for his illegal imprisonment—no punishment was inflicted upon those who arrested him—no reparation has ever been exacted from the United States for the insult offered to the sovereignty of Great Britain.

Compare this case with that of the three young officers who were arrested at the guard-house. They were charged with an offence for which a good deal of evidence was offered, and which there was nothing but their own counter-assertion to disprove. As soon as their naval rank came to the knowledge of the authorities they were instantly discharged, without even being brought to trial for the conduct of which they were accused. For this 'outrage' Lord Russell peremptorily demands an immediate apology, the dismissal of the sentry, and the punishment of the Ensign of the Guard; and he enforces that demand by directing a British fleet to seize the property of inoffensive merchants. Turn northwards, and see how he behaves when he has a government to deal with that could support its own rights, if need be, by an invasion of Canada. A British subject is arrested upon the very edge of British territory. No charge is legally made against him. He is flung into a dungeon and locked up for three months. There is nothing against him except the unsupported word of Mr. Seward, that the man had been denounced by the American police. At last he is only released upon consenting to take an oath which no government has a right to impose upon the subjects of another with whom it is at peace. But Lord Russell makes no sign. He is deaf to all remonstrance. No angry despatches are fulminated from the Foreign Office. There is no demand that the police who made the arrest should be dismissed, or that an apology should be made. There is no British fleet to avenge by reprisals the outraged honour of Great Britain. The insult is patiently pocketed. The unhappy victim slinks back to his home to digest as best he may his unjust imprisonment, his uncompensated losses, and his desertion by the Government under whom he lives. Can any impartial man, looking upon that case and upon this, deny the charge which has been so often made, that the arrogant patrons of the *Civis Romanus* will only defend him against safe antagonists, and that England under them has justly earned the reputation of bullying the weak and truckling to the strong?

We must again guard ourselves from the supposition that we have selected this particular case because it stands alone. Too much of our recent American policy is tainted with the same vice.

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vice. There are other cases in which British subjects have been detained in Fort Lafayette without process or pretence of law, sometimes for offences alleged to have been committed against the United States, outside the jurisdiction of the United States altogether. There was the case, for instance, of Mr. Rahming, who was imprisoned because he had, when in the British colony of Nassau, attempted to hire a ship to run the blockade.* Lord Russell's reply, when the unfortunate man asked him to press for compensation, deserves to be compared with the despatch to Brazil upon the case of the 'Forte,' by all who value a Minister with a real English spirit:—

'Whatever instructions I might otherwise have been prepared to give your Lordship respecting Mr. Rahming's application to be indemnified for his recent imprisonment, the answer returned by Mr. Seward induces me to defer, at all events for the present, any directions to renew the discussion of the subject. The President of the United States maintains that he has a right to arrest, without cause or reason assigned, any British subject residing in the United States: *and it would serve no purpose to ask the President to give indemnity in a case in which he maintains that he has acted lawfully.*' †

Something, too, might be said of the paper blockade set up in sheer defiance of the Protocol of Paris, and submitted to tamely by us, although it was reducing a large part of our population to the condition of paupers. The calmness with which our Government have permitted the Americans to seize English vessels on their passage to neutral or to English ports, under pretence that they were breaking the blockade; the repeated impunity with which they have been suffered to violate our territory by chasing vessels to within the boundary of British waters; the application of oppressive legal proceedings and strained prerogatives to British subjects, under menaces from Washington, would all furnish additional illustration of the violence of the chill which falls upon Lord Russell's enthusiastic temperament when the spectacle of a large army or a powerful fleet crosses his mental vision. But our space will not permit us to linger over his American diplomacy, or the contempt which it has drawn down on England. We must turn to questions nearer home, and which, therefore, for the moment are more engrossing. The shortcomings of his policy in Europe are of more immediate moment to us than his errors upon distant shores. They affect interests from which we can never dissever ourselves, and they may at any moment bring danger to our very doors.

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* North American Papers, No. 1, p. 95.
† Lord Russell to Lord Lyons, ibid. p. 99.

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That his policy upon the Continent of Europe has been disastrous is an evident fact which few, even of his warmest partisans, would in private venture to deny. It has left us at a moment of critical interest without a single ally, and without a shred of influence. And it is evident that this untoward condition of affairs is due precisely to the same vice as that which has infected the foreign policy of the Government throughout—that prudent and sober ambition which delights in parading valour without danger and power without expense. That calculating kind of combativeness does very well until it is found out. But when it is once discovered that a nation loves peace so profoundly that, rather than break it, it will put up with indignities and accept humiliations that would goad any other people into war, its influence absolutely disappears. This is precisely what has happened to England during the past twelve months. She has eaten an amount of dirt at which the digestion of any other people would have revolted. Foreign powers see that in spite of this unsavoury meal, her Government is as happy, as meddling, and as pacific as ever, and quite ready for another plateful. They, moreover, see that her abstinence is not due to moderation or humanity; for there was no question of moderation at Rio, or of humanity at Kagosima. They conclude that England's insensibility to ignominy and determination not to fight are due to simple fear: not of course physical fear, by which statesmen who do not themselves fight can never be affected, but that apprehension of pecuniary and political consequences which outweighs all apprehension of disgrace. Such a condition of feeling may generally be relied on as enduring by those who make use of it. England's influence in the councils of Europe is consequently at its lowest possible point. The only consideration which secures even decent courtesy from foreign statesmen, is their knowledge that ministries are not permanent, and that a war feeling is not difficult to arouse in the breasts of the English people. Influence with another Government varies directly and absolutely with the amount of available martial power which the Government that tries to exercise it can bring to bear. International advice only carries weight when it is understood to carry with it an intimation of stronger measures upon some kind of contingency. England in the mind of foreigners is believed to have renounced strong measures—against strong powers—under any conceivable circumstances. She has been tested by the keenest spur which indignity could apply; and she has refused to move. If such things have not led her to fight, nothing else can do so, short of an actual attack upon her shores. If that be so, her advice is mere useless verbiage; her persuasions are empty forms. We do not listen

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listen to her advice (foreigners would say) because her statesmen are peculiarly wise: we do not yield to her persuasions because her ambassadors are exceptionally fascinating. We have no need to go so far as Downing Street, either for political wisdom or engaging manners. We have hitherto listened to England because we believed her to be strong, and disposed upon necessity to use her strength. But now that we have discovered that for practical purposes she is not strong, we do not desire to trouble her to take upon herself the task of our instruction. We do not seek counsel of Tunis, or of Herzegovina, or of the Republic of Andorre, and why should we seek the advice of England?

Lord Russell's entire inability to perceive the connexion between advice and action is the true cause of the discredit into which, as regards Europe at least, he has brought his country. His proceedings on both sides of the Atlantic have so far been similar, that they have both produced the effect of encouraging a belief, that unless the English people took the matter into their own hands, no insult or outrage could ever goad the British Government into war. But there has been one material difference between the two sets of cases. The obligations to vigorous action in Europe were of his own seeking: in America they were imposed by the wrong-doing of others. The obligation to protect English subjects against Fort Lafayette, and the obligation to protect British traders against the reckless lawlessness of Federal cruisers, fell upon him by no fault of his own. It was the natural duty of a British Foreign Secretary. No policy, however skilful, could have evaded it. The discredit, therefore, that England has reaped from her bearing towards America has been the inevitable result of the unlucky coincidence of American encroachments with English fears. But the discredit she has contrived to amass upon the Continent has been absolutely gratuitous. The protection of Poland and Denmark forms no necessary part of the duties of a Foreign Secretary. The treaties which give us a right of interference do not bind us to interfere. A Minister might feel that the interests of England required him to take an active part; and in such a case he was perfectly justified in such a course. But it was in no sense obligatory upon him to do so. He was free to interpose, or free to abstain from interposing. If he thought fit to be a passive spectator of the wrong-doing of others, the dignity of his country would in no way suffer. The only duty incumbent upon him was, to make up his mind from the first which course it was that English interests required him to take, and to shape both his language and his acts accordingly. The policy of peace and the policy of war were equally

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equally consistent with honour and with public law. The only thing required of him was, that he should not attempt to combine them by following one in his language, and the other in his acts. If he chose to be peaceable in his language, there would be no disgrace attaching to pacific conduct. If he had made up his mind to fight, there would be nothing discreditable in a preliminary menace. The only danger of disgrace that there was to avoid—the one certain road to irreparable dishonour—was to follow up the language of one policy by the acts of the other, to begin with menace, and to end with peace.

Those who attempt to defend the conduct of the Government usually make an effort to transfer the discussion to another question. They insist that England had no sufficient interest in the restoration of Poland, or in preserving the integrity of Denmark, to outweigh the manifold horrors of war. No doubt this is an interesting subject to discuss; and arguments of a forcible character might be advanced upon the side of peace, especially in regard to the question of Poland. But that is not the issue that has been raised by those who call the Government to account for the discredit they have brought on England. Non-intervention, in the abstract, may be good policy or bad: it is non-intervention heralded by threats to one side, and promises to the other, that we condemn. It is the attempt to secure the advantages of action by blustering diplomacy when there was no real resolve to fight that we deplore. It is not in the policy itself, which for the moment we pass by, but in the language by which it is introduced, that we find the deep offence that the Government has committed against English honour.

The Polish question was undoubtedly the one in which the reputation of England received its first deadly blow. To us at home, who had watched the foreign policy of the English Minister minutely, it did not, perhaps, disclose any vice with which we were not familiar before; and therefore there has been a natural surprise among us at the excitement which the peculiar character of this policy has created abroad. But foreigners regard with a very languid attention matters that do not affect their own immediate interests. American or colonial difficulties have never been of much practical import to Continental nations; and therefore they have never excited much feeling or thought in Europe, except in these islands. But the affairs of Poland are a matter of much closer concern. To the Russian and the German they are important, as touching their dearest material interests. To the French they have ever appealed as the subject of a traditional sympathy, which has been handed down unchilled from generation to generation, and with which the honour of

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of France at some of the most critical periods in her history has been intimately bound up. The negotiations respecting the Polish insurrection were matter of the keenest interest to all the populations and all the Cabinets north of the Alps; and the policy pursued by England was eagerly and anxiously scanned. During the lapse of the summer and autumn months of last year, while the fate of the insurrection gallantly maintained against hopeless odds seemed to hang upon the chances of foreign intervention, all eyes were naturally bent towards the Power upon whose concurrence the possibility of that intervention turned. England was the chief performer in the diplomatic drama at which all Europe was gazing; and from her performances upon that occasion they drew conclusions which they will not speedily forget.

It must be said that the part which she played was entirely of her own selecting. She had no direct interest, not even the faintest, in the disposition of the territory which constituted ancient Poland. She was one of the signataries of the Treaty of Vienna, and the stipulations with regard to the government of Poland which were inserted in that treaty gave her the right of intervention, if she pleased to use it. But she was in no way bound to interfere. When the constitution of Poland was violently suppressed in 1831, she suffered that usurpation to be completed, not indeed without a protest, but practically unhindered. On this occasion she was obliged to do no more. One solemn protest against the oppression of the people whose rights Alexander had bound himself in the face of Europe to respect was all to which she was in duty bound. If her Ministers determined to go further, and adopt a more active policy, it was incumbent on them to take care that there should be no indistinctness of apprehension, either in their own minds or in the minds of those with whom they were dealing, as to the exact extent to which they were prepared to go. Something in point of argument and much in point of sentiment might have been urged in favour of assuming the championship of the cause of Poland. But it was a path in which, when it was once entered, retreat or even hesitation was dishonour. Any vacillation of step on the part of a nation that volunteered for such a service could bear but one construction. It was not necessary to assume a hostile attitude at all; but to make a feint of striking and then to run away was a simple proclamation of cowardice. A nation may uphold its honour without being Quixotic; but no reputation can survive a display of the Quixotism which falters at the sight of a drawn sword. And in this case there was another reason more cogent still. The insurrection had obviously been begun and

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and was being continued with no other hope but what depended on the chance of foreign aid. Upon grounds of humanity alone the fearful prodigality of human suffering, at the cost of which that insurrection was maintained, should not have been stimulated even for a week by any delusive hopes. The Powers whose aid was looked for were bound to determine on inaction, if inaction it was to be, and to proclaim their determination without delay. To threaten or to hint an intervention which you had no earnest intention of carrying out was contemptible as regarded the Power whom you pretended to defy, but it was inhuman towards the people with whose agony you were playing.

These considerations were so obvious that they must have been fully present to the mind of the English Cabinet when it met to discuss the course which was to be taken with respect to Poland. In such a crisis, and under the eyes of so many expectant nations, it is to be assumed that their resolutions were more than ordinarily matured, and that their policy was the very best they could produce—a kind of ideal model of English policy. At first they proceeded with proper caution. The first note addressed, on the 2nd of March, 1863, to the Russian Government upon this subject, though it was deformed by Lord Russell's habitual sententiousness of style, and though its practical utility was not very evident, yet contained nothing that could compromise the honour of England. It simply recapitulated the engagements of Russia and the wrongs of Poland, and concluded with suggesting, in friendly language, that an amnesty should be declared, and that the constitution of Alexander I. should be restored. Of course this suggestion was, with equal friendliness of language, declined. But by that time Lord Russell had warmed to his work; and the tone which opinion in France and England appeared to be assuming gave him great encouragement. It was a favourable opportunity for trying on a little bluster. Of course he did not mean to go to war with Russia. But if he could frighten Russia by threats into yielding to the English demands, a few strongly-worded sentences would be well spent. Accordingly he wrote to Paris to propose that all the parties to the Treaty of Vienna should combine to make a collective representation to Russia upon her violations of that instrument. The mention of the Treaty of Vienna is never very popular at Paris, and the suggestion appears for the time to have fallen through. But it produced a counter proposal from M. Drouyn de Lhuys. The negotiations between France and England at this point are a little obscure, owing to the mutilation which all despatches presented to Parliament undergo at the hands of the Foreign Secretary. The correspondence is evidently defective;

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defective; but what it is that the suppressed documents would reveal we, of course, have no means of guessing. However, by the 10th of April Lord Russell was prepared to take an enormous step beyond the position he had hitherto assumed. He wrote a second despatch to St. Petersburg upon the Polish question. It was couched in far stronger terms. It recapitulated at greater length, and in a more peremptory tone the grounds upon which, in the view of the British Government, the Treaty of Vienna entitled them to interfere. It sweeps away in a contemptuous tone the argument of Prince Gortchakoff that the revolt of the Poles against the constitution of Alexander I. released the Russian Government from all treaty obligations to govern them in a constitutional manner. It goes on to say that Russia holds Poland not by conquest, but under a Treaty, in which she had contracted certain obligations to the other Powers of Europe; and then proceeds:—

'The question, then, having arisen whether the engagements taken by Russia by the Treaty of Vienna have been and are now faithfully carried into execution, Her Majesty's Government, with deep regret, feel bound to say that this question must be answered in the negative. . . .

'Her Majesty's Government, therefore, most earnestly entreat the Government of Russia to give their most serious attention to all the foregoing considerations: and Her Majesty's Government would beg, moreover, to submit to the Imperial Government that besides the obligations of Treaties, Russia, as a member of the community of European states, has duties of comity towards other nations to fulfil. The condition of things which has now for a long course of time existed in Poland is a source of danger, not to Russia alone, but also to the general peace of Europe.

'The disturbances which are perpetually breaking out among the Polish subjects of His Imperial Majesty necessarily produce a serious agitation of opinion in other countries of Europe, tending to excite much anxiety in the minds of their Governments, and which might under possible circumstances produce complications of the most serious nature.'

Taken by itself the phraseology of this despatch is as menacing as will be often found in despatches even of a professedly hostile character. The formal declaration that Russia had broken her treaty engagements, the intimation that she had not fulfilled her duties of comity as a member of the community of nations, the distinct statement that the course she was pursuing was dangerous to the general peace of Europe, 'and might, under possible circumstances, produce complications of the most serious nature,'—all these expressions, interpreted by diplomatic usage, were simple threats

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threats of war. If they were addressed now to England by the Emperor Napoleon, who is in the habit of acting up to his words, there would be a panic in the City, and every department in our Government would commence active preparations for immediate war. The words by which the Emperor announced the coming Italian campaign on the New Year's Day of 1859 were far milder than those we have quoted:—'I regret that our relations are so bad, but my personal friendship for the Emperor your master remains unaltered.' Even in the affair of the 'Forte,' to which we have already adverted, the strongest threat used *in the* despatch in which reparation was demanded was that 'Her Majesty's Government viewed the matter in a serious light.' And yet those words were followed in another simultaneous despatch by a direction to prepare for reprisals if the demand was not conceded.

But, if there was any ambiguity in the wording of this despatch of April the 10th, it was entirely cleared up by a conversation which Lord Russell had with the Russian Ambassador, and which he reports himself under the same date:—

'I had a long conversation with Baron Brunnow yesterday, some parts of which were of much interest. Baron Brunnow *asked me* some questions as to the nature of the representations about to be made at St. Petersburg; and when I told him that the despatch of Her Majesty's Government was chiefly founded on the non-observance of the stipulations of the Treaty of Vienna, he expressed some satisfaction that we still founded our demands on the basis of that *Treaty*. But there was one question he felt he was entitled to ask, and that was whether the communication Her Majesty's Government were about to make at St. Petersburg was of a pacific nature. I replied that it was; *but that as I did not wish to mislead him I must say something more.* Her Majesty's Government had no intentions that were otherwise than pacific, still less any concert with other Powers for any but pacific purposes. *But the state of things might change.* The present overture of Her Majesty's Government might be rejected as the representation of the 2nd of March had been rejected by the Imperial Government. The insurrections in Poland might continue and might assume larger proportions: the atrocities on both sides might be aggravated, and extended to a wider range of country. If in such a state of affairs the Emperor of Russia were to take no steps of a conciliatory nature, dangers and complications might arise not at present in contemplation.'

If this was not a threat of war, language has no meaning. The Ambassador asks if Lord Russell's intentions are pacific. 'Yes,' says Lord Russell, 'they are pacific now. But the state of things may change. Our advice may be rejected, and the war may go on and get worse. If so, dangers and complications may arise

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arise not at present in contemplation.' That is to say, dangers and complications which will imply, on the part of Her Majesty's Government, intentions that are something else than pacific. To threaten that if your advice is not taken, a state of things will arise in which your intentions will cease to be pacific, is, in plain English, to say that if your advice is not taken you will go to war. The threat was wrapped up in a certain amount of circumlocution to make it more palatable; but it was as unequivocal a threat as was ever uttered.

The advice was not taken. Prince Gortchakoff replied again, in the same calm, argumentative style as before. He disputed the interpretation that was placed on the Treaty of Vienna; and, in reference to the 'duties of comity' upon which Lord Russell had insisted, he maintained that Russia had steadily performed them herself, but had not met with a reciprocal observance of them. And he concluded by intimating that the continuance of the Polish insurrection was due entirely to the revolutionary intrigues which other Powers allowed to be planned upon their own soil. Such was the answer which Prince Gortchakoff returned to the advice which had been forwarded under menaces so thinly veiled. Six weeks of silent meditation appear to have followed the receipt of this reply. At least there is a six weeks' *lacuna* in the correspondence. Whether Lord Russell, as a species of religious penance for a heavy load of epistolary sins, abstained during the whole of that period from the seductive touch of pen and paper—or whether the correspondence which actually passed in the interval is, in the opinion of the Foreign Secretary, even less creditable to him than that which is published—it is impossible to say. But, at all events, as far as the public outside are concerned, the drama which closed on the 2nd of May does not reopen till the 17th of June. Undoubtedly the next step in the intercourse between the two countries was of necessity a grave one. The case which Lord Russell shadowed forth in his conversation with the Russian Ambassador had actually occurred. 'The overtures of Her Majesty's Government might be rejected,'—was one of the contingencies he supposed. They had been rejected. 'The insurrection might continue and assume larger proportions.' It had continued, and its area was extended. 'The Emperor of Russia might in such a state of affairs take no steps of a conciliatory nature.' He had taken none. The contingencies in which the pacific intentions of the Government were to cease had all taken place. Unless the conversation with Baron Brunnow was simple bluster, the intentions of the Government had become hostile. Under these circumstances a categorical enumeration of demands amounted to an ultimatum:

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ultimatum: and under these circumstances, Lord Russell sat down on the 17th of June to write the despatch which contained the celebrated six points. The concessions demanded of the Emperor were:—1. An amnesty. 2. A representative system. 3. A national (*i. e.* a Polish) administration. 4. Liberty of conscience. 5. Use of Polish language. 6. Regular system of conscription. And these six points were to be applied in their details by a Conference of the eight Powers who signed the Treaty of Vienna. Such a demand for the submission of his internal affairs to foreign Powers was never made, even to a weak monarch, except by a Power that had an army ready to enforce it. As an ultimatum, designed to precede the execution of threats that had been disregarded, it was an intelligible document. But unless backed and justified by force, it was at once the most insolent and the most imbecile proposal that had ever been made by one Government to another. At first Europe was inclined to give to it the former interpretation. The hopes of the Poles, which were beginning to flag under the depression of incessant defeat and ever weakening forces, for a time gained new strength. The enthusiasm of the French, which the Emperor from the first had found it difficult to curb, rose to fever heat. The belief was general that the alliance between the Western Powers, for the purpose of carrying on war against Russia, was on the point of being revived. They had not yet learned how far the modern policy of England had departed from its old traditions.

The sequel need not be told. The sarcastic defiance of Prince Gortchakoff, the humiliating retreat of England after threats so distinct and demands so specific, and the indignation of France at finding that she had been tricked into a participation in the shame of England, are yet fresh in the memory of all. The correspondence was closed by a comical illustration of the extent to which the fears of the British Government had been excited at the possible result of their own big words. For the discovery of it the world is indebted to Mr. Hennessy. When Prince Gortchakoff's last defiance had arrived and the Government had made up their minds to practise the better part of valour, Lord Russell made a speech at Blairgowrie, and being somewhat encouraged and cheered by the various circumstances of consolation which are administered by an entertainment of that kind, he recovered after dinner somewhat of his wonted courage, and under the influence of the valour so acquired he proclaimed that, in his opinion, Russia had sacrificed her Treaty title to Poland. Having made the statement thus publicly, he felt that he could not do less than insert it into the despatch to Prince Gortchakoff, with which

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which it was proposed to terminate the inglorious correspondence. He flattered himself, indeed, that so hostile an announcement, while not leading actually to a war, might enable him to ride off with something like a flourish, which his friends might construe into a triumph. And so the despatch was sent off, formally bringing the correspondence to a close, and concluding with the grandiose announcement that, in the opinion of the British Government, Russia had forfeited the title to Poland which she had acquired by the Treaty of Vienna. But even this modest attempt to escape from disgrace was not destined to succeed. When the despatch reached St. Petersburg, it was shown to Prince Gortchakoff before being formally presented. 'You had better not present this concluding sentence to me,' is reported to have been the Prince's brief but significant observation. The hint was taken; the despatch was sent back to England and submitted anew to the Foreign Secretary. Doubtless with disgust, but bowing to his inexorable destiny, he executed this new act of self-abasement. The offending sentence was erased by its author with the resolution of a Christian martyr. In this form it was sent back to Russia; and it still bears, as published to the world, in the bald mutilation of the paragraph with which it concludes and in the confusion of its dates, the marks of its enforced and reluctant revision.

These transactions produced a profound impression upon the minds of Continental observers. People could hardly believe that a Government which had used a tone so peremptory and so bold—which proceeded to intervene even by distinct threats in behalf of the despairing struggle of a people who had been goaded to madness by oppression—could stoop to eat its threats, and to forsake in their agony those whom, in the first blush of their apparent success, it had bustled forward to befriend. We can ourselves testify, from personal observation, how difficult it was to induce Frenchmen to believe that even *la perfide Albion* could be so base. When at last it was discovered that this really was the end of the whole matter, and that all our diplomatic restlessness meant nothing but 'moral support,' the announcement was received with a storm of indignant derision. The British lion, and John Bull, in a variety of humiliating positions, have been an invaluable resource to the caricaturists of the Continent. Unfortunately the expression of feeling has not been confined to the organs of popular opinion; it has extended to politicians and to sovereigns. In the negotiations that followed upon the Dano-German dispute, the loss of England's reputation was lamentably felt. The influence which she had formerly exercised had suddenly disappeared. It was in vain the Foreign Secretary rose up early

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early and late took rest, composing remonstrances, and warnings, and entreaties to every Court in Europe. His '*derbe*' notes were passed unheeded; his incessant and ever-varying schemes for joint notes, and identic notes, and projects of mediation, and projects of conference,* and proposals of concert and cooperation, were passed by with contemptuous disregard. The general feeling in Prussia was aptly expressed by M. Schultze-Delitsch, member for Berlin, in the House of Representatives, who advised his colleagues to be under no apprehension of English opposition to the seizure of the Danish Duchies. 'England,' he said, 'is always full of consideration for those that can defend themselves.' To much the same effect is the testimony of Sir Alexander Malet, our ambassador at Frankfort, at the beginning of the present year:—'The tension of the public mind is very great, and I am bound to say that there is a wonderful indifference to our representations, while they are at the same time resented as interfering with a cherished project. There is an absolute persuasion that England will not interfere materially, and our counsels, regarded as unfriendly, have no weight.' To be despised by the minor States of Germany is, perhaps, the lowest depth of degradation to which a great Power has ever sunk. Such, however, was the state of opinion throughout Germany. The German Powers were persuaded that Lord Russell would give no practical effect to his menacing despatches, and they have acted on the persuasion boldly. They have assumed that they might safely disregard the 'serious complications' which Lord Russell was continually flourishing in their faces, and follow their own instincts of ambition without troubling themselves about the British Government. The event has shown that they were right. Slesvig and Jutland have been deserted, as Poland was, and the Danes have been left to derive what solace they could out of the 'good offices' and the 'moral support' of England.

The impression which the conduct of England in the Polish affair made on the Government of France was naturally much more serious, inasmuch as France had been more directly concerned. She acted throughout as the ally of England, apparently expecting, as most governments would have expected, that some practical result would issue from so many brave words. She did not find out her delusion till it was too late to retreat from the alliance; and she naturally felt mortified in having to share in the ignominy which England was bringing upon herself. The

* Austria's increasing difficulties have led to the assembling of a Conference 'without a basis'—now that the allies are in possession of the Danish peninsula. But the suggestion was repeatedly rejected before they had seized what they coveted.

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despatches written from Paris were pitched in a far more moderate key, and were not open to the charge of conveying any threat, direct or indirect. But the sense of honour in such matters is rather keener in Paris than it is in Downing Street; and the French Ministers felt that the bare presentation of the six points was a step so grave that when the English Government compelled them to submit to a refusal, their country passed through a humiliation which it was difficult to forget. And they naturally felt sore at the recollection that it was the English alliance which had brought upon them such an indignity. A short time afterwards Lord Russell was ill-advised enough to propose to them another series of 'identic notes' in reference to the Dano-German question; and M. Drouyn de Lhuys was not backward to take the opportunity of giving expression to the mortification which he had suffered at the end of the Polish negotiations. He did it on no less than three occasions; and in two of them his language was so distinct, and pointed out with so much clearness the only course which can be followed without loss of dignity by countries which do not mean to fight, that it is worth extracting at some length. Lord Russell made a proposal on the 16th of September 'that England and France should remind Austria, Prussia, and the German Diet that any act on their part tending to weaken the integrity and independence of Denmark would be at variance with the Treaty of the 8th of May, 1852.' Lord Cowley sends back the French statesman's reply:—

'The mode of proceeding suggested by your Lordship would,' he said, 'be in a great measure analogous to the course pursued by Great Britain and France in the Polish question. He had no inclination (and he frankly avowed that he should so speak to the Emperor) to place France in the same position with reference to Germany as she had been placed with regard to Russia. The formal notes addressed by the three Powers to Russia had received an answer which literally meant nothing, and the position in which those three great Powers were placed now was anything but dignified: and if England and France were to address such a reminder as that proposed to Austria, Prussia, and the German Confederation, *they must be prepared to go further*, and to adopt a course of action more in accordance with the dignity of two great Powers than they were now doing in the Polish question.' *

Undeterred, however, by this very intelligible rebuff, Lord Russell, a few months later, made a second application to the French Government to join him in giving a moral lecture to Germany. He asked them to join in representing to the Diet

* Danish Papers, No. 126.

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'the heavy responsibility it would incur if by any precipitate measures it were to break the peace of Europe,' &c. M. Drouyn de Lhuys' reply was again painfully significant:—

'As to the four Powers impressing upon the Diet the heavy responsibility that it would incur if by any precipitate measures it were to break the peace of Europe before the Conference which had been proposed by the British Government for considering the means of settling the question between Germany and Denmark and thereby maintaining that peace can be assembled, M. Drouyn de Lhuys observed that he had not forgotten that when Russia had been warned by France, Great Britain, and Austria, of the responsibility which she was incurring by her conduct towards Poland, Prince Gortschakoff had replied, "that Russia was ready to assume that responsibility before God and man." He for one did not wish to provoke another answer of the same sort to be received with the same indifference.' *

It is humiliating to think such rebukes should have been administered by a Foreign Minister to an English Secretary of State, and that they should have been just.

If we are to trust the general feeling both in England and upon the Continent, the recent negotiations upon the Danish affair have been almost as fruitful in humiliation to England as those to which we have just called the attention of our readers. The derision which the combination of warlike language with a peaceful policy has excited has been almost as hearty in the latter case as in the former. The sole difference in our favour is that on the last occasion what we have had to bear has not been the sharp and biting sarcasm of France, but only the lumbering gibes which in Germany pass for wit. The impression of our conduct which is popularly entertained is completely supported by the information in our possession, so far as it goes. But we know, on good authority, how imperfect that information is. Count Manderström, the Foreign Minister of Sweden, has informed the world that our Ministers 'have only lifted a corner of the veil which hangs over the recent negotiations.' And, indeed, it did not require Count Manderström to acquaint us with that fact. The papers themselves bear the story of their own mutilation upon the face of them. They resemble nothing so much as the long-winded testimony of some garrulous old woman whose memory is very short, but who is allowed to tell her tale as she pleases, in the hopes that she may be induced to bring out some link in the chain of evidence which she alone is able to supply. There is every thing there except what the reader wants, namely, the policy and language of England. There are endless

* Danish Papers, No. 700.

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reports from the Ministers of petty German Courts. There is a complete thesaurus of the diplomatic history of Hanover and Bavaria, of Hamburgh and the Grand Duchy of Baden. And all the communications from the Ministers who reside at the Courts of these formidable Powers are given with a provoking conscientiousness. But when you come to the important despatches, where it is clear from the context that some critical conversation has passed, or some momentous pledge has been given, then that passion for prolixity suddenly disappears. The despatches come out clipped at the beginning, eviscerated in the middle, and cut off short at the end; mere headless trunks of despatches, without head or legs, and with a large hole run through the body. At the top of almost every despatch of moment that ominous word 'Extract' stands. At the point where the plot thickens, and Lord Russell is flinging his advice, and his threats, and his lectures upon moral subjects wildly over Europe, nothing but 'Extract—Extract—Extract' meets your eye. An imaginative reader, when he comes to that part of the correspondence, may almost fancy that he hears the energetic, unceasing snap of Mr. Layard's scissors.

It is needless, therefore, to say that nothing so imprudent as that conversation with Baron Brunnow is to be found in the Danish correspondence. But the most careful editing will not entirely expurgate the correspondence of a Foreign Secretary like Lord Russell, in whom bluster, as it were, brims over. Consequently some considerable traces of his characteristic diplomacy may be discovered—rougher and less perfect specimens of those admirable gems of language which the Foreign Office keeps, for the present, jealously concealed within its darkest recesses. We do not mean to say that it is in our power wholly to explain the contempt which is felt for us at the German courts, or the bitter indignation with which the name of England is mentioned at Copenhagen. But enough of the correspondence has been printed to show that the language of the Foreign Office has departed, to a deplorable extent, from the tone which a country like England should adopt to weak Powers like Denmark, or strong Powers like Germany. There is no categorical promise of aid to Denmark, expressed in language so distinct that it would be treated as a covenant by an international court of law, if such a thing existed. Nor, on the other hand, is there any threat couched in direct and logical form. But every conceivable form of indirect expression and of innuendo has been employed which might convey hope to the one side, and fear to the other, of the material assistance of England, without so committing the Foreign Secretary that he should be absolutely unable to retreat.

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retreat. For the sake of dealing with such difficulties the Foreign Secretary has studied the science of making loop-holes in language with very considerable success. What result Lord Russell may have promised himself for his own fame from this dexterity it is difficult to say. For his country the results have been most lamentable. Mankind at large do not understand quibbles, or trouble themselves nicely to analyze the elements of evasion which an acute draughtsman may introduce into any promise he may utter. They look to the general effect. They believe that the true test of the meaning of a pledge or a threat is the meaning which it conveyed, and was obviously intended at the time to convey. No minute verbal criticism will exonerate England from the practical pledges which she gave to Denmark, or relieve her of the dishonour of having retreated from the threats which to all intents and purposes she addressed to the German Powers.

A few specimens will be sufficient to illustrate the kind of language to which we are referring. It may be traced back for several years; but as the crisis draws near, the loopholes grow smaller, the menaces or the suggestions of aid grow more distinct. We will first quote two specimens of the correspondence of 1861. It must be remembered that the war under which Denmark is at present suffering is waged against her because she has adopted a certain Constitution framed in last November. She was summoned to recall it at two days' notice by Austria and Prussia; and on the King of Denmark refusing to violate his coronation oath, and abolish a Parliamentary Constitution without the consent of his Parliament, they invaded his territory. The feature of this Constitution to which objection was taken by the invading Powers was, that while it retained the local Parliament of Slesvig for local affairs, it combined Slesvig with Denmark for purposes common to the whole monarchy, without admitting Holstein into the combination. Holstein was to be united to the rest of the monarchy simply by a dynastic tie, as Luxemburg is to Holland. This the German Powers objected to as tending to the incorporation of Slesvig. Now it so happened that rather more than two years before Lord Russell had proposed a constitution for Denmark, and he thus describes that constitution to the Government of France :—

'It, therefore, seems to Her Majesty's Government that a solution of the question must be sought—

'1st. By separating Holstein from the Danish provinces as completely as Luxemburg is separated from Holland.

'2ndly. By uniting Slesvig to Denmark for purposes common to the monarchy.

'3rdly.

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'3rdly. By retaining in the Duchy of Slesvig, as Austria retains in Bohemia, a local representative body.'*

It will thus be seen that the proposal so made by Lord Russell was, so far as the parts objected to are concerned, precisely similar to that which the Austrians and Prussians have made into a *casus belli*. But Lord Russell was so proud of this scheme that he proposed that if it were accepted, the non-German Powers should guarantee Slesvig to Denmark. Among others this proposition was forwarded to Russia. Prince Gortchakoff, however, took objection to the proposal to guarantee, and the ground he stated is remarkable :—

'At the present day the integrity of the Danish Monarchy is placed under the guarantee of the Treaty of London of the 8th May, 1852. The four Powers whom the Secretary of State invites to the special guarantee for the Duchy of Slesvig are among the number of those who signed this Treaty: and besides the two principal Powers in Germany, Austria and Prussia, have taken a direct part in its conclusion. It has thus acquired the character of a European transaction. The word guarantee is not to be found there, it is true; but the Powers who have taken part in this transaction either directly or by their acceptance have formally acknowledged "that the maintenance and integrity of the Danish Monarchy, bound up as it is with the general interests of the European equilibrium, is of great importance for the preservation of peace:" they have established permanently the principle of this integrity. In the presence of so solemn and imposing a manifestation, it seems that the combination proposed would be more objectionable than really or practically useful. It is doubtful whether Denmark herself would be willing to accept a guarantee of a single portion of her territory, and coming only from some of the Powers who joined in the Treaty of London, whilst this treaty affords her a much more important moral guarantee.'†

To this despatch Lord Russell replies as follows:—

'Prince Gortschakoff approves of the first four propositions contained in my despatch of the 19th of April, with some modifications which can be hereafter considered; but he objects to the fifth [the guarantee] proposition on the ground that the Treaty of May 8, 1852, affords a sufficient guarantee for the possession of the Duchy of Slesvig by Denmark, and that a special guarantee of Slesvig given now by four only of the Powers who signed that treaty would weaken the force of the existing guarantee.

'I have to observe upon this that the Treaty of 1852 recognises as permanent the principle of the integrity of the Danish monarchy; and Her Majesty's Government would therefore suggest, with a view to satisfy Russia, instead of the fifth proposition of my despatch, the

* Corr. Duchies of Holstein, &c., 1861-2, No. 56.

† Ibid., No. 57.

following

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following wording:—"Austria, Great Britain, France, Prussia, Russia, and Sweden, continue to recognise as permanent the principle of the integrity of the Danish monarchy, according to the Treaty of May 8, 1852." *

The reason for this curiously indefinite language of Lord Russell is obvious enough. He wanted, if possible, to give a strong hint to the German Powers to the effect that the integrity of the Danish monarchy was practically guaranteed. Therefore he was very willing to accept Prince Gortchakoff's strong language, and to treat a re-assertion of the Treaty of 1852 as if it were the same thing as the guarantee that he had proposed. At the same time he thought it safer to leave himself a loophole of escape. But he does not appear to have reflected on the effect which this proposition of his, enforced in this language, would have upon the Danes. When the correspondence was published they were entitled to draw from it two inferences. The first was that *if* they separated Holstein from the monarchy, retaining for Slesvig her connexion with Denmark in common affairs, side by *side* with her local institutions, they would be taking the course which of all others most completely fulfilled their obligations. The second inference was that if they did so, and were attacked, the Treaty of London was looked upon by England as affording to them a permanent security for the possession of Slesvig, which in effect was the same thing as a guarantee. We know that in effect they did entertain these convictions,† and they did act upon them, and the result was the war in which they are now engaged. They have now discovered that, with respect to the separation of Holstein from the Dano-Slesvig constitution, the English Government holds totally different opinions from those which it expressed three years ago, and that its views upon the security afforded by the Treaty of London are still more alarmingly modified; and that the effect of this change of views, after leading them into a bloody war, is to leave them in the lurch. They naturally say that England should have explained to them her real views upon these two points, and especially upon the last, before they had committed themselves beyond recall. It is perfectly true that Lord Russell did not say that he held by the Treaty of London as a guarantee of Slesvig, but he used ambiguous language, from which it might easily be inferred; and the ambiguity on the part of a great Power, by which a small Power is permitted to be misled to its ruin, is an offence against loyalty and honour which it is hard to distinguish from actual treachery.

* Corr. Duchies of Holstein, &c., 1861-2, No. 70.
† See 'Danish Papers,' Nos. 24, 313.

Another

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Another specimen of the same kind of language, leading directly to the belief that, in the event of an attack on the integrity of Denmark, Great Britain would interfere, and yet not actually promising it, may be found a few weeks further on. In June, 1861, Lord Russell sends the following despatch to Prussia, with reference to the Federal Execution, which even then was menaced against Holstein :—

'In the speech of the King of Prussia on closing the Session of the Legislative Chambers, I find the following paragraph :—"The Danish Government have not entirely satisfied the demands of the Diet. But the nature of our relations with the Great Powers of Europe affords a sufficient guarantee that they will not be disturbed by severe measures which may be necessary within the limits of German territory." In these paragraphs there appears to be some misapprehension as to the position of one at least of the Great Powers of Europe. Her Majesty's Government have never disputed the right of the German Confederation to interpret its own constitution upon German territory. But in speaking of Federal execution in Holstein, I have never failed to point out these obvious dangers. . . . . That some chance collision between excited and embittered parties might extend the scope of the contest, and change it from a question concerning German territory, which affects Germany chiefly, into a question concerning "the maintenance of the integrity of the Danish monarchy," which, "as connected with the general interests of the balance of power in Europe," is declared in the Treaty of London to be "of high importance to the preservation of peace." Great Britain, as one of the Great Powers of Europe, could not fail to be "disturbed" by such results."' *

Now, of course, this is neither a definite promise nor a formal threat. Lord Russell may take refuge in the ambiguity of the word 'disturbed.' He may say, 'The result has happened, and Great Britain has been very much disturbed at it—very much disturbed indeed; but I never said that her disturbance would come to anything.' Lord Russell might plead this, and it is possible that if he was defending himself in an action upon promises in a court of law, the plea might be held to be good. But this is not the principle upon which individuals interpret their own language in the intercourse of private life; still less is it the way in which a great empire should creep out of its public declarations. When this despatch was published all who read it, and among them the Danish statesmen, inferred from it that if the German Powers attempted to seize Slesvig, Great Britain would feel her own interests bound up in the integrity of the Danish monarchy. Can the English Ministers deny that the inference was a fair one?

* Corr. Duchies of Holstein, &c., 1861-2, No. 88.

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Can they call in question the justice of the indignation with which the Danish people have heard that Lord Russell meant no kind of pledge, no indication of future policy, but only intended to work upon the feelings of the soft-hearted King of Prussia, by pointing out to him that if he *would* go on in that way the nerves of his English friends would be 'disturbed'?

The negotiations which immediately preceded the present war swarm with similar, but far stronger statements. It would be, perhaps, too much to say that any of the despatches in the papers that have been published formally and absolutely pledge England to go to war, but they exhaust the resources of the English language to contrive threats that just fall short of this. They hint that she will; they declare that she may; they refuse to say that she will not; they intimate that she will treat the seizure of Slesvig for a material guarantee as she treated the seizure of the Principalities on the same plea in 1854; they regret that England and the German Powers are on the point of becoming enemies; they announce to the Minister of a third Power (hinting to him to forward the message) that if the Germans cross the Eyder, they will probably find themselves confronted by the armed intervention of Great Britain. In fact, Lord Russell seems to have thought that, so long as he qualified it with a 'might,' or a 'may,' or a 'probably,' there was no form of menace that it was improper for him or his ambassadors to utter. As the very existence of these menaces has been denied by the bold apologists of the Government, we will reproduce a small selection from them:

(1.) 'Europe had seen, I observed, the fatal results to which the seizure of a material guarantee had led when the Emperor Nicholas crossed the Pruth. If Germany should thus be unfortunately led to light up a war on the Eyder, she must be prepared for eventualities of an equally grave nature.*

(2.) 'Her Majesty, by the Treaty of London of May 8, 1852, is bound to respect the integrity and independence of Denmark. The Emperor of Austria and the King of Prussia have taken the same engagement. Her Majesty *could not see with indifference* a military occupation of Holstein which is only to cease upon terms injuriously affecting the constitution of the whole Danish monarchy. Her Majesty's Government could not recognise this military occupation as a legitimate exercise of the powers of the Confederation, or admit that it could be properly called a Federal Execution. Her Majesty's Government could not be indifferent to the bearing of such an act upon Denmark and upon European interests.†

(3.) 'Should Federal troops enter Holstein on purely Federal

* 'Danish Papers,' No. 72; *vide* also No. 743.

† Ibid., No. 137.

grounds,

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grounds, Her Majesty's Government would not interfere; but should it appear that Federal troops had entered the Duchy on international grounds, Her Majesty's Government *may be obliged to interfere.**

(4.) 'It would be no less impossible for Her Majesty's Government to enter into any engagement, that if the Federal troops should not limit their operations to the Duchy of Holstein, but should on some pretence or other extend their operations to the Duchy of Slesvig, Her Majesty's Government would maintain an attitude of neutrality between Germany and Denmark.†

(5.) 'In reply to your Excellency's despatch, I have to inform you that Her Majesty's Government consider you were right in stating to the Prussian Secretary for Foreign Affairs, that they had not said that the relations between England and Prussia might be endangered by an invasion of Slesvig, *although they considered that such an invasion might do so if due time were not given to the Danish Government to grant the concessions which they were required to make.*‡

(6.) 'Seeing these dangers, and the reckless manner in which many of the German Princes and all the German popular meetings were ready to set the faith of treaties at defiance, Her Majesty's Government could not wonder that the King of Denmark was ready to defend Slesvig, and to consider its hostile occupation as a fatal blow to the integrity of his dominions. *But I could not doubt that he would be assisted by Powers friendly to Denmark in that defence.* . . . . Count Bernstorff adverted shortly but pointedly to the dangers which might be incurred by Europe if Germany and England should ever become enemies. I fully admitted them, and as fully regretted their existence; but I said that since the month of May Great Britain had warned Austria *of these dangers;* that Prussia and Germany had likewise been warned, but that the voice of England was unheeded, and little time was now left for counsel, wisdom, and moderation. I hoped it would not be thrown away.§

(7.) 'I waited on Prince Gortschakoff yesterday forenoon with your Lordship's telegraphic despatch proposing the mediation of England, France, Russia, and Sweden between Denmark and Germany, and a suspension of all hostile acts or preparations on the part of the latter. The Vice-Chancellor said that he would take the orders of the Emperor in regard to your Lordship's overture; he regretted, however, that he must declare his first impression to be unfavourable to the proposal of Her Majesty's Government. Austria and Prussia would almost certainly decline to shape their measures to the demands of the four Powers. The smaller German States in their present effervescence would probably not forego their determinations; the offer suggested by your Lordship was an important one; it would be ineffective, and it would not become the four Powers to make an abortive stroke of this kind. . . . . Without disputing the weight to be attached to the objections of the Vice-Chancellor, I represented to him that Her Majesty's

* 'Danish Papers,' No. 289.
† Ibid., No. 500.
‡ Ibid., No. 620.
§ Ibid., No. 696.

Government

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Government had no doubt sought his Excellency's assent at once, because the assent of Russia, if granted, would have a great effect with the other Powers in obtaining their adhesion to the proposal of Her Majesty's Government; and the pressing necessity for arresting warlike preparations, and combining the Powers less directly interested in the controversy for a mediation, was proved by the fact that an attack upon Slesvig seemed imminent, *and if that attempt was made, it seemed not improbable that the Germans might find themselves confronted by the armed intervention of Great Britain.*'*

Now can there be any mistake as to the operation which threats like these were likely to have? That they did not seriously disturb the equanimity of the Powers to whom they were addressed is easy to believe. The affair of Poland had taught the statesmen of the Continent to measure the value of Lord Russell's menaces with accuracy. Upon them it is probable that the language we have quoted exercised an imperceptible influence; but what was its effect upon the honour of the country in whose name they were uttered? Does Lord Russell imagine that threats which are qualified with a 'not improbably' are privileged to be insincere? or that bluster is less dishonouring because it is expressed in the potential mood?

We pass to sadder specimens of the same style. The quibbling evasion of clear diplomatic declarations is bad enough when it only brings contempt upon the nation that has uttered threats on which it dare not act. But when it deceives a weak and a confiding ally—when it dooms a gallant race to plunder and to butchery at the hands of unprovoked oppressors—when it lures the helpless on to danger, and persuades the feeble to lay aside their defence—it brands on the nation in whose behalf these things have been done a stigma of ineffable baseness, under which every heart capable of feeling writhes with shame. We could pardon our Government many bootless threats and much empty swaggering if they had only refrained from misleading, by hopes which they did not intend to fulfil, the minds of a people whose national existence may possibly be the penalty of their misplaced trust. Towards the end of last year there were two grounds of complaint urged by the German Governments against Denmark. The first was the Patent of March, separating the legislature of Holstein from that of the rest of the monarchy; the other was the Constitution of November, which established in Denmark and Slesvig alone a community of institutions formerly existing between all parts of the Danish monarchy. In the autumn of the year the demand for the revocation of the Patent was

* Lord Napier to Lord Russell, ibid., No. 644.

being

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being pressed by Germany with great earnestness, and Federal Execution was threatened if it should not be granted. Lord Russell, of course, was busy in the dispute, doing his best to ascertain whether it was not possible to pester both sides into harmony by unlimited diplomatic badgering. But it was characteristically upon Denmark, as the weakest Power, that he pressed the most heavily. A great many paper missiles were projected from the Foreign Office in the course of the autumn, but the particular communication to which we wish to draw attention was made in the middle of October. On the 11th of that month Lord Russell telegraphed to Sir A. Paget to urge upon the Danish Government the revocation of the Patent. Sir A. Paget executed the order with the ability which he has displayed throughout all these transactions, and the conversation which he had with M. Hall on that occasion is reported at some length. The following was the climax:—

'I made use of every argument to induce his Excellency to adopt a conciliatory course, and I warned him of the danger of rejecting the friendly counsels now offered by Her Majesty's Government, by representing that, however much public feeling might be in favour of Denmark now, because there was a general impression that she was the aggrieved Power, this feeling would undergo a great change if it was proved by official documents that the Danish Government had rejected every compromise.'

These words were approved and adopted by Lord Russell as soon as they were reported to him. In consequence of these and similar representations the Patent, as is well known, was withdrawn. It must be admitted that they contain no promise of material aid so distinctly worded that in private life it could be enforced in a court of law, but it was language well calculated to inspire the Danes with a belief that we should come to their assistance if they followed the advice which we tendered. There was 'danger' in rejecting that advice; consequently there was some increase of safety in accepting it. From what quarter was that safety to proceed? From the fact that the public feeling in such a case would be in favour of Denmark. But the favour of public feeling can only be of use when 'public feeling' is prepared to fight. The kind of 'public feeling' which only talks has been abundantly at the service of the Danes, and, indeed, of most other communities in trouble, but no sane statesman would advise his sovereign to make sacrifices for the purpose of obtaining the insulting lip-friendship, which in England goes by the name of 'moral sympathy.' When the Danish statesmen were assured that if they should take a certain course the favour of public feeling would make their dangers less urgent, they naturally assumed

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assumed that public feeling would come to their assistance in some manner more effectual than by the inditing of tart despatches. Would men of honour, dealing with each other in private life, have come to any different conclusion?

Then came the Constitution of November 18. The Danes appear to have prepared that Constitution, believing with perfect sincerity that it was the course most in accordance with their Treaty obligations. They received no intimation from Austria and Prussia of the storm it would bring down upon their heads until the measure had passed through all its Parliamentary stages. But when it was done, the divisions in the German Diet made it convenient for those two Powers to use it as a pretext for their unprovoked aggression. Great efforts were made to induce Denmark to repeal the obnoxious Act. It is not wonderful that this advice should have been unpalatable to the Danes: it was affixing to their necks the badge of foreign servitude in its most undisguised and offensive form. The freedom of internal legislation is the embodiment and the symbol of national independence. To receive any kind of legislation at the hands of the foreigner is a degradation; to submit to his dictation the fundamental laws of the country is a more galling ignominy still. But to have to modify such institutions at a moment's notice, under the most insolent and shameless threats of violence, is an insult to which a people retaining any spark of patriotism can hardly submit except under the most extreme necessity. It is not surprising, therefore, that all England's urgency failed for some time to extract this last concession. It needed the mission of a special plenipotentiary and the all but open promise of material assistance as a bribe to induce the Danes to give way once again, and to submit even the solemn enactments of their legislature to the insolent dictation of Vienna and Berlin. But it needed nothing less than this, and this Lord Wodehouse seems to have taken upon him to offer. The following is his own report of the language that he held:—

'I entreated his Excellency to weigh well the gravity of the dangers which threatened Denmark. General Fleury had informed M. d'Ewers and me that he was instructed to tell the Danish Government that France would not go to war to support Denmark against Germany. *It was my duty to declare to him that if the Danish Government rejected our advice, Her Majesty's Government must leave Denmark to encounter Germany upon her own responsibility.* . . .

'I said that the Danish Government were the best judges of the manner in which the law could be changed, but of course he would understand that Her Majesty's Government would never advise recourse to unconstitutional means.'

We

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We think it was scarcely possible to imply a promise of assistance in stronger or more precise terms. M. Hall, indeed, as he afterwards told Sir A. Paget, was not satisfied. He had studied English diplomacy for many years, and he knew that it was as hard to find the form of words that should bind Lord Russell as it used to be in mediæval legends to find the oath which should bind the Tempter. But he could not communicate his scepticism as to this promise to his colleagues or his sovereign. So deep was the impression which it made upon the Danish King, that rather than forego it he made the greatest sacrifice a sovereign can make. He parted from a highly-popular Minister, and abandoned the policy to which his people passionately clung. M. Hall resigned his office to one of his own colleagues, and as soon as the new Cabinet was installed foreign Governments were informed that Denmark was ready, under their approbation, to call the Rigsraad together, in order that it might fulfil the condition which Lord Wodehouse had attached to British aid. The consideration has been duly given, but the covenant has not been kept. England's advice has been followed, but England's assistance has not been tendered. Denmark's dangers are as great, her isolation is as complete, as if she had never yielded. The Danish King has been made to swallow the cup of humiliation to the dregs—to alienate from himself the affections of his people—to dishonour his own signature—to incur the contempt and increase the audacity of his foes. But England abandons him not less than she did before 'to encounter Germany upon his own responsibility.' If he had rejected the officious advice of England with scorn, and had turned the English Plenipotentiary out of his capital as an intrusive meddler, he would not have been in a worse position than he is now; nay, he would have been so far in a better position, that in his applications for aid to the great Powers, he would not have been weighted with the unpopularity which attaches to the supposed *protégé* of England.

There is another promise, more distinct in its terms than any, which we cannot pass by without notice. Lord Palmerston's speech at the end of last session, to which reference has been repeatedly made in Parliament, but to which he himself has never dared to allude, undoubtedly produced a considerable effect both in Denmark and in England. We have General Peel's testimony that abroad its value was more correctly estimated. But in England the announcement which it contained that the policy of Her Majesty's Government consisted in the maintenance of the integrity of Denmark, and that if Denmark were attacked those

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those who did it would find that she was not alone, produced a profound conviction that Denmark was safe. It did not seem possible that any man of honour should recede from language so distinct. Upon the Danes it appears to have produced an equally strong effect. Lord Palmerston's language is alluded to more than once in the course of the negotiations of last autumn by the Danish Ministers, and it is evident that they looked to it with the most implicit confidence.* Considering the strength of the statement that he made, their belief in it was not surprising. The following were the words of a part of the reply which he made to a question of Mr. Seymour Fitzgerald, addressed to him on the third reading of the Appropriation Bill:—

'There is no use in disguising the fact that what is at the bottom of the German design, and the desire of connecting Slesvig with Holstein, is the dream of a German fleet and the wish to get Kiel as a German seaport. That may be a good reason why they should wish it; but it is no reason why they should violate the rights and independence of Denmark for an object which even if it accomplished would not realise the expectation of those who aim at it. The hon. Gentleman asks what is the policy and course of Her Majesty's Government with regard to that dispute. As I have already said we concur entirely with him, and I am satisfied with all reasonable men in Europe, including those in France and Russia, in desiring that the independence and integrity and the rights of Denmark may be maintained. We are convinced, I am convinced at least, that if any violent attempt were made to overthrow those rights and interfere with that independence, those who made the attempt would find in the result *that it would not be Denmark alone with which they would have to contend.*'

Let the reader compare with these promises the scenes that are passing and have passed in Slesvig and Jutland, and the whole tale of England's disloyalty and Denmark's ruin is before him. For years we have thrust ourselves forward as her friends, taken her under our special protection, and proclaimed with tedious iteration in every Court in Europe that her integrity and independence are the first object of our care. We have loaded her with good advice, meddled in her smallest concerns, and treated her almost as an English dependency—so keen and so peculiar was the interest we affected to feel in her welfare. Actuated by the hopes—the encouraged hopes—of help in an unequal struggle, she did not resent this intrusion into her affairs. On the contrary, she yielded to our pressure. At our instance she made

* 'Danish Papers,' No. 165.

concession

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concession after concession. With each new concession her adversaries—those who coveted her soil—were encouraged to put forward new demands, and with each new demand England urged a new concession. Under the pressure of our urgency, deeply against her own convictions, she abandoned Holstein to their will, and evacuated fortresses which she might have defended, at least for a time. She resigned, perhaps for ever, that splendid prize for which the mightiest nations would be glad to compete, the harbour of Kiel, which her naval superiority might have enabled her to hold even against an overwhelming force. At all events she gave up at our bidding, without a struggle, territory upon which she might have at least gained a respite, which would have enabled her to mature her own defences, and would have probably raised up for her allies. For all these concessions we gave her—not a formal promise of aid—no! but intimations of our intention to afford it, which at first sight seemed plain and unmistakeable, and only when read by the light of events are discovered to have been intentionally and cunningly ambiguous. The crisis at last has come. The concessions upon which England has insisted have proved futile. The independence which she professed to value so highly is at an end. The people whom she affected to befriend are in danger of being swept away. One of the most wanton and unblushing spoliations which history records is on the point of being consummated. But as far as effective aid goes, England stands aloof. Fresh from the bombardment of Kagosima, she extols the beauty of moderation and the Christian obligation of peace. Her pledges and her threats are gone with last year's snow, and she is content to watch with cynical philosophy the destruction of those who trusted to the one, and the triumph of those who were wise enough to spurn the other.

ART. VII.—1. *The Law Reporter*, Feb. 23, 1864.

2. *A Speech delivered before the Judicial Committee of Her Majesty's Most Honourable Privy Council.* By H. Bristow Wilson, B.D. 1863.

3. *Brief Examination of Prevalent Opinions on Inspiration, with an Introduction.* By H. B. Wilson. 1863.

4. *Charge of the Lord Bishop of St. David's.* 1863.

5. *Charge of the Lord Bishop of Oxford.* 1863.

6. *Speech of the Bishop of London in the House of Lords, Monday, June* 3, 1850.

7. *Remarks on the Royal Supremacy.* By the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, M.P. 1850.

8. *Communication du Conseil Presbytéral aux Fidèles sur le Non-*

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Renouvellement de la Suffragance à M. le Pasteur Athanase Coquerel Fils. Paris, 1864.

9. *The Word of God and the Ground of Faith.* Five Discourses. By Archibald Campbell, Lord Bishop of London. Part II. 1864.
10. *Le Correspondant.* Tome 25. March, 1864. Paris, 1864.
11. *Ecclesia Vindicata, &c.* Dedicated by permission to the Earl of Derby. By J. W. Joyce, M.A. London, 1862.
12. *Clerical Subscription.* By Viscount Amberley. Edinburgh, 1864.

WE have on two former occasions depicted the rise and progress of the great struggle within our Established Church which followed the publication of 'Essays and Reviews.' The grave importance of the crisis which that struggle has now reached leads us once more to call attention to it. Its last phase has led to the occurrence of events which are *wholly* without precedent in the history of our national Church, and which seem to threaten consequences of evil which cannot *be* over-rated. Whether these may yet be averted depends mainly on the question, whether prompt and vigorous amendments can be introduced into the legal processes by which clergymen who are charged with unsound or heretical teaching are to be tried.

It is well distinctly to note that this is the whole question. No sane man in the present day would attempt to stifle the fullest discussion, by every possible free argument, of all opinion. The Christian faith has nothing to fear from the freest handling. It invites inquiry, it rejoices in investigation, it walks hand in hand with Science. The temper of mind which is bred by the simplest faith is the very temper for the scientific inquirer. Courageous and yet reverend, calm in the face of difficulty, patient in examining evidence, free from the heat and anxiety of a partisan, the humble, earnest believer in Revelation is the very man to interrogate Nature, and to whom she will be ready to raise her veil of mystery, and reveal her hidden secrets. If the mind of Bishop Butler had been directed to Science instead of to Divinity, he might have been a Sir Isaac Newton, just as Newton's calm, inquiring patience, if he had been a Divine, might have given us the 'Analogy' instead of the 'Principia.' Any fear of the discoveries of Science proving injurious to the cause of Revelation argues some great moral or intellectual deficiency in any Christian man. The two kingdoms lie side by side with each other, and the profoundest harmony governs their mutual relations. Both of them reveal the same God to His reasonable creatures; both of them are the comings forth of the same Divine Power; both of them are utterances of the

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the same voice. If they ever seem to differ, it is from some infirmity in the limited receptive faculties of the being to whom they are addressed; and he whose faith is firm, can suffer no disturbance from such apparent discrepancies. For Christianity does not, like Hindooism, mingle in one confused web the dogma of its creed and the supposed laws of Nature; it no more looks to the Bible for scientific teaching than it searches for the articles of the Faith in algebra; and even if it cannot at present fully reconcile seeming differences, it reposes in tranquil serenity before the august view of the all-embracing unity of the Divine mind, from which it knows that both alike proceed, and in which both are truly harmonised. Nothing, therefore, is less to be encouraged than the nervous shrinking from the discovery of truth which marks some feeble religionists, unless, indeed, it be the fussy anxiety with which others rush eagerly about to invent schemes for the hasty reconciliation of every seeming contradiction, as if God's truth in Nature and God's truth in Revelation were not strong enough to stand without their meddling intervention. Nothing has more endangered truth than the rash touch of these well-meant but uncommanded efforts to save the ark of God as it travels on along its appointed way.

The question therefore is not how thought can be controlled by legislative action or judicial sentences. Such attempts would be simply monstrous. The sole question is how are the national clergy to be dealt with when it is alleged that they have broken the compact on the conditions of which they exercise their public functions? The Christian clergy always have been, and from the necessity of the case must be, under this greater measure of restraint than their lay brethren. This difference of position applies, not only to their doctrines, but to their lives; and the one well illustrates the other. What are sins in other men are crimes in them. Ever since there has been any law of exterior jurisdiction, incontinence, for instance, has been and is punishable in a clerk, not only as in a layman, by spiritual censure, *pro salute animi*, but also by deprivation of the temporal proceeds of his benefice; and just in the same way a liberty of speculation and opinion which was conceded to the laity was withheld from the clergy; and for the same reason—they were bound to a pattern life, and they were pledged to a special teaching. The breach of either engagement over and above what might be its moral guilt in another, was in them a punishable offence. The enforcement, indeed, of such rules upon the ministers of religion pervades, with more or less distinctness of precept, the history of every denomination of religionists. As we write we receive the very interesting account of the progress of such a struggle in what is termed the National Reformed Church of France, from the

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ministry of which one of its most popular preachers has just been excluded for false teaching, after an examination originated mainly by M. Guizot—a man known throughout the world for the large liberality (in the best sense of that abused word) which has always marked his character. It is certainly not a little remarkable to find two such trials proceeding at almost the same time in these two bodies, and with such a different issue. For whilst French Protestantism rejects M. Athanase Coquerel, the English Church retains Mr. Wilson. The solution of the wonder is to be found in the comparative efficiency in punishing of the French Directory when compared with the English Court.

How, indeed, the code which imposes on the clergy these peculiar liabilities, and which punishes their transgression, is to be carried out, has been always, and under all circumstances must be, a question of no little perplexity. The great work by Mgr. Sibour, the late Archbishop of Paris, upon this subject, opens to us a view of its difficulties in the Gallican Church. There attempts have long been made to combine with a vigilant oversight of the clergy some provision for their freedom from the merciless oppression of the episcopate which weighs them down in Italy. When Bishop of Digne, Mgr. Sibour had turned all his thoughts to this subject, and his appointment to the Archbishopric of Paris was hailed by the inferior clergy as the enthronization of their champion. The stroke of the assassin's knife from the hand of the suspended priest Verger was a miserable proof that the practical difficulties of the question had been too great even for his large and powerful grasp. We need not therefore be surprised to find that in our far more complicated system, with our far more jealous love of liberty and our unsleeping vigilance in guarding freehold rights and vested interests, the difficulties which surround the question should be as great as they confessedly are.

The course of the trial of the writers of the 'Essays and Reviews' has brought into the clearest light most of these difficulties, and it has, we think, shown the utter unfitness of our existing machinery for dealing successfully with them. Perhaps it may, too, be found to have suggested the direction in which we should look for improvements of our existing system.

When we left this case * the venerable Dean of the Arches Court had just delivered his judgment, rejecting many of the articles which charged on Dr. Williams and Mr. Wilson the particulars of their alleged unsoundness in teaching, but retaining enough to lead to his condemning both defendants and sen-

* 'Quarterly Review,' vol. cxii. p. 445.

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tencing them to suspension from the exercise of their functions within the province of Canterbury and from the emoluments of their benefices for a year. Against this decision both the defendants entered their appeals; and in due process of time the cause travelled up to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. When it arrived there it met with a constitution of that Committee which caused some observation. To facilitate the due hearing of the very various causes which its being the ultimate appeal from many different tribunals brings before that Court, a custom has tacitly grown up of summoning for the hearing of any particular cause those Lords of the Council whose studies or acquirements or past practice in their profession point them out as specially skilled in the subject which had come into dispute. The name of a high functionary, for example, from India would naturally be looked for in the list of Lords before whom an Indian appeal was to be argued. In like manner if the cause were one of those which a strange and unintended freak of legislation had brought before that tribunal, and which involved questions touching the discipline and doctrine of the Church of England, the names of any Lords of the Council who were known to possess from study and from former practice peculiar acquaintance with the subject might naturally have been looked for on the list of Judges. Such men, in the persons pre-eminently of the Lords Justices and of Sir J. Coleridge, do remain upon the roll of the Privy Council; even though death has robbed us of the calm sagacity and great attainments of Mr. Justice Pattison. Full of honour as are the names to be found on the actual list, yet was it rendered conspicuous by the absence of others; and it was doubted by many whether this loss was fully compensated by the august presence of the Lord Chancellor, who had felt the cause to be of such special moment that, to secure the most perfect impartiality of decision, he had resolved to add to the mighty labours of his engrossing judicial, political, and parliamentary office the almost unprecedented and certainly anxious task of presiding personally over the Lords who were to hear the appeals from the judgment of Dr. Lushington.

The cause was heard on the 19th of June, 1863, the two appellants appearing in person to plead their own causes, and the judgment of the Court below being maintained by the great abilities of the learned counsel who had there argued the case. The decision of the Court was long delayed, though rumours of its probable complexion were, it seemed half authoritatively, suffered to transpire. But at last, on the 8th of February, 1864, it was pronounced. It reversed the judgment of the Court below, leaving untouched its decision as to the costs of that Court, but giving to the

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the appellants the costs of their appeal. The immediate effect of the publication of this sentence has been not a little remarkable. The great daily journal handled it in one of its most characteristic articles with the wariest moderation. Its cautious, half-expressed criticism had very much the appearance of the mode in which the most crafty of our English animals of chase examines the prey which has been placed to trap him to his destruction. The sentence is turned over and over with an evident inclination towards its latitudinarian sweetness, but with a restraining suspicion that, pleasant as the morsel would be, there is a good deal of danger about its inconsiderate appropriation. Nor was this caution at all needless. The ordinary organs of the opinions of the Church spoke, not only with a seriousness which became the subject, but with a restrained, half-reluctant expression of dismay, which told far more clearly than any violence of language could have done their sense of the greatness of the evil which this judgment threatened to the Faith and to the position of their body. Not less indicative of the effect of the judgment was its reception by the Liberal, the Roman Catholic, and the Dissenting journals. The Liberal writers hail it as a mighty success, and if nothing be done to counteract it they are undoubtedly entitled to their triumph. They sing the emancipation of their party from all fear of future legal proceedings in such strains as these :—

'This most formidable of all weapons is now taken out of their hands, and, if the clergy are but true to themselves, they have the power of discussing, as it never has yet been discussed, at least in this country, with perfect freedom, and in the calmest and most deliberate way, one of the most interesting questions that ever engaged human attention—the question, namely, What is the Bible really? This, of course, will lead by degrees to a free and full re-examination of much of our existing theology, and, it may be hoped without any extreme rashness, to its settlement on a sound basis.'

The tone of our own Roman Catholic journals may be easily conceived. With them it is only what was to be expected—that the Establishment, without the Papacy on which to fall back, must, on the first summons, abandon the scanty remains of dogmatic truth which she yet maintained. Nothing, in their view, can better establish the fatal necessity which, as they maintain, exists of acknowledging the absolute supremacy of the Pontifical Chair of Rome. That there are conveniences in the possession of such a final arbiter of doctrine no reasonable man would deny, if only his rightful claim to wield the power were capable of proof, and if its admission did not subject us to the necessity of adopting every other erroneous dogma which in the process of development Rome may adopt, as she has adopted that

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that of the Immaculate Conception; and even beyond the admission of any single errors, if it did not ensure, as experience proves that it does, the admission of almost every degree of moral and spiritual evil as its certain consequence.

Yet perhaps we overrate even the apparent conveniences of possessing such an arbiter. For if we may judge from the doings of the great Conference held at Munich on the 28th of September, 1863, we should gather that under the frozen crust of apparent stillness which the supremacy of Rome secures, there swell and roar the insurgent waves of opinion in a far more dangerous because in a concealed agitation even than amongst ourselves. This Conference undoubtedly marks a crisis in the Roman Catholic mind of Germany; it gathered together nearly a hundred professors, authors, and doctors of divinity. During four successive days it held seven meetings of three hours' duration. It closed with a dinner, at which toasts were given by the Archbishop of Bamberg and the Archbishop of Augsburg. The Pope himself sent the company his Apostolic blessing *by a telegraphic message;* and yet it revealed, and perhaps perpetuated, differences almost as great as can exist between members of the same Church.*

One or two specimens will best show the temper of the organs of Dissenting opinion.

Thus the 'Patriot' of February 11, in page 11, asserts with a tone of no little triumph,

'The Church of England has now received her full development. High Church, Broad Church, and Evangelical Church, all having signed the same formularies, *ex animo*, in the plain grammatical sense of the words employed, can each now plead legal authority for their three different schemes of doctrine and interpretation of the standards. Dr. Pusey, Dr. Miller, and Dr. Williams are with equal right entitled to their shares of patronage and authority in the national Church. The very same identical standards may be legally taken to symbolise three different theologies. It is a fine example of the elasticity of language! We do not now despair of seeing a good case made out by the Privy Council against the "plain sense" of the multiplication-table. Considering, however, that the institution on behalf of which Her Majesty's Privy Council has established this system of "interpretation" assumes to be the instructress of the nation in religion and *morality*, we can scarcely avoid expressing the wish that it offered a better example to the people of simplicity and sincerity in the use of speech. If the individual citizen, like the Church to which he belongs, may signify any one of three different things by the same words whenever it answers his purpose, we shall soon arrive at a

* The Munich Congress. 'The Home and Foreign Review,' No. 9, Art. X.

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social condition which will render it beneficial to abolish all traces of a "Christianity" that degrades us; for these are the proceedings which lead by a short and direct route to popular infidelity. Revealed Religion can stand its ground only when the morality which it employs is superior to the theory and practice of naturalism which it professes to transcend and explode. We shall now observe the movements of the High Church and Evangelical parties with no common interest and curiosity.

'The failure of the Bishop of Salisbury to bring notorious heretics to legal accountability even with subscription as it is, sufficiently indicates what it would be without subscription at all. It is not a question of absolute liberty of thought; this no official minister can claim. By all means let Messrs. Wilson and Williams think and speculate as freely as they like. We have no wish to fetter the most licentious theological thought; but let them pay the price of liberty, and relinquish endowments entrusted to them for the purposes of a very different teaching.'

These writers are specially alarmed with the apparent union of those who have taken different sides in the discussion of Church matters, and accordingly pronounce the Oxford Declaration 'the product of an unnatural, hollow, and mischievous coalition,' and assure the 'Evangelicals,' who are specially attacked, that by 'coalescing with the High Churchmen they are profoundly serving the cause of the Rationalizers.'*

'In truth,' it continues, 'this is but a desperate and spasmodic effort to recover for the Church of England its lost position among the churches of the Reformation. It is the clutch of a drowning man at a straw, and it can be of no use. It is the boast of Protestants that the Bible, and the Bible alone, is their religion; but the religion of the Church of England is the Prayer-book. The arbiters of its doctrine distinctly repudiate the Bible as their guide, and they also say that the Prayer-book does not assert the Bible to be inspired. The Church of England now properly belongs to the Broad Church party; they have made good their position, and every man who signs the Declaration does by that very act declare that he has no business in the Church at all. The Judicial Committee have asserted and declared that to be the doctrine of the Church, which these subscribers declare is not true and righteous doctrine; they do, then, but sign and seal their own condemnation, and proclaim to the world their disingenuousness in continuing to belong to the Church.'

Passionate are the efforts thus made to drive by the imputation of dishonesty all men of honour out of the Church which its critics detest.

'When we said that the recent judgment of the Privy Council Committee on "Essays and Reviews" was a confusion of tongues,

* 'Patriot,' March 3.

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making the Church of England a Babel of diverse theologies, and sapping the foundations of common honesty among the people by legalising in its chief religious institution the most flagrant perversion of language, we were probably regarded as expressing only the harsh and uncharitable opinions of Dissenters who delighted in exaggerating the faults and troubles of the Establishment. But we spoke only the simplest truth which high-minded men in the Establishment itself—any men, indeed, whose perceptions of right were not destroyed by considerations of policy—must acknowledge to themselves, and, if they have any just sense of the magnitude of the evil, must take some steps to cure. The truth is, that the judgment in this respect is the natural and necessary outcome of the false and vicious theory upon which the Church of England is constructed. It set out with a compromise, and can beget nothing but compromises. That it might include more than one theological party, its formulæ were doubtfully and ambiguously framed. The error in the original sum multiplies and increases errors in all subsequent products, and the latest product is, in Dr. Pusey's estimation, not merely "miserable," but "soul-destroying." Symptoms of serious dissatisfaction are exhibiting themselves, not the least remarkable being a series of resolutions passed by the Tamworth clergy, which our readers will find elsewhere. We most unfeignedly rejoice at these tokens—strangely as they shape themselves—that conscience and honour are not become mere counter-words for the clergy to play with—that some definite beliefs survive in the Establishment, and that there are clergymen yet to whom truth is of more value than the quiet of their rectories, or the income of their livings.

'The *Record*—as becomes the organ, not of the really godly men in the Church, but of that political party calling itself Evangelical, of the men who have assumed the name of Evangelicals, and attached themselves to the Evangelical leaders because they thought that the road to preferment—has persistently represented the judgment as a matter of small moment which did not really fix the Church.

'What if ten thousand of the clergy sign the proposed Declaration? Will it exclude from communion any who hold the Gospels to be a myth, who declare this or that supernatural event recorded in them to be unauthentic, who tear to tatters one by one every statement of history upon which the entire superstructure of Revelation rests? Will it prevent ingress into the Church of hundreds of young men who will be perfectly free to sap its foundations? Will it alter in any way the terms on which the future clergy may deem it their duty to deal with the Bible? How can the Church maintain what her own clergy will be at liberty to destroy?

'As to the moral effect anticipated from this "Declaration," our conviction is that it will be just the reverse of what is expected from it. It will be viewed as an evasion of a painful duty—a pitiful evasion which asserts something which the subscribers are not authorised by he facts of the case to assert—the evasion of men who will not look heir position in the face, and who fancy that society will give credit to

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to their denial that things are as bad as society sees clearly that they are. What advantage this Declaration may produce to the Church of England we know not—but we grieve to look forward to the disadvantage it will work for the Christian religion.'

It is, of course, the object of these writers to represent the Church of England as peculiarly haunted by these troubles. This is the language of the Dissenting journals because it is a part of their attack upon her as the Established Church of the country; and they exaggerate to the utmost the amount of the actual evil done, because nothing can more effectually aid them in their assaults upon her than the opportunity of addressing to her these mingled voices of commiseration and reproach.

But in truth comments such as these cause us very little trouble. The tone of condolence mingles so discordantly with that of ill concealed triumph as to border very closely on the ridiculous. They are too like the sympathy of our old friend Mrs. Candour—'Well, I never was so surprised in my life; I am so sorry for all parties, indeed.' Plainly these writers would, with all their sympathy, endure with extraordinary complacency a far wider departure from Catholic teaching in the Church than even this, if only such a departure helped forward the long expected hour in which all her enemies could gather round the Established Church, and having laid her even with the ground sing together their rejoicing Pæans over the ruined walls of the down-trodden Babylon.

But we must remind these writers that the liability of the Church to have her sentences thus revised and reversed by the Courts of law, and so her godly discipline interrupted in its action, is not the consequence of her being Established, but simply the inevitable accident which waits upon the holding by any religious body of any property or endowment whatever. The trustees of the most independent meeting-house, of the most independent congregation in the land, if they have received from any quarter any endowment, are, in the execution of their trust, equally within the purview of the law, and their removal from his office of a delinquent or unbelieving minister may just as readily bring their acts and the alleged doctrines upon which those acts were founded under the scrutiny and revision of the Courts of law.

All this fine writing, then, concerning the imbecility of an Established Church we at once dismiss as unworthy of further consideration.

Widely different from this has been the indication given on all sides of the feelings of the Church itself. There has been a remarkable absence of all violence, either of action or language. But

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But it has been the calmness not of apathy, but of deep pain and intense determination. The doctrines, as to which the judgment seems to raise the question whether they are the necessary teaching of the Church, are so momentous that there is on all sides a fixed resolve that they shall not, through being suffered to be impugned, by any means be taken from her. As we write, a Declaration* expressing this determination, awkwardly, we think, at once in form, construction, and language, but unmistakeable in its intention, is being signed by ten thousand of the clergy, whilst we hear of a movement amongst the laity to ascertain the real bearing of the judgment and the steps which its promulgation requires them to take. Never, we believe, was there so wide-spread a concord amidst what have been supposed to be absolutely irreconcileable sections of thought and action in the Established Church. Names which, even in the placid stillness of the printer's type, almost start at their unwonted contiguity, appear united in common action, founded on common religious convictions. All this, indeed, is what might have been expected. The two points which seem to be assailed are exactly amongst those which would at once reach most widely and stir most deeply the whole religious mind of England. There is nothing on which all believers amongst us agree more heartily or feel

* 'The Declaration agreed upon by the Committee is as follows:—

'"The Committee appointed at a meeting held in Oxford on Thursday, February 24, 1864, having drawn up the following Declaration, request you, if you approve, to have the goodness to affix your name, and to forward it to me at the Ven. Archdeacon Clerke's, Christ Church, Oxford, in order that it may be printed as recommending it for circulation among the clergy.

'"W. R. FREMANTLE, Acting Secretary.

'"We, the undersigned presbyters and deacons in holy orders of the Church of England and Ireland, hold it to be our bounden duty to the Church of England and Ireland and to the souls of men to declare our firm belief that the Church of England and Ireland, in common with the whole Catholic Church, maintains without reserve or qualification the inspiration and Divine authority of the whole canonical Scriptures,[a] as not only containing, but being the Word of God,[b] and further teaches,[c] in the words of our blessed Lord,[d] that the 'punishment' of the 'cursed,' equally with the 'life' of the 'righteous,' is 'everlasting.'

'"Signatures to be sent to the Secretary, Committee-room, 3, St. Aldate's, Oxford.

'"Names of Committee:—C. C. Clerke, D.D., Archdeacon of Oxford; R. L. Cotton, D.D., Provost of Worcester College; G. A. Denison, M.A., Archdeacon of Taunton; W. E. Fremantle, M.A., Rector of Claydon; F. K. Leighton, D.D., Warden of All Souls' College; J. C. Miller, D.D., St. Martin's, Birmingham; E. B. Pusey, D.D., Regius Professor of Hebrew.'"

[a] 'Homily or Information for them which take offence at certain places of Holy Scripture,' pp. 236-244 (quarto edition).

[b] Arts. vi., vii., viii., xvii., xx., xxi., xxiv., xxvi., xxviii., xxxiv., xxxvii.

[c] Athanasian Creed, Litany, Catechism, Commination, Burial Service.

[d] Matthew xxv. 41-46.

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more deeply than in their estimate of the Holy Scriptures. Our long contest with Rome has driven us perpetually to them as our great authority. The universal dissemination and the marvellous beauty of our vernacular translation have leavened even the literature of our land with the language of the Bible to a degree absolutely unknown elsewhere. How much, for example, of the force of Lord Macaulay's writings depends upon his use of Bible metaphors and expressions few who have not carefully analysed his works could conceive. Far deeper than this influence upon our literature has been its power in forming the religious character of our people. Sir Walter Scott has delighted to show, in his very best novels, how the stern old Puritan imbibed the Judaic severity of the law; and extinct as Puritanism in its unmixed severity of creed and tone has gradually become amongst us, yet through large masses of our people the old influence may still be distinctly traced. In a far better sense than that in which it is often controversially asserted, the Bible, and the Bible only, is their religion. Within the Church, as well as amongst the Separatists, this is the case. It is the text-book of tens of thousands of national and parochial schools; it is the book of daily family religion; it is the library of many divines; it is the volume which has steered, guided, and confirmed all the religious feelings and principles of the great mass of devout men. Thus it has come to pass that the common translation of the equally venerated Scriptures is the great remaining link between Dissenters and the Church. Any attack, therefore, upon Holy Scripture, especially if it came from ordained clergymen, and even seemed to be supported by the highest tribunal of ecclesiastical appeal, would, of necessity, stir up the widest alarm and indignation.

Next only to this in the general impression of its importance is the second point selected for attack. The fear of future punishment and the love of God are the two great principles which restrain the wantonness of men's evil passions. The first, far more generally operative than the second, because it acts upon natures in a far lower stage of their development, is a mighty instrument for leading men forward to that more perfect state in which fear becomes lost in love. To shake, therefore, the general belief in eternal punishment would, it was all but universally perceived, be a grievous injury to morals. No speculation, indeed, would be so certain to spread with its poisonous influence immediately and inevitably down to the very lowest levels of society. Those who cared not for, and could not appreciate, questions which, however really important, involved only in their apparent action subtle points of the faith, could here take in the whole

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whole matter, and understand with even a terrible clearness that it had been discovered that after all there was no hell.

The unanimity, therefore, of feeling which this particular assault upon the old faith was sure to stir would be limited only by the degree to which the new doctrines had spread. It would, indeed, thus serve to gauge and measure their advance; and the breadth of the declared opposition to it is consequently a satisfactory evidence that as yet, through that part at least of the community which professes any firm religious belief, they have made but very little progress. The keen eye, indeed, of religious jealousy, as we have seen, has detected a new element of danger to the Separatists in the union within the Church to which the common danger has already led; but to all who are not biassed by such easily intelligible considerations this union is an omen of good.

That men hitherto divided should thus be brought together, not from hostility to others, but from love of common truths, is undoubtedly an accidental effect of the evil which has assailed us, the benefit of which cannot easily be overvalued. Nor is this the only good result which it is calculated to produce. Any Christian body which in its general tone is still sound in the faith is likely to be stirred to a more real perception and to a more vigorous maintenance of great verities which it had long held instinctively rather than consciously, by an open assault being made suddenly upon them. The first effect, doubtless, of this assault on the faith amongst ourselves will be to make the general belief more living and definite. The blast which might extinguish the weak beginnings of a feeble flame will only stir to a furnace heat the sleeping elements of a mighty conflagration.

But, though this is true, where religious truth is concerned it is never safe to trust to such reactionary processes. For the maintenance of truth as a fixed deposit is the Church's special vocation, and fidelity to it is her only safety. Her whole history proclaims this fact. No general increase of zeal can compensate for the endurance that there should be lodged in her system one allowed seed of falsehood. A generation may pass during the slow process of its germination; but if left within her its final growth is certain and deadly. The loose opinion which the present piety of its promulger sheltered from condemnation becomes the heresy of the succeeding period. The seeds of all those corruptions of the Papacy against which our own strife has been so sharp were sown amidst the sheltering accidents of fervour and devotion. There is, therefore, for those who would estimate aright our present position, a far sterner question to be answered as to

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to the effects of this judgment than can be met by merely gauging its immediate influence in stirring up a zeal for truth. It may have lodged in our system some false principle, some allowance of evil, some doubtfulness as to truth, some uncertainty as to a point of the faith which will remain with us long after the present reaction has died out, and which may be appealed to and employed in the next generation as a starting point from which a wholly new reach of uncertainty or unbelief may be gradually developed.

What, then, in this stricter and more accurate sense of the word is the real effect of this judgment? Now, so far as concerns any direct and immediate effect upon the doctrines of the Church, the judgment is of course powerless. They remain in letter and intention what they were before it was delivered. Technically, nothing can be more accurate upon this point than the declaration with which the judgment itself opens, that 'this Court has no jurisdiction or authority to settle matters of faith, or to determine what ought in any particular to be the doctrine of the Church of England.'* But though this is technically true, it is really false. And it is this which gives its momentous weight to the present judgment. For by restraining the Church from putting her own discipline in force against the false teacher, the Court does by necessary consequence interfere with doctrine. The Church, as the setter forth of doctrine, is and must be answerable for what her commissioned ministers teach. It is as a correlative of this responsibility that she possesses the power of silencing or depriving them. On the points of doctrine, therefore, on which she is prevented by the Court from silencing them, her doctrine is really altered. If in any one of her pulpits the preacher is henceforth at liberty to declare that the Bible is not God's inspired word, and that the doctrine of future punishment is a fable meant to frighten men into goodness, upon these points her doctrine is entirely altered. The letter of her Articles and formularies may remain the same, but their meaning has changed. Ten thousand of her clergy may condemn the new teaching and protest equally in the name of common honesty as of common sense, that 'Everlasting' does mean Lasting ever, but the allowance of the one denial destroys, so far as concerns the authority of the Church, the effect of the assertion of the ten thousand. For henceforward they propound the truth not as her authoritative declaration, but as their own pious opinion. And this having been once established as to any branch of the Church, it may at any moment become the actual

* 'Judgment,' p. 790.

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propounder of heresies condemned by universal Christendom. For if but one bishop were ever found in it who, either through want of learning or a tendency to liberalism, should be ready to admit into the ministry, or to shelter in its exercise, the putters forth of heresy, the evil would be done. He need not agree with them. He may think that he protects himself from the certain evils of his own ambiguous position by vehement occasional declarations of the true doctrine; but his single countenance would suffice to spread the evil on all sides. To his diocese, as to a new Cave of Adullam, might flock for their orders all candidates for the ministry with tainted and uncertain faith. And here would come in the evil of the law. For any one of these men who finds a patron of a living likeminded with himself could force the sound bishop of another diocese to admit him, by institution to a benefice, to teach within it his heretical depravations, if only the judgment of this Court will cover them.

Thus it is in vain that the bishop is pledged to 'banish or drive away from his diocese all erroneous and strange doctrines contrary to the truth;' for a mandamus from the Queen's Bench will ultimately secure for the erroneous teacher whose errors the laxity of the Court of Appeal condones, the cure of souls in that diocese, even against the will of the appointed guardian of the truth within its circuit. Thus, then, whilst it is technically correct that the judgment of the Court of Appeal 'has no jurisdiction or authority to settle matters of faith, or to determine what ought in any particular to be the doctrine of the Church of England,' it is most undoubtedly true that by the absolute restraint which it exercises over her corrective discipline, it does in fact, in the last resort, settle absolutely what that doctrine is.

Nor let it be supposed that the language of articles and formularies can interpose any real restraint upon this ultimate autocracy. The experience of all ages has shown us that language never can be made at once so comprehensive and exact as to be able, without adaptation to their new errors, to meet the devices of new heretics. The difficulty of the Church has ever been not to make her words sufficiently comprehensive, but to make them sufficiently definite; to find some expression through which an heresiarch could not wriggle his tortuous and deceitful path. There is no truth, therefore, which may not be supplanted by the fraud of heresy aided by the glosses of a condoning court. The solemn decision that 'everlasting' may lawfully be hoped not to mean 'lasting ever,' may be as easily applied to the eternal generation of the Son as to the perpetuity of the punishment of the accursed; and the gloss which was introduced to legalize the expression of a hope as to the termination of the punishment of

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of the wicked, may in a moment be transferred to explain away the Church's ancient safeguards against the heresy of Arius.

In this aspect, then, of the matter it is indeed a question of the gravest moment what is the exact legal effect of this sentence; what in terms will it cover? For conscientious men will not be persuaded on the one hand that the Church is not responsible for whatever her authorised teachers are allowed to teach, or, on the other, that any religious body which is consciously responsible for false teaching can really be the Church of the living God, the pillar and ground of the truth.

The question then recurs with an almost fearful distinctness, What is the strict legal effect of the judgment which has actually been delivered? Now, any examination of it will show that this question is not very easily answered. Possibly of set purpose, certainly in sure effect, there has hardly ever been a solemn decision of so high a tribunal of which the true legal consequence was less easily ascertainable. Its very wording proclaims the presence of this difficulty. It begins and ends with an eager disclaimer of 'pronouncing' exactly that which the Church required, namely, 'any opinion on the character, effect, or tendency of the publications known by the name of Essays and Reviews;' and that not on the ground on which Dr. Lushington's judgment might be defended * as declining to fix an explanation on passages of Holy Scripture which had not already any fixed ecclesiastical interpretation, but with the avowed object of leaving the volume unexamined. The Judgment refuses to consider even the whole essay either of Dr. Williams or of Mr. Wilson. Its consideration is confined to 'a few short extracts.' 'The meagre and disjointed extracts which have been allowed to remain in the reformed articles of charge are alone the subject of judgment.' Nay, by a ruling which we never remember to have met with elsewhere, against which in the hearing of the case it seemed almost intimated that the arguments of counsel were unnecessary, and against which we believe that lawyers in general would emphatically protest, it was determined that whilst 'it is competent to the accused party to explain from the rest of his work the sense or meaning of any passage or word that is challenged by the accuser, the accuser is, for the purpose of the charge, confined to the passages which are included and set out in the articles as the matter of the accusation.' Thus the language of the accused in the extracts, though in itself the most erroneous, could be explained away by the quotation of other words from the body of the writing, which seemed, however in-

* See 'Quarterly Review,' vol. cxii. p. 499.

consistently,

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consistently, to contradict the error charged upon them, whilst the accuser was prevented from travelling into the same surrounding matter to show that his interpretation of the offending words was the true one. On such a rule it is scarcely conceivable that any false teacher should be convicted. For heresy in its earlier stages hardly ever vents itself in such distinct and complete propositions of false doctrines. It avoids, or adopts with a gloss, a reservation, or a quibble, the language of old formularies for plainly contradicting which it might be at once condemned. Its very novelty makes it impossible that it should speak distinctly out. It has to win its way for the admission of its new teachings by frequent re-assertions of the admitted truth which it would subvert, and by the most subtle inventions of ambiguous expressions through which, without a palpable contradiction of the old, it may insinuate the new. It is not, therefore, difficult to understand how, acting upon such a rule, the majority of the Court were able to conclude that, 'On the short extracts before us our judgment is that the charges are not proved.'

The effect, then, of this judgment is most assuredly not that all things contained in the obnoxious volume, or even in these two essays, may be taught without punishment by clergy of the Established Church. There may, so far as this judgment decides the matter, be many punishable statements in them. 'If,' says the judgment, 'the book or these two essays, or either of them, as a whole be of a mischievous and baneful tendency, as weakening the foundations of Christian belief, and likely to cause many to offend, they will retain that character, and be liable to that condemnation, notwithstanding this our judgment.' All that is ruled is that the particular extracts before the Court did not absolutely contradict the particular extracts from the Thirty-nine Articles or formularies with which in the accusation they were contrasted.

Here, it is to be noted, a second ground of obscurity was introduced. The Christian Church has, as a matter of course, like every other body a mass of common principles of truth, which, as axioms and definitions, underlie and precede all specific propositions of the Faith. But in judging of the error of these writers, all this was first set aside; and then next all particular propositions, even of the Articles and formularies which were not distinctly quoted in the accusation, removed also. How far this reached can only be understood by remembering that the case against the accused came before the Court not as it was framed by the accusers, but as the judge in the Court below suffered their charges to pass on, without mutilation, to the Court of Appeal. That this mutilation saved the accused from condemnation is certainly suggested by the wording of the judgment, which

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almost hints that the Venerable Dean of the Arches had first removed from the pleadings the articles which would have justified the very condemnation, which, after removing what would have warranted it, he arbitrarily pronounced. With all these circumstances then to aid them, the accused parties escaped their condemnation, as it has been said, in most expressive diction, 'by the skin of their teeth.'*

Certainly, there was as little as there possibly could be in their escape to warrant any exultation. In both cases it was what is well known in the legal profession as 'an Old Bailey acquittal.' The language of the judges of both Courts as to the offenders was the same in tone, and the acquittal was scarcely less severe than the condemnation. Though the judge in the one Court thought the case just capable, and the majority of those in the other just incapable of legal proof, both took equal care to separate themselves from the accused; both intimated, with almost equal clearness, their sense of the utter impossibility that men of scrupulous integrity should occupy such a position in a Church from the teaching of which they in spirit dissented, whilst they kept its emoluments and office. The language of the Court added herein anything which could be added to the condemnation of such offenders expressed in the exquisite irony of the Charge of the Bishop of St. David's. 'All this,' he says, in a series of paragraphs which must be transcribed whole if they are not to be robbed of their peculiar power, 'was no doubt written with a view to edification, but language more directly suggestive of the most perplexing doubts could hardly have been employed.'†

Certainly if this is in the judgment of the escaped a triumphant acquittal, they are men of the most modest expectations, and are most readily thankful for the smallest mercies. We think that in the judgment of the English people the tenets which narrowly missed with such pleadings the full censure of the law will be generally felt to have been morally condemned.

But these, after all, are only the accidental consequence of the judgment; its legal effects must be measured by the exact weight of the words alleged against the accused in the articles of accusation. Now first as to Dr. Williams on the main point of the inspiration of the Scriptures: all that remained after subjecting the words alleged against him to the processes above described did not, in the judgment of the Court, warrant the charge that he had 'maintained the Bible not to be the Word of God, nor the rule of Faith.' From this conclusion, as a fact, the two Archbishops dissented, thinking that the charge, even with every advantage

* 'Times' newspaper of July 9.

† Charge of the Lord Bishop of St. David's, 1863; p. 42. Rivingtons.

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given to the accused, was proved. But this difference of opinion in the judges concerns only the escape or conviction of the accused; it does not alter the legal effect of the decision on the matter charged against him. So far, therefore, as concerns Dr. Williams, whether he was rightly or erroneously acquitted, *no* evil precedent obtained as to the future ruling of the Court concerning the inspiration of the Word of God.

Nor is the case very different as concerns Mr. Wilson. After all the various processes of elimination, of which he had the benefit, he too, against the judgment of the Archbishops, was *let off*, upon the ground that he had not maintained more than that it was not certain that every part of the canonical books of the Old or New Testament, upon any subject whatever, however unconnected with religious faith or moral duty, was written under the inspiration of the Holy Spirit. On such a bare proposition none would venture to assert the charge of heresy except the most extreme maintainers of the doctrine of a mere mechanical and verbal inspiration, to which opinion undoubtedly the Church has never been committed. That the real meaning of Mr. Wilson's Essay was to protest against the iron severity of a doctrine of mere universal verbal inspiration none, probably, who have ever read it will for an instant imagine. But then the Court was precluded from reading it, and the accuser was, under the rule above referred to, prevented from proving by extracts from other parts of the essay what was the real meaning and mischief of the propositions to which he objected. We who are under no such rule can have no difficulty in satisfying ourselves what Mr. Wilson did mean. If there were any doubt about it, the Introduction to a volume on Inspiration* which he has published since the 'Essays and Reviews' would make it abundantly clear. This work has been carefully and fully dealt with by the Bishop of Oxford in the Charge the title of which we have prefixed to this article, and from it we will quote freely the Bishop's conclusions as he lays them before his Diocese. The work, as he shows, oscillates between Atheism and Pantheism, excludes the direct action of God from the Holy Scriptures, the 'marvellous stories' of which it teaches us to 'eliminate,' and shows us further how to purify its pages of their many 'immoralities;' it characterises as magical delusions all supposed sacramental graces; and all working of the Spirit for the conversion of individual souls as the root of most immoral teaching. The scheme of the whole volume is thus summed up by the Bishop:—

'It professes to receive the Christian Revelation and the Christian

* 'Brief Examination of Prevalent Opinions on Inspiration,' with Introduction by H. B. Wilson, B.D. Longmans, 1861.

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Church with its Creeds, its Scriptures, and its hopes; only it would remove from them everything supernatural. It would remove from them and from us all idea of a personal God administering by a personal presence and direct interference His world of nature or of grace. The Godhead is reduced to the mighty self-originating cause of all being which He pervades and in some unknown sense is; but which proceeds along its predetermined course, self-governed and self-administered, according to eternal and unchanging laws and gradually ascertainable sequences, whilst all the pretended revelations of His interference are either fables, allegories, or metaphors, or mere human inventions which were permitted to exist for the education of man until the living and growing convictions of the congregation were sufficiently developed to cast them aside and rest on the great abstract philosophy into which a sublimated Christianity would thus expand and evaporate.' *

It is of the utmost moment that we understand that the Court, with all its imperfections, has not given its sanction to such views as these. It has, indeed, sent Mr. Wilson forth again to teach them, and to utter through an appropriate organ his shout of triumph. But by the peculiarity of its processes, the Court, whilst it has acquitted the teacher, has left the teaching unsanctioned. This it is of the utmost moment to note with all possible plainness, because honest minds, apprehending clearly the real teaching of the volume, and then finding its writer acquitted, may naturally conclude that his writings have been pronounced to be innocent; and that the Church, if she submits to this restraint upon her formularies and discipline, will become responsible for the full amount of error which they detect in the teaching of the acquitted man. But this would be a false conclusion which might easily hurry ardent lovers of the truth into rash and dangerous action. The Court, and therefore by implication the Church, is committed to no more than to the meaning of its own words upon the 'meagre propositions actually submitted to it.' The strongest words in the judgment as to the inspiration of Holy Scripture seem to be these:—'The proposition or assertion that every part of the Scriptures was written under the inspiration of the Holy Spirit, is not to be found either in the Articles or in any of the formularies of the Church.' † Now at first sight, it cannot be denied that this proposition is sufficiently alarming, and would appear to imply that our formularies had failed to embody the undoubted Catholic belief that 'Auctor Sacræ Scripturæ est Deus.' ‡ It is difficult to see under this enunciation of the law, taken with

* 'Charge' of the Lord Bishop of Oxford, 1863. Parkers.
† 'Judgment,' p. 791.
‡ 'S. Thomas Aquinas,' Pars I. Questio 1. Art. x. vol. i. p. 26. Ed. 1773.

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the subject-matter to which it is made to apply in the writings of Dr. Rowland Williams and Mr. Wilson, how practically in future cases to escape the conclusion that under it every clergyman is at liberty to select for himself what passages of Scripture he pleases as uninspired. If Dr. Rowland Williams is at liberty to attribute to the Devil the command given to Abraham to sacrifice his son, we see no great fallacy in the argument placed in the mouth of 'Lord Chancellor Eastgrave, with the assent of Bishop Brady, in the year 1964,' in 'The Glance at the Future,' that, as 'it was expressly declared in the reign of Queen Victoria that the proposition that every part of the Scripture was written under the inspiration of the Holy Spirit, is not to be found in the articles or formularies of the Church, they concluded that this particular phase of opinion relative to the existence of a God, might probably have originated from one or other of those passages which might be legitimately considered as the written voice of the congregation, and, such being the case, they did not, with respect to this article of charge, feel themselves justified in confirming the judgment of the Court below upon Dr. Stultus.'* There is too much truth in this reductio ad absurdum. For though the words of the Judgment, as we shall show, are patient of a more orthodox sense; certainly, if construed with the published writings of the author they acquit, they extend to this full measure of unsoundness. It is, to say the least, no matter of surprise that the two Archbishops of our Church ultimately and absolutely dissented from such a declaration, as too probably, if not necessarily, tending to the depreciation of the authority of the word of God. But it is one thing for a judge to dissent from a proposed judgment, and wholly another to maintain, after it has unfortunately been delivered, that it has actually subverted the common faith. Before such a view is admitted, every word which it contains should be carefully and accurately sifted. For however mischievous may be the consequences which it seems to involve, if it does not absolutely establish false doctrine, it is at least lawful to submit to it, and the course of wisdom where reversal is constitutionally impossible is to seek for redress by means which are possible—such, for instance, as altering the constitution of the Court; as the paring down by later decisions that which in a former judgment has directly tended to encourage error, or even as an ultimate resource by new definitions of the endangered faith. Testing, then, the words in question by such a careful scrutiny, they must first be read with those which precede them by way of explanation, and which at once limit the possibility of the non-inspiration of the Spirit to 'subjects unconnected with religious

* 'Glance at the Future,' p. 5.

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faith or moral duty.'* Now, so limited, they are assuredly most unlike the statements of the writers whom this judgment acquitted. But this, though it may be a condemnation of the Court which, by its self-imposed rules, was led to commit so gross a practical injustice, does not affect the question of what doctrine the Court pronounced legally innocent. For the major premiss of the sentence was, that the statement above quoted was innocent; and the minor, in which if anywhere the error lay, was only that these writers were not proved to have exceeded it.

The grave question, then, is, whether these words by which our Ecclesiastical Courts will be bound, do, under the most favourable construction which can be put upon them, involve necessary error. Now, in entering on this question, it must be clearly borne in mind that the Church Universal has never given any definition of inspiration. She has always received Holy Scripture as the Word of God; she has with one consenting voice declared through all time that God was its Author; she has acknowledged it as the infallible rule of faith. But she has always admitted, first, the possibility of separate passages having crept as interpolations into the text of the canonical Scriptures; and, secondly, that there was throughout it the presence of a human element mysteriously united in action with the Divine. The first of these admissions does not concern the present question, because all will admit that if it can be proved that any portion of the text is an interpolation, that text ceases as a matter of course to be a part of the canonical Scriptures. It is in the second admission that the real difficulty lies. For whilst certain leading facts concerning the acting of these united but unmingled powers have been universally maintained, no theory or law of their acting has ever been authoritatively set forth; nor does the volume itself supply us with any infallible criteria for ascertaining the working in any particular portions of the human as separate from the divine element. The result of this upon pious and believing minds has been to deter them from theorising upon the matter. They have done as the Early Church rejoiced to do with the deep mystery of the union of the two natures in the person of our Lord. Until heresy forced upon her the sad necessity of inquiring and defining where she had been wont only to love, adore, and worship, she was well content to know that He was very man, and to worship Him as very God. So piety has never failed to acknowledge the presence of a human element in Holy Scripture, whilst yet she fearlessly declared that its author was God. But the process which forced on the

* 'Judgment,' p. 791.

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Early Church the unwelcome task of defining what was not the truth as to the union of the two natures in our Lord, seems now to be pressing upon us a like necessity as to the union of the twofold agency which was employed in the production of the Holy Scriptures. Such a necessity this unhappy judgment has undoubtedly hastened. It is leading some to passionate assertions of the absolute verbal inspiration of the sacred text which, in fact, exclude altogether the human element, and hazard the truth of Revelation on the correctness of Biblical statements as to science and history. This awakes upon the other side the cold sneer with which unbelief is ever ready; and thus the traditional reverence for God's word which still survives amongst us is imperilled by a discussion grounded upon opposite data, and so incapable of a just conclusion. Thus, on the one side it is objected that a book which contains a single error upon the lower subjects which are within the sphere of our investigation, cannot command our assent on the higher questions of revelation which we cannot scrutinise. And when to this it is replied that Scripture was not given to teach science, but religion, it is retorted that this solution may apply to the writings of good men, because the infirmity of their nature leads to their partial acquaintance with the subjects on which they write, but cannot account for error where the author is all wise and all true; and so on the one side the absolute correctness of every word is passionately re-asserted, and on the other the Divine authorship of the book is contemptuously denied.

It is dangerous to intervene in such a strife, and yet without doing so the real effect of this judgment cannot be thoroughly examined. Is there, then, we would ask, no escape from the alternative of either denying on the one side the possibility of the presence of any error in the Scripture, or on the other the certainty of its Divine inspiration? We believe that there is, and that it may be found in following carefully out the simple thought that it was, properly speaking, the writers who were inspired, and not the book. For if the intention of the Almighty was, through His word, to reveal religious truth to man, what would be more natural than that He should pour into the minds of His instruments a flood of light upon those truths which He intended them to declare, leaving them still uninformed as to matters of which they were the bearers of no message to their brethren? Such a condition of partial knowledge is a sight perfectly familiar to us. The adept in mathematics may be a very poor historian, scholar, or critic. Why should not the law which obtains as to knowledge acquired naturally reach to that supernaturally given? Such a solution at once harmonises the presence of the human and Divine element in

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the mysterious book. The messenger comes charged with a message; but he is not the poor bare reciter of a form of words which he may or may not comprehend. There has been poured upon his own being the flood of the Divine light. He speaks that which has thus been given him to speak; which may in its full significance exceed what he can himself fully comprehend; but in the utterance his own peculiarities, his fire, his love, will all be present—nay, his forms of expression, his style, and why not his habitual thoughts, and so his ignorance upon matters lying wholly outside the message, as to which therefore the sender of the message has not enlightened His messenger? Surely on such a view God is as much the Author of Holy Scripture for all the purposes of a Divine Revelation, as if every syllable were dictated by an overruling power to a mechanical copyist; and yet by it all the apparent difficulties which beset the scientific examination of the Bible vanish. On this theory as to whatever it professes to reveal, we know it must be absolutely true, because in that it is the result of the inspiration of God; whilst, in that which is the accident and not the object of the message, the messenger is left to his own unaided powers. When, for instance, St. Paul reveals to us the depths of the Divine counsels, we know that we are listening not to man, but to God; we cannot question; we must receive; error is impossible, because the voice is that of God. But when the same Apostle writes that the cloak which he left at Troas should be brought after him, does any reasonable man really maintain that if it could be made certain that the cloak was left not at Troas but at another place, the veracity of Holy Scripture could be thereby impugned?

Assuming, then, this simple law as pervading the gift of God's revelation, it may, without any violation of the great dictum that God is the author of Scripture, be affirmed that there may be parts of the canonical books which, on subjects unconnected with religious faith or moral duty, were not written under the inspiration of the Holy Spirit, but were left of God's special purpose to the natural acting of the writer's powers; and to this, and to this only, the judgment binds us. The application of this rule in such a manner as to make it acquit Dr. Rowland Williams and Mr. Wilson, is a question wholly different; and to any one who had these whole Essays in his hand would seem to be inconceivable. The solution of so strange a phenomenon which is supplied in the judgment is, that the Judges were, by the rules of their Court, forced to be ignorant of the surrounding context, which would have poured so strong and so damning a light upon the 'meagre and disjointed extracts' with which they were compelled to content themselves.

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Mischievous,

Mischievous, then, as this judgment is likely to prove hereafter, if it remains unaffected by future decisions, and clearly as it exhibits the unfitness of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council—great as are its merits in ordinary appeals—for this peculiar task, it does not appear to bind the Courts Ecclesiastical by any absolutely heretical dictum to the future maintenance of deadly error as to the inspiration of the Word of God.

The second great division of the judgment on Mr. Wilson is far more difficult of treatment. Here the 'meagre extracts' themselves seem to supply abundant proof of an absolute contradiction between his statements and the formularies of the Church. He expresses, it is said, 'a hope that at the day of judgment those men who are not admitted to happiness may be so dealt with as that the perverted may be restored, and all, both small and great, may ultimately find a refuge in the bosom of the universal Parent.'* Speculation is most especially out of place upon this awful subject; though undoubtedly all that we observe as to the gradual fixedness which passes upon moral habits abundantly confirms the fearful announcement of Holy Scripture, that 'their worm dieth not, and the fire is not quenched.' On such a subject it is doubtless a matter of congratulation that even so great a master in Israel as the present keeper of the Queen's conscience felt that he 'was not at liberty to express an opinion.' But what seems at first sight to be the conclusion at which the judgment arrives, and the mode of reaching it, are simply astonishing. To a common reader, the conclusion seems to be nothing else than that the word 'everlasting' does not necessarily mean 'lasting ever;' and the process by which this conclusion is reached is worthy of what would seem to be the result.

The Forty-second Article of King Edward the Sixth in express words condemned the Universalism of the Anabaptists. When, some ten years later, the Thirty-nine Articles were framed, the sect, even then rapidly diminishing in reputation, had tacitly dropped its obnoxious tenets on this matter, and in consequence the Article condemning it was withdrawn. The Court expresses its fear that the condemnation of Mr. Wilson might revive this Article! and proceeds accordingly to acquit him on the ambiguous ground that it 'does not find in the formularies to which this Article refers any such distinct declaration of our Church upon the subject' as to 'require' his condemnation.†

At first sight it seems impossible to acquit this decision of containing a formal and intentional contradiction of the Athanasian Creed, of the actual text of Holy Scripture, and of the voice of the universal Church. But the Pastoral Letter of the

* 'Judgment,' p. 792.

† Ibid., p. 792.

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Archbishop,

Archbishop, of which we will only say that its clear, dignified, restrained, and catholic utterances are such as we rejoice to hear coming from the marble chair of Canterbury, throws a new and important light upon the subject. 'The doctrine,' says his Grace, 'of the everlasting punishment of the wicked, I considered to be clearly indicated in the Commination Service, the Burial Service, the Apostles' Creed, and the Athanasian Creed, to the effect that the reward of the righteous is everlasting life, and the punishment of the wicked everlasting death.' *

His Grace further explains that he was led to the conclusion of not dissenting from this portion of the judgment by 'the obscurity in the forms of Mr. Wilson's expressions,' leading him (doubtless under the overruling opinion of the Law Lords upon a legal point) 'not to consider that the passages extracted from his Essay would warrant the charge that he had advisedly declared and affirmed in effect that after this life, at the end of the existing order of things on this earth, there will be no judgment of God according to those men whom he shall then approve everlasting life or eternal happiness, and to those men whom he shall condemn everlasting death or eternal misery.'

'You will do well to observe how the teaching of the Church as to the eternity of the Son of God must be vitiated if, when the second Article of our Church declares that He was begotten from everlasting of the Father, she leaves us at liberty to suppose, under this restricted sense of the word everlasting, that there was a time when the Son of God was not.' †

From these extracts it would appear that the judgment of the Court did not contain a decision that the Church of England allowed her clergy to preach the reprobated doctrine of Universalism, but only that the formularies referred to in the Articles were not sufficiently explicit to warrant a formal condemnation of Mr. Wilson's 'hopes.' It is true that the Bishop of London's exculpatory preface to his 'Five Discourses' gives a somewhat different character to this part of the judgment. But we confess to being unable to follow distinctly the thread either of his statement or his reasoning. For the Bishop states his 'conviction that there is *nothing* in the revelation of the Gospel on which such a hope as is here referred to can legitimately rest;' ‡ and, *more suo*, he gives a practical address hereupon to 'especially the younger clergy.' This would seem certainly to imply that, as a Judge, his Lordship could not have decided that it was lawful for a clergyman to teach that which he was convinced

* 'Pastoral' of the Archbishop of Canterbury, March 14, 1864.
† 'Pastoral,' March 14, 1864.
‡ Preface, p. vii.

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had nothing in the revelation of the Gospel on which to rest; for the judgment expressly declares that 'it is not competent to a clergyman of the Church of England to teach or suggest that a hope may be entertained of a state of things contrary to what the Church expressly teaches or declares will be the case.' * In acquitting Mr. Wilson, then, the Court distinctly declares that it has not been proved that he has suggested a hope contrary to what the Church expressly teaches. The Archbishop was induced, as he tells us, not to dissent from this judgment, because he yielded to the declaration of the Law Lords, used to weigh evidence, that the suggesting such an unlawful hope was not legally proved against Mr. Wilson. This is a perfectly intelligible position for one to occupy who yet himself held firmly the belief of all Christendom upon the point in question. But the Bishop of London's ground is wholly different from this: for being 'convinced that there is nothing in the revelation of the Gospel' to warrant such a hope, he 'is glad,' not, as he charitably might be, that any offender escaped a painful punishment, but 'that the expression of such a hope is settled not to be actually punishable by the laws of our Church.' † He stands, therefore, in this extraordinary position: he takes part in a judgment which declares it to be punishable for a clergyman to suggest a hope of what is contrary to the Church's teaching; he is convinced that the particular hope suggested is without any warrant in the revelation of the Gospel; and yet he 'is glad' that the expression of the hope is settled not to be punishable. Now, as the Church of England teaches a great deal on this subject, it either must teach as Mr. Wilson teaches, or the contrary. If the verdict of the Court really is that the Church teaches as Mr. Wilson teaches, then the Bishop 'is glad' that she is authoritatively declared to teach that for which there is, he is 'convinced, no warrant in the revelation of the Gospel;' or, on the other hand, if the verdict is that, though the Church does not teach what is taught by Mr. Wilson, yet that he is not punishable, then the Bishop 'is glad' that henceforward clergymen of the Church of England may teach unpunished what is contrary to the teaching of their Church and has no warrant in the revelation of the Gospel;—to us an unintelligible ground for 'gladness' in one who holds a high office on the solemn pledge of 'being ready, with all faithful diligence, to banish and drive away all erroneous and strange doctrine contrary to God's Word; and both privately and openly to call upon and encourage others to do the same.' ‡ This explanation of the Bishop of London is,

* 'Judgment,' p. 792. † Bishop of London's 'Five Discourses,' Preface, p. vi.
‡ Consecration Service.

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therefore, somewhat perplexing, and we prefer to adhere to that given by the Archbishop as to the real meaning of the judgment of the Court, which is, not that the clergy may preach Universalism, but that it was not proved that Mr. Wilson did preach it. Difficult as it is to acquiesce in such a ruling of the case, we bow, of course, to the decision of the Court; but assuredly if we had looked at the question without the light of its authority to guide us, we should have conceived that the words of the Athanasian Creed were tolerably explicit; and indeed even now, with all the light with which the Court has favoured us, we are not sufficient masters of the English tongue to be able by any change in their terms to make the language of the formularies more explicit than it is. This part of the decision, moreover, as the Archbishop's Pastoral pertinently suggests, apart from its bearing upon the fearful doctrine of eternal punishment, is of great importance as to some other leading points of the faith. For if this uncertainty of meaning were really fixed upon the word 'everlasting,' it must of course apply to it whenever it is used, and the bearing of this upon the Church's controversy with the Arians as to the uncreated nature of the Eternal Son will occur at once to every student of ecclesiastical history. We rejoice, therefore, on more accounts than one, to have learned from authority, what the language of the judgment would never have revealed to us, that all which the Court decided was, that Mr. Wilson's contradiction of the faith was not in its judgment legally established.

But if these sentences of acquittal do not of necessity involve in the guilt of condoning heresy the Church which permits by them her power of punishing the public preaching of false doctrines by her clergy to be thus far restrained, this is the very utmost that we can say in diminution of their consequences. Those consequences appear to us to be of the gravest character. Nor do we think that in forming this estimate of them we are misled by the greater magnitude which the near neighbourhood of the present event lends to its features. Under such circumstances it is always full of interest to mark what is the estimate formed of our position by those who survey it from without, and who from the distance at which they stand are uninfluenced by the lights and colours which so often impart such deceiving hues to the immediate scene.

'Le Correspondant,' published at Paris, is the organ of that section of French Roman Catholics of which the Count de Montalembert is so distinguished an ornament. The March number contains an article headed 'La Crise Protestante,' by the Abbé Magnan, one of the ablest and most rising ecclesiastics of France, who has already been promoted to a high position, and

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is expected to fill one of the first episcopal vacancies. The writings of the Abbé Magnan are quite free from that bitterness which too often disfigures the utterances of the Ultramontane school, both at home and abroad. His judgment, therefore, of our difficulties is entitled to a very respectful attention. He begins by showing the great mistake into which those Roman Catholics fall who rejoice in the difficulties with which 'Protestantism,' as he terms it, is involved by the spread of infidelity.* 'Protestantism,' he says, 'is an advanced work which, with all its many defects, does yet defend the faith.' 'English Protestantism has done good service in maintaining the divinity of Jesus Christ.' It may even, he dares openly to say, serve as an example to Roman Catholics, in its observance of the Sunday, in its belief in miracles and a world of grace. Triumphs won by infidelity from it, would be triumphs not alone against the principle of Protestantism, but quite as much against the Christian faith. With such views as these, he contemplates our present difficulties; and after summing up the points of the judgment, he pronounces that its consequence must be disastrous to the most faithful section of the English Church. 'I do not speak,' he continues,† 'of the division which it introduces, of the public humiliation of the Archbishops, or the reproach cast on the most religious and venerated portion of the clergy; these disagreements, these family troubles, these mortifications and misfortunes, comparatively speaking, matter little. That which seems to me of supreme importance is that the doctrine of the inspiration of the Scriptures is officially abandoned. . . . Up to this time England said with Rome, Revelation without being contrary to reason is above reason. Henceforth in the Established Church it must be held that Revelation, of which the Bible is the highest expression, is subject to reason, which may control and even contradict it. And what is this, in fact, but to deny that there is any authoritative revelation at all? . . . Thus in the name of pietism, religion is destroyed. . . . Colenso has gained his cause.'‡ He proceeds to notice how the Jewish Chronicle rejoices in the legal sanction given to Dr. Rowland Williams's denial of the Messianic character of the prophecies of the Old Testament, and expresses his fears that the undisputed acceptance of this judgment must lead to the setting up amongst us of that 'abomination of desolation, the denial of our Lord's Divinity,' and draws as his final conclusion, in his hopelessness of seeing the judgment remedied, the anticipation that this entrance of unbelief into the heart of the English Church will bring back the faithful to Rome, and land the mass in open unbelief.§ This extreme conclusion

* 'Le Correspondant,' p. 654. † Ibid. p. 657. ‡ Ib. p. 658. § Ib., p. 665.

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is, we trust, greatly exaggerated, since, as has been seen, there is in the judgment no committal of the Church to actual heresy, but only a fearful impetus given to opinion in the direction which must naturally end in heresy. This danger can scarcely be overstated. For assuredly a new element of latitudinarian uncertainty has been for all future trials imported by them into the execution of the law. If we think that the Abbé has exaggerated the evil effects of the decision of our Court, we are far more astonished at the very small proportions they assume in the mouth of the Bishop of London, who finds in the judgment as to inspiration nothing more than a decision that 'no clergyman of the Church of England can be called upon to maintain the unwarranted position .... that the Bible is an infallible guide in questions of physical science.'* As certainly, moreover, the moral sense of the Church has been grievously shocked by perceiving not only that its faith has been now endangered, but also that all correction of offenders for any of the new forms of unbelief which modern thought may be expected to develope has been rendered hereafter, whilst matters remain as they are, well nigh impossible.

This is anything but a clerical question. It is, in fact, one which, if it be possible, affects the laity of the Church even more than the clergy. For its true point is, whether the clergy, as the authorised teachers of the people, are to be, in fact, left free to teach what they will. Are the faithful to be told in the parish of Broad Chalk that the Bible is only an 'expression of devout reason,' and the written word of the congregation?—are they in Great Staughton to learn that not every part of Holy Scripture is inspired, and that the doctrine of eternal punishment is a fable? —and in all the other parishes of the land are the parishioners to be left for the future altogether to the feeble fancy or small acquaintance with theology which may belong to their pastor, whilst he indulges himself in reproducing these or any similar doubts and fables, instead of simply preaching to them the doctrines of the Christian faith? Hitherto the clergy have been bound by subscription to certain forms of belief; and though entrusted, as they should be, with a large amount of freedom in their teaching, yet they have been under a species of restraint from their liability to be called to account if they manifestly exceeded the permitted licence. Not that, under these subscriptions, it was ever intended, as it is objected, to stifle thought, but only to take securities that our national teachers should not only be men who think, but who think correctly. This is strongly put by the Bishop of Oxford:—

* 'The Word of God:' Five Discourses of Archibald Campbell, Lord Bishop of London, Preface, p. viii.

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'Against

'Against the performance of this plain duty is urged the plea "Then you do not allow the clergy to think." This surely is one of the most frivolous and false of objections. For so dealing with them the Church not only allows but actually requires them to think. The primary requirement of subscription as we still maintain it, is as to what the subscriber himself believes, and therefore will teach. . . . . The Church therefore would have her clergy think, inquire, reason, and satisfy themselves fully and entirely as to what they teach: she abhors a mechanical, lifeless declaration from parrot lips of unfelt truth.' *

This was the old view. The present attempt is to set all our teachers absolutely free. The Viscount Amberley and Dean Stanley, with it may be a score of other old deans and young viscounts, would abolish all subscription, and the Colensos and Wilsons of the Established Church have shown us with no little clearness what is the degree of liberty which, when freed from these old trammels, the teaching of our people would assume.

Are the laity of the Church prepared for these results? Is England ready to follow Geneva? Are we to emasculate formulary after formulary, to drop creed after creed, and so gradually to come down to the broad level of inculcating general freedom of speculation in the place of a fixed belief in the articles of the Christian faith, of receiving every man's own imaginations in the place of the rule of Holy Scripture, and of preaching a sentimental pietism in the place of the morals of the Gospel, enforced under the binding sanction, they that have done good shall go into life everlasting, and they that have done evil into everlasting fire?

This is the real issue to be tried: and none can be more momentous; for it involves the further question, whether or not we shall hand on the faith to our successors. The Church at present upholds for all the one common standard. But is this to continue amongst our children? Undoubtedly it will not, if this liberalizing movement has its unrestricted way. And what must be the sure result? A Church founded on negations will never satisfy the practical minds of Englishmen. The Establishment will not long survive amidst the liberal processes which seem to promise her so much, and which must so fatally destroy her conscience and her witness. One by one the men of fixed belief and high principle would drop off from her. They know that to declare the truth is the master requirement of the charter of her incorporation. They will not hold office or very long fellowship with a body which has substituted opinions for creeds, and sentiments for morals. The high places of the Establishment will be filled with men of more supple consciences

* Bishop of Oxford's 'Charge,' p. 67.

—Broad

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—Broad Chalk will overspread the land, and the day of doom will not be far behind. A national Church without a fixed faith is nothing but a great imposture, which waits only for a popular outbreak, and a Bishop of Autun, to dissolve into the utter nothingness of the vanishing vision of the awakened dreamer.

The question, then, is urgent how these evils are to be remedied. The very first step seems to be to reform at once the court of highest Appellate Jurisdiction in matters spiritual. As it is at present constituted it combines almost every disadvantage for the right discharge of its duties by which a court can be impeded. The mixture in it of the spiritual and lay elements must work discordantly, and with most mischievous results. If the object of the Court be as it announces for itself it is, to try by the tests of the barest legal analysis, with an absolute ignorance and disavowal of there being any great common law of Christendom, the legal meaning of words, what business have our Prelates in it?—what is there really for them to do? The learning they could supply is out of place. They must, as honest men, proceed upon a set of principles which are not only strange but hostile to those on which the Court decides. Hence they must either be mute and convenient assenters to what, on their principles, they are bound to resist, or they must be disturbing and troublesome elements of the Court in its consultations; whilst as they are sure to be outnumbered and overborne in the final decision on its sentence, they can do nothing effectual for maintaining the faith, though they may easily become an injury and scandal to the Church.

Mr. Gladstone speaks here directly to the point. It is true, indeed, that the composition of the Court to which he directly alluded differed on some points from that of which we are speaking. In it the prelates were assessors, and not an actual portion of the Court. But this does not materially affect his argument. In his letter of 1850 to the then Bishop of London,

'It is vain,' he says, 'to lay stress upon the unmeaning arrangement for the presence of bishops at the hearing of such a case, which has been unduly embellished with the name of assessorship. For, first, they are few in number; secondly, so many other qualities are of necessity to be regarded in the choice of archbishops, and likewise in filling the see of London, that the three persons, who are officially Privy Councillors, can very rarely be the best theologians of the Episcopal Bench; thirdly, their presence is not required by law; fourthly, they are no assessors at all, have no defined function, and need not when present be consulted at all, or may be consulted on the small points and not on the great ones; fifthly, the whole system of such consultation is secret, and irregular, and in the highest degree irresponsible, and no blessing can be expected to follow it.' *

* 'Letter,' &c., p. 72.

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To a certain extent happily in the present instance this scandal has been averted by the avowed dissent from the judgment of the two Archbishops. This escape indeed is purchased at a high price; since now, for the first time since our Reformation statutes were passed, the Queen is advised by a Committee of the Privy Council to reverse a sentence of the Spiritual Court for false doctrine against the consenting advice of the two highest spiritual authorities of the realm. And even so the scandal in part remains, since one prelate felt himself bound to assent, we presume on legal grounds, to a spiritual sentence against which the two Metropolitans avowedly, and ten thousand clergy of the Church in fact, protest as unsettling the old landmarks of the Faith on two of its most vital doctrines. That, without the power of explaining fully the grounds of their assent or dissent from any judgment which may be given, our prelates are thus involved in its responsibility, is of itself no small evil, as injuring their characters and destroying their influence. Thus, on the present occasion, the 'Record' newspaper, indulging in its wonted vein against one with whom hitherto it has had much in common, says—

'The course taken by the Bishop of London is disastrous to his own reputation. It has awakened mingled shame and indignation, not only amongst the dignitaries and clergy of the Church, but, we may add, the laity, always excepting the minority of the clergy who may be called latitudinarian, and that section of the laity who may be termed *free thinkers*.'

This scandal is increased in cases like the present, in which, more than one Prelate sitting, one Bishop may be found voting in a majority of lawyers and not in a minority of divines. It finds its fullest measure under the rule of silence, which seems in these recent trials to have prevented the Archbishops giving in full court the reasons of their dissent from the decision of the majority. Such a rule is at variance with the practice of all our other courts, and tends directly to the defeat of justice in the mode which in cases such as these is the most oppressive and the most dangerous, because it enables a majority of the Judges to enforce upon a silenced minority their own view as a binding and unquestioned precedent. How great an evil this is will be at once apparent to any who are familiar with the working of our other courts. For in them when a previous decision is quoted as a precedent nothing is more common than the answer, 'True, it was; but it was against such and such reasons propounded by such a Judge:' and over and over again the weight of that single opinion has destroyed the moral power of the injurious precedent. This custom arose from the rules of the Privy Council, laid down Feb. 20, 1627, which prohibited any public

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disclosures of different opinions existing between different members of committees of the Privy Council. This ancient 'use' of the Privy Council was transferred to the practice of the Judicial Committee by the 3 and 4 Will. IV. c. 41; and as in the preceding year appeals in causes of heresy had been (unintentionally, as Lord Brougham tells us) transferred to the Privy Council, the rule of silence was, of course, applicable to the mode of dealing with them. This may be a useful rule in many cases of appeal, but it is certainly one of most evil consequence when the appeal involves the doctrines of the Church of England, and in these cases ought to be at once altered so as to bring the use of the Judicial Committee into harmony with that of the Exchequer Chamber and the House of Lords when sitting on appeals.

Another evil has been already referred to, but it must not be omitted here. The control over the decisions of the Court which the power of selecting the judges gives to the Government of the day, is a grievous injury to the authority if it is not to the impartiality of the Court. This too unquestionably is a matter requiring immediate attention. One other evil, moreover, must especially be noted, because it has escaped the attention even of most writers on the subject, and that is the great uncertainty of the present processes. For there are two kinds of suits in the Ecclesiastical Courts—the civil and the criminal. In either of these doctrinal questions may arise—directly in the criminal, indirectly in the civil. The cases of Gorham *v.* the Bishop of Exeter, and Westerton *v.* Liddell, were both civil suits. Now, since the abolition of the Court of Delegates, it is not legally necessary in a civil suit that any Bishop at all should sit on the appeal. For the necessity of one Bishop being present is created by the 3 and 4 Vict., c. 86, s. 16, which applies only to criminal cases, and which makes the presence of *one* Bishop necessary to constitute a valid Court. In civil cases the Bishops who are present are only invited to attend under the name of assessors, but without the real power. So that here is another entanglement and confusion. The doctrine of the Church may be defined in the civil suit without the presence of any spiritual judge, whilst in the criminal case the very same question cannot be dealt with unless one Prelate be present in the Court.

Here, then, are abundant reasons for a sweeping reform in the mode of hearing such appeals as these. All the utterances of the Court concerning its own powers and constitution in the late trial confirm this conclusion. It has declared of itself that its powers are limited to 'the consideration of that which is by law established to be the doctrine of the Church of England upon

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upon the true and legal construction of her Articles and formularies.' * It proceeds to show how narrow is this ground, and to remind us that it is 'obvious that there may be matters of doctrine on which,' when measured by this short line, 'the Church has not given any definite rule,' and that 'there may' thus 'be matters of religious belief on which the requisition of the Church may be less than Scripture may seem to warrant.' 'Nor in a proceeding like the present are we at liberty to ascribe to the Church any rule or teaching which we do not find expressly and distinctly stated,' &c.†

Now we do not for a moment question the correctness of the Court's explanation of its own powers and rules. But then we are bound to say emphatically this is not, nor can be, a court to which the Church can with safety entrust the decision of the highest questions of her doctrines. Practically, as has been shown above, this is exactly what, with all its disclaimers, the Court does through its action in restraining the penal discipline of the Church. And for such a function its own rules render it signally incompetent and dangerous. For it is not possible that a succinct body of Articles can so definitely state all the Church's doctrine that they, aided by expressions in the formularies (which, moreover, the Court may at any time set aside as being only pious aspirations not intended to convey fixed doctrinal statements), can suffice for the maintenance of her deposit of the truth. The very statute law of the realm spoke of old another language. For the 1st of Elizabeth, c. i. § 36, in declaring what was in England to be accounted heresy, referred not to these often necessarily narrow and technical definitions of the faith which were put forward to guard it at a particular time against certain peculiar errors, but to that which 'heretofore shall have been determined, ordered, or adjudged to be heresy by the authority of the canonical Scriptures or by the first four general councils, or any of them, or by any other general council wherein the same was declared heresy by the express and plain words of the said canonical Scriptures, or such as hereafter shall be ordered, judged, or determined to be heresy by the High Court of Parliament of this realm, with the assent of the clergy in their Convocation.'‡ And though it has been held that, as that Act concerned only the High Commission Court, this branch of it was repealed by the 16th of Car. I., which abolished the High Commission Court itself, yet, as Lord Coke said whilst that Commission stood, 'Albeit this proviso extendeth only to the High Commissioners, yet . . . . it may serve for a good direction to others, especially to the diocesan.'§ We may therefore gather from it what is still the mind of the English law as to the

* 'Judgment,' p. 790. † Ibid. ‡ 1 Eliz., c. xxxvi. § Gibson, Codex.

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definition

definition of heresy. And this definition introduces exactly that catholic safeguard which the Church needs. For this universal law of the whole body, of which she is but a part, will serve both to explain her own words when they are uncertain and so to give them in a far higher use of the term their true legal sense; and also to supplement their deficiencies. It is only by courts capable of this larger and wider action that a deposit so tender and yet so precious as the common faith can ever be preserved; and it was with a wise cognizance of this that the truly noble legislation of Henry VIII. on this matter proceeded when it committed spiritual causes to the cognizance of the spiritualty. For this it did, not because it attributed any special sanctity to spiritual hands in the administration of this department of the law, but because it required those who had to decide upon it to be really well versed in its modes of procedure, in its peculiar nature and constitution, and in all that vast basis of common truth which councils had maintained and generations of martyrs consecrated. It would not consent to tie its judges down as if they were in the office of a special pleader, and compel them to evacuate the pregnant words of creeds of half their significance, and make fresh passages through which the disastrous cunning of heretics could escape from the safeguards of sound doctrine, and so be licensed to carry everywhere abroad the poison of their evil teaching. This use of true ecclesiastical learning is a wholly different matter from setting our judges to give binding interpretations of the letter of Holy Scripture. This, as has been already argued in these pages,* would be a most pernicious licence. But for fixing 'the true and legal construction of articles and formularies,' far more is needed than a mere acquaintance with the English language and the forms of pleading. In every science words have a special significance, appreciable only by adepts. From the nature of the case, this is especially true of the science of Theology. The 'true and legal sense of articles and formularies,' which use these words of the science of Theology in their scientific sense, cannot be safely determined by those who are ignorant of that scientific sense. Their legal habits of mind, combined with a familiar acquaintance with the same words in their ordinary sense, are almost sure to mislead them. They become the easy victim of any assuming teacher who leads them from the received ecclesiastical value of terms, by starting some fond speculation as to their double sense. No one skilled in the lore of the universal Church could have been misled as to the sense of the word 'everlasting.'

In the Court as it is now constituted almost any change would be an improvement, and there is no rational hindrance to great

* Quarterly Review, cxii. p. 494.

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changes. The Judicial Committee has no great prestige either for antiquity, or—in its unnatural capacity of judging matters of heresy—for success; it obtained this jurisdiction by accident on the abolition by the 2nd and 3rd William IV., c. 92, of the Court of Delegates. Its evils have been long felt and publicly stated:—

'The necessity for some change in this department of our ecclesiastical jurisprudence,' argued the Bishop of London (Blomfield) in the House of Lords in 1850, 'was felt long before the recent appeal, at a time when the probability of such an appeal was not in contemplation. It is only surprising that it was not clearly perceived at the time when the Judicial Committee was substituted for the old Court of Delegates. But no such necessity was then alluded to, the reason of which I suppose was this: that appeals to that Court in suits involving questions of doctrine had been so exceedingly rare—not more than three or four from the first constitution of that Court—that the contingency of such an appeal came into no one's mind.' *

Certainly there is now no such reason for the Court escaping revision. The scandal of the last appeal has drawn all eyes to it, and with an unanimity almost unknown in our Church, men of every section of opinion in it, except a handful of doubting rationalists, are declaring their sense of the wrong which has been done, and calling for redress. The course which that redress must take may be gathered from what has been already said, and it rests upon the broad foundation of the alliance made at the close of the Reformation between the Church and State of England. The great work then to be achieved was the release of our land from the spiritual tyranny of Rome. To that usurped power England had never submitted herself fully. Her kings and her statesmen had always with insular independence fretted under the yoke and often broken free from its most galling encroachments. In the reign of the 8th Henry the personal interests of the sovereign combined with the rising religious convictions of large numbers of the people against the common enemy. The Pope's Prætorian Guards were first routed in the persons of the regular clergy. In matters of religious belief and practice it was most slowly and reluctantly that the haughty and self-opinionated 'defender of the faith' admitted any of the purely religious changes which the heart and conscience of his supporters in his struggle for power with the foreign Bishop required from him as the fee for their support. But on reclaiming the priceless gem of sovereignty over all his subjects from the aggrandized tiara, which had been enriched by its usurpation, Henry's proud spirit was bent. This intention is the key to the great Statutes of his reign bearing on religious matters. The war which was so fiercely waged was not one of the laity of England against its

* 'Speech of the Bishop of London, June 3, 1850,' p. 5.

spiritualty—

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spiritualty—it was a strife of the Crown and people of England with the usurped foreign jurisdiction of the Roman Pontiff. Nothing can be more plain or more really noble than the expression of this in the great Act which vindicates the ancient right of the Crown of England, the 24th of Henry VIII., cap. 12:—

'Whereas,' it states, 'by divers sundry old authentic histories and chronicles it is manifestly declared and expressed that this realm of England is an empire, and so hath been accepted in the world, governed by one supreme head and king, having the dignity and royal estate of the Imperial Crown of the same; unto whom a body politick compact of all sorts and degrees of people, divided in terms and by names of Spirituality and Temporality, been bounden and owen to bear next to God a natural and humble obedience. He being also institute and promoted by the goodness and sufferance of Almighty God with plenary, whole, and entire power, pre-eminence, authority, prerogative, and jurisdiction, to render and yield justice and final determination to all manner of folk, servants or subjects, within this his realm, in all causes, matters, debates, and contentions happening to occur, insure, or begin within the limits thereof, without restraint or provocation to any foreign powers or potentates of the world. The body spiritual whereof having power when any cause of the law Divine happened to come in question, or of spiritual learning therein was declared, interpreted, and showed by that part of the said politick called the Spirituality, now being usually called the English Church, which always hath been reputed and also found of that sort that both for knowledge, integrity, and sufficiency of number, it hath been always thought and is also at this hour sufficient and meet of itself, without the intermeddling of any exterior person or persons, to declare and determine all such doubts and to administer all such offices and duties as to their rooms spiritual doth appertain, for the due administration whereof... the King's most noble progenitors and the antecessors of the nobles of this realm have sufficiently endowed the said Church both with honours and possessions; and the law temporal for trial of property of lands and goods was and is administered, adjudged, and executed by sundry judges and ministers as the other part of the said body politick called the Temporalty, and both these authorities and jurisdictions do confer together in the due administration of justice, the one to help the other.'

Nothing can be more distinct than these provisions. The Act is a legislative paraphrase of the memorable words, 'Render therefore unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and unto God the things that are God's.' The separate functions of the spiritualty and the temporalty are marked off from each other with a strong hand, and allotted unmistakeably to the charge of separate orders; only both were to be national. The foreign usurper was the common enemy of both. The charge so common in the mouths of Roman Catholic writers against this ancient Church, that she sold her inalienable spiritual character for State support and bar-

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tered her birthright for a mess of pottage, is absolutely contradicted by these Statutes. She did but concur in reclaiming for the Crown of the Realm the lost rights of every Christian sovereign, and for herself the invaded powers of her own Bishops from the grasp of the foreign Pontiff. There was no denial of this in admitting that every Court in the land—the Bishop's Court as much as that of the Barons of Exchequer—was the King's Court; for all jurisdiction in this secondary use of the term, spiritual as much as temporal, is the offspring of the nation's sovereignty. The spiritual power proper, which the Church has of Christ, is exerted over the conscience alone; spiritual censures can affect simply and exclusively spiritual rights. So soon as the Church finds need for Courts—for the power of administering oaths and of dealing with questions, the results of which affect the temporalties as well as the spiritualties of her flock—she must either usurp a power which He who was neither judge nor divider never gave to her, or she must receive them from the State, exercise them on fixed conditions, and with the admission that they are not her own powers, but powers given to her by the nation to supplement for the nation's good her inherent authority.

These were the very principles laid down in the English Statute-book at the time of the reformation of religion for the alliance which they were intended to cement between the Church and the nation of England. The Letter to the Bishop of London, published in 1850 by Mr. Gladstone, the title of which we have prefixed to this article, argues out this conclusion with all that remarkable fulness and force of combined logical and historical power which distinguishes everything spoken or written by its able author. It is thus that he sums up this great head of his argument:—

'The real question is this: when the Church assented to those great concessions which were embodied in our permanent law at the Reformation, had she adequate securities that the powers so conveyed would be exercised, upon the whole, with a due regard to the integrity of her faith, and of her office, which was and has ever been a part of that faith? I do not ask whether these securities were all on parchment or not—whether they were written or unwritten—whether they were in statute or in common law, or in fixed usage, or in the spirit of the constitution and in the habits of the people—I ask the one vital question, whether, whatever they were in form, they were in substance sufficient?

'The securities which the Church had were these: first, that the assembling of the Convocation was obviously necessary for the purposes of taxation; secondly, and mainly, that the very solemn and fundamental laws by which the jurisdiction of the see of Rome was cut off, assigned to the spiritualty of the realm the care of matters spiritual

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spiritual, as distinctly and formally as to the temporalty the care of matters temporal: and that it was an understood principle, and (as it long continued) a regular usage of the constitution, that ecclesiastical laws should be administered by ecclesiastical judges. These were the securities on which the Church relied, on which she had a right to rely, and on which, for a long series of years, her reliance was justified by the results.

'I shall now endeavour to support the representation which I have given of the legal doctrine concerning ecclesiastical jurisdiction by citations; and I shall refer chiefly to Lord Coke, because, as he was both a high prerogative lawyer, and of Erastian tendencies in regard to the Church, whatever can be proved from his mouth in her favour may be regarded as proven *à fortiori;* supporting, at the same time, my allegations as to the securities on which the Church warrantably relied, by reference to the statutes of the period.

'Lord Coke, then, appears to proceed most unequivocally upon these principles—and to proceed upon them, not as debateable matter, but as maxims placed beyond all doubt by the theory and practice of the constitution:—

'That all jurisdiction, as well ecclesiastical as temporal, proceeds from the Crown.*

'That all the laws of the realm are the King's laws.

'And all the courts of the kingdom the King's courts: and this whether their acts run in the King's name, or in the names of bishops, lords of manor, or other subjects.

'That the Church of England has no laws except such as are laws of the realm.

'That all the laws of the realm affecting the Church are likewise laws of the Church.

'That the 24 Hen. VIII. c. 12, is a great constitutional statute, distinctly marking out a province of ecclesiastical, and another province of civil, causes.

'That the laws ecclesiastical are for the settlement of "causes of the law divine, or of spiritual learning."†

'That the laws temporal are "for trial of property of lands and goods, and for the conservation of the people of this realm in unity and peace, without rapine or spoil."‡

'That the laws ecclesiastical are necessarily to be administered in ecclesiastical courts and by ecclesiastical judges;§ as the laws temporal are "administered, adjudged, and executed by sundry judges and ministers of the other part of the said body politic, called the temporalty; and both these authorities and jurisdictions do conjoin together in the due administration of justice, the one to help the other."‖

'That "the archbishops, bishops, and their officers, deans, and other ministers which have spiritual jurisdiction," are "the King's judges" for ecclesiastical purposes.¶

* See also Phillimore's Burn, vol. ii. p. 51.
† 24 Hen. VIII. c. 12.
‡ Ibid.
§ Cawdrey's Case, p. lxxvii.
‖ Quoted in the Institutes, vol. vi. part iv. ch. 74.
¶ Quoted in the Institutes, vol. vi. part iv. ch. 74

'That

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'That the Convocation of the Clergy is a court of which "the jurisdiction is to deal with heresies and schisms, and other mere spiritual and ecclesiastical causes;" and "therein they did proceed *juxta legem divinam et canones sanctæ ecclesiæ.*"

'That they did so before the Reformation, under the King's writ, often under his prohibition to meddle with civil matters; often, likewise, with his Commissioners present to take cognizance of all they might do; so that the statute 25 Hen. VIII. cap. 19, requiring the royal assent to canons, "is but declaratory of the old common law."*

'That the purpose of the Reformation statutes, as understood and solemnly expressed by their framers, was to vindicate and restore to the Crown the ancient jurisdiction which it had enjoyed in previous times; and which ancient jurisdiction extended over all ecclesiastical and spiritual causes.†

'With these principles Blackstone is in accordance; and in regard to heresy in particular, while he states that the crime might be more strictly defined, that nothing should be prosecuted as heretical until it has been so declared by proper authority, he also avows that, "under these restrictions, it seems necessary for the support of the national religion that the officers of the Church should have power to censure heretics."‡

'The jurisdiction of Convocation as a court for the trial of heresy was asserted in 1711 by the twelve judges and the law-officers of the Crown; and all of these, except four judges, considered this to be a jurisdiction over the persons as well as over the tenets of the offenders.§

'If such be the view of the expositors of the law, let us turn now to the law itself.

'The citations I shall make will be for the establishment mainly of these two positions:—

'First, that all which the civil power claimed, and consequently is entitled to claim, under the Reformation statutes, was the restoration of the ancient rights of the Crown.

'Secondly, that the administration of the ecclesiastical laws would, according to the terms, as well as the spirit, of those statutes, be placed in the hands of ecclesiastical judges.'‖

For the minute and careful examination of the Reformation Statutes, by which these conclusions are established, we must for the sake of brevity refer our readers to his own pages; but we will give in his own words his own statement of the whole case which he undertakes to prove, and undoubtedly succeeds in proving:—

'The questions then that I seek to examine will be as follows:—

'1. Did

* Quoted in the Institutes, vol. vi. part iv. ch. 74.

† These propositions are chiefly taken from the Institutes. Matter of the same nature will be found in the Report of Cawdrey's Case, particularly at pages xxvi, xxviii, xxxvi-ix, xlvii, l, lv-viii, lxii, lxxvi, lxxvii.

‡ Vol. iii. p. 49.

§ Opinion of the Judges, reprinted from Whiston. Parker, 1850.

‖ 'Letter to Bishop of London,' pp. 38, 39.

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'1. Did the Statutes of the Reformation involve the abandonment of the duty of the Church to be the guardian of her Faith?

'2. Is the present composition of the Appellate tribunal conformable either to reason or to the Statutes of the Reformation, and the spirit of the Constitution as expressed in them?

'3. Is the Royal Supremacy, according to the Constitution, any bar to the adjustment of the Appellate jurisdiction in such a manner as that it shall convey the sense of the Church in questions of doctrine?

'All these questions I humbly propose to answer in the negative, and so to answer them in conformity with what I understand to be the principles of our history and law.'—*

Here, then, was the 'status' which it was the object of the great statesmen of the reign of Elizabeth to establish between the Church and the Crown of England. It was one which vindicated abundantly at once the nationality of the English Church, its own inherent spiritual authority, the indefeasible rights and duties which flow from that authority, and its dutiful submission of all its persons and its Courts to God's great ordinance of the national sovereignty. There is not a tittle of evidence to show that as to appeals in matters spiritual there was any intention of going substantially further than the Church of France had done in her celebrated controversy for the maintenance of the Gallican liberties:—

'This is the principle,' says the Bishop of London,† 'which regulated the exercise of the imperial or royal supremacy in the *Appellatio tanquam ab abusu*, of which so much was written by the French lawyers and divines, and which is still a subject of discussion,—the *Appel comme d'abus*. The interference of the supreme civil power is limited, according to M. Lainé, as quoted by M. Dupin, in his *Manuel du Droit Ecclésiastique*, to—1. Excess of power in spiritual matters; 2. Violation of the laws and regulations of the kingdom and of the rights of citizens; and, 3. Outrage or violence in the exercise of ecclesiastical functions. But no right of interference has ever been claimed in the determination of purely spiritual questions.'

To the same effect speaks Mr. Gladstone:—‡

'It is, with a view to clear comprehension of the case, a question of the highest importance, What is this appellate jurisdiction of the Crown?

'It did not historically flow out of the doctrine of the supremacy. It was not established in terms affiliating it to such a parentage. On the contrary, it was established before the legal doctrine of the Reformation concerning the supremacy was announced by the law, and in terms demonstrating its much nearer relationship to a power well known to the canon law, thoroughly incorporated in the system of the Gallican Church—while there was a Gallican Church—and founded in the first necessities of the social order.

* 'Letter to Bishop of London,' pp. 6, 7.
† 'Speech,' p. 29.
‡ 'Letter,' p. 25.

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'The High Commission Court, not the Court of Appeal, was the genuine offspring of the statutory provisions concerning the supremacy, and it exercised an original as well as a final jurisdiction. It first appeared in the first year of Elizabeth.

'The course of appeal was determined by statutes of 1532 and 1533, while the statute declaring the King's headship was not passed till 1534; it was by that statute, and not before it, that all lawful corrective ecclesiastical jurisdiction was annexed or attached to the Crown.

'The statute of 1532, 24 Henry VIII. c. 12, provided * that certain appeals should not go to Rome, but should be from the archdeacon to the bishop, and from the bishop to the archbishop, in his court to be "definitively and finally ordered." †

'The Act of 1533, 25 Henry VIII. c. 19, extends these provisions to all ecclesiastical causes,‡ and then gives an appeal to the King in Chancery, with the remarkable expression that it is to be "for lack of justice" in the archbishop's court.§

'Now this appeal for lack of justice is very nearly a translation of the French *appel comme d'abus*. The expression is not employed by the statutes in giving the appeal to the bishop or archbishop, and can hardly have been introduced without a special meaning.

'I am far from presuming to assert that this appeal was identical with the *appel comme d'abus*. But it seems clear, on the other hand—1. That it was appointed in a sense distinct from that of the common and purely ecclesiastical appeal: 2. That the *appel comme d'abus* was by no means merely analogous to the power of prohibition exercised in our common law courts for the protection of civil rights. Van Espen says—

'"*Instituuntur appellationes ab abusu, cum adversus decreta conciliorum, receptas consuetudines, et jura regni aut jurisdictionem regiam, Judex Ecclesiasticus aliquid per abusum attentat; quod his verbis a Pragmaticis efferri solet; cum violantur Decreta, constitutiones regiæ, et Libertates Ecclesiæ Gallicanæ.*"' ‖

But nothing can be more unlike this than the practical working of the present Court of Appeal, especially upon the principles of administering the law which it now lays down.

Again we will quote the forcible words of the eloquent statesman who represents the University of Oxford:—

'The present composition,' he says, 'of the Court of Appeal offends against first principles. It takes away the function of advising the Crown upon matters of theology from those who are conversant with it, and commits it to those who are not. I speak here the language of the political sphere; a theologian might have justly said, it takes the function from those who had both a divine and a human title to its exercise, and gives it to those who never had the first, have but just got the last, and have got it nobody knows how.

'The transference, then, of these functions to the Court of Privy

* Sect. 4. † Sect. 5, 6. ‡ Sect. 3. § Sect. 4.

‖ 'Jus Eccl. Univ.' Part III. tit. x. cap. iv. sect. 30.

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Council is not progress, but retrogression and decay. The maxim overthrown and disregarded is not one antiquated and unfit for these times, but one deeply founded in the nature of things, and in right human and Divine. It being such a maxim, justly may we say, that the statute which thus tramples it in the mire is an unconstitutional statute.' *

'It is,' he says elsewhere, 'a plain and gross violation of the principle recited in the preamble of the 24th Henry VIII., that the spiritualty, according to the constitution of the realm of England, administered the law spiritual, as the temporalty administered the law temporal; the principle declared by Lord Coke, that the King administers his ecclesiastical laws by his ecclesiastical judges, a principle of universal application, but here of the most especial and vital application.' †

The necessity, let it be remembered, for urging this claim arises not from any merely theoretical adherence to principle, how important soever that principle may be, but from the sternest laws of practical requirement.

There is bred in the minds of men by study and practice a peculiar habit of thinking and judging, which makes the law with which they are conversant become almost a part of themselves. This legal flavour makes itself everywhere perceived. These habits are invaluable in their proper place: the passionless impartiality, the resolute sifting of evidence, the keen eye for a well-covered flaw in the most dexterously handled argument—all these make the glory of the judicial bench. But even these are the countersigns of certain fixed grooves along which alone long-practised minds will move. To require, therefore, such men to decide absolutely points of religious doctrine, which require for their proper comprehension the knowledge of a wholly different class of subjects, and for their decision the same habits of mind exercised and trained upon a wholly different model, is not the way to reach practically a just conclusion. It was well said by Lord Langdale,‡ in the very parallel case of requiring English Judges to give sentence in matters involving questions of foreign law, 'in such cases the Judge is not only without the usual and necessary assistance afforded by the accumulated knowledge and able suggestions contained in the arguments which are addressed to him, but he is constantly liable to be misled by the erroneous suggestions of analogies which arise in his own mind, and are pressed upon him on all sides.'

Again, in a country such as England, in which considerable latitude of opinion is allowed within the Church, and in which there exists a large number of religious sects all equally endowed

* 'Letter,' p. 80. † Ibid. p. 73.

‡ Lord Langdale, Case of Duchy of Bronté, quoted in 'Speech of Bishop of London,' p. 29.

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with political power, such a Court will be peculiarly swayed by secondary considerations, and will be sorely tempted to frame its decisions with a constant bias to colour them, as far as is possible, with the prevailing hue of the religious parties which are the most powerful at the time. The influence even of those who are without the Church will press unduly upon such a tribunal, and the dissenters from the Church's doctrine will, it may be unawares, but almost certainly, have their weight too in settling the Church's doctrine. For the pretext that doctrine in the long run is not settled by it is a judicial fallacy too flimsy to deceive any one who does not wish to be deceived. The falsehood of this assumption and the grave consequences which must result from acquiescing in it cannot be better stated than it is by Mr. Gladstone:—

'But neither can it be admitted that if the justification of the reformers is to rest on such grounds as the foregoing, their reputation can owe thanks to those who would now persuade the Church to acquiesce in a disgraceful servitude, and to surrender to the organs of the secular power the solemn charge which she has received from Christ, to feed His sheep and His lambs; for the real feeder of those sheep, and those lambs, is the Power that determines the doctrine with which they shall be fed, whether that determination shall profess to be drawn straight from the depths of the mine of revealed truth, or whether it shall assume the more dangerous and seductive title of construction only; of a licence of construction which disclaims the creation, the declaration, or the decision of doctrine, but which simultaneously with that disclaimer has marked out for itself a range of discretion which has already enabled it to cancel all binding power in one of the articles of the faith, and will hereafter as certainly enable it to cancel the binding power of all those which the first fell swoop has failed to touch.' *

To the reform, then, of this tribunal the first attention of all who care to remedy these threatening evils should be at once directed. Nor need there be any insurmountable difficulty in applying the remedy, if the Church be not unreasonable in her demands, or the State unnecessarily jealous in its grants. The best solution for the difficulty we have yet seen seems to be such a modification of the plan proposed by the Bishop of London in 1850, as was suggested by the Earl of Derby in one of the ablest, most effective, and most statesmanlike speeches † which even he ever delivered. That plan proposed in effect to leave to the Judicial Committee, only without the fallacious and bewildering presence of the Prelates who at present sit on it, the settlement of all questions of law and of fact, and the ulti-

* 'Letter,' p. 60.

† 'Parliamentary Debates,' Third Series, vol. cviii. pp. 351, 1389 (1850); vol. li. p. 648 (1850).

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mate and unrestricted power of advising the Crown as to the sentence to be given in every case; providing only, that, where any matter of the Church's doctrine came incidentally in question, the Court should frame a case and send it to the Bishops of the Church for their written opinion of what on the matter in question the teaching of the Church of England is. This, as the Bishop (Blomfield) of London ably showed, would be in strict analogy with other processes of our courts of law. Mr. Gladstone's judgment* on this proposal is worthy of all consideration. The Church

'would still in fact have her causes decided by the civil tribunals; a dangerous case, it must be owned, in times like these, when the temper of the state as such by an inevitable necessity becomes less and less congenial to the spirit of her supreme law that changes not. We must not conceal from ourselves that a great influence would be placed in the hands of those who would preside over the general conduct of the cause; would determine what issues should be referred, and in what form of words; would shape every question under the influence of a spirit the least favourable to definite belief, that is to dogma; and would ask again and again until they got the answer nearest their views of which the case admitted. If the amendment suggested by Lord Stanley (Derby) were embodied in the measure, the power of the Judicial Committee would remain precisely as it is; but for one I should attach so much moral weight to the deliberate judgment of the Bishops that I should greatly scruple to refuse the Bill with that amendment.'

Those who would study this question in its various bearings cannot do better than read the work of Mr. Joyce, to which we have referred at the head of this article. It is clear, comprehensive, and short: three master merits, especially in these occupied days; and its possession of these merits probably won it the distinction of being by permission dedicated to the Earl of Derby. It will be well for the Church of England and the cause of truth, if this permission should be found to imply further, that the powers of that penetrative mind have been again directed practically to this subject. Mr. Joyce's able summary of the debate above referred to, will show, as we have already said, that it is not the first time that Lord Derby has attended closely to it:—

'The bill, as now prepared, was introduced into the House of Lords on the 3rd of June, 1850, and the memorable debate which ensued on that occasion testifies to the deep sense of the necessity for some change which was then entertained by our most eminent divines and most honoured statesmen. The right reverend promoter of the Bill, when speaking of the acceptance or rejection of measures for relief, said:—"My Lords. I am not apt to indulge overstrained or extravagant feelings of hope or fear, but I do assure your Lordships, in the words

* 'Letter,' p. 83.

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of truth and soberness, that I believe it to be impossible to over-rate the momentous consequences of the issues which hang upon that alternative. . . . . It is enough to say that they involve not only the peace but the integrity of the Church of this empire." To the same effect the Bishop of Oxford spoke, and having drawn attention to the important petitions presented in favour of an alteration in the law, concluded an eloquent appeal by addressing this exhortation to the opponents of the measure:—"Do not alienate from you as a party the whole body of the English Church, by showing them that at your hands they must not look even for justice. Deal more liberally and justly with her. Listen to her complaints; do not rudely repulse her when she comes to you for redress; and seeing her value her purity of doctrine and teaching more than earthly possessions, hasten to remedy her wrongs." That a sense of the grievance under which the Church labours was by no means confined to those of the sacred order, the support given to this measure by some of the leading lay Peers in the House of Lords on that occasion bears conspicuous testimony. The present Earl of Derby added all the weight of his great authority to the claim for relief. "It was notorious," his Lordship said, "that a great and practical evil existed. That great evil was this, that at this moment the Church of England was placed in a position more disadvantageous than any other religious body on the face of the globe. . . . . Nothing was more certain than that at the time of reformation it was intended to confirm to the Church the fullest powers of authoritatively declaring her own doctrines." And then, after quoting the Royal Declaration, now prefixed to the Thirty-nine Articles, he added, —"It was impossible that words could be more clear to show that it was intended that a spiritual body under the authority of the Crown should, from time to time, not introduce new innovations or fresh arguments, but should explain and expound the doctrine and teaching of the Church of England, and that such explanations should be entrusted not to all, but to spiritual persons only." Lord Derby also added in case the House of Lords "should determine to apply no remedy, should declare that they would do nothing to remedy the grievance of which churchmen loudly and justly complained, that they would run the risk of separating from the communion of the Church, so fettered and controlled by the State, a number of its ablest and most devoted members." And in conclusion his Lordship, stigmatising the existing state of the law as "a great and grievous evil," declared his conviction "that it would be a matter of satisfaction to the great body of Churchmen in this country if they knew that upon any question raised they had an opportunity of obtaining—not the direction of the judges, not the direction of the legislature, but for their own guidance as dutiful members and sons of the Church the authoritative declaration of the united heads of the Church in matters affecting doctrine."

'Lord Redesdale, Lord Lyttelton, and the late Duke of Cambridge also spoke in favour of redressing the grievance which the Bishop of London's Bill was meant to remedy, and expressed their determination to support it. But not only was this testimony to the desirableness of a change in the law borne by the supporters of the bill, its opponents

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nents, while disapproving of some of its provisions, frankly acknowledged the need of amendment in the present system. Lord Brougham, even while opposing the measure as it stood, expressed his desire that some spiritual persons should be appointed to advise the Judicial Committee in trying appeals on matters of faith. "He spoke," were his words, "as a member of the Judicial Committee over which he had presided for seventeen years, and he declared that in some cases he required the aid of a spiritual body in forming his judgment."'

The main objection taken to the course thus highly recommended has been that such 'opinions' would, as glosses upon them, in time tend to supersede the fixed formularies of the Church. How such an argument can be maintained by the upholders of the present system, it is difficult to see. For if the enunciations of such bare opinions, which in themselves could have no legal force, would have this tendency, even when, as might often be the case, they were incidentally corrected by the actual judgment of the Court, how far more effectively must the present system be setting the formularies aside by a succession of binding decisions! So that the question really resolves itself into this—Which is the best guarantee for the Church's maintaining the purity of the ancient faith?—That the Articles of the Faith should be from time to time expounded by the Bishops, whose special vocation it is to expound them, who have been trained in the learning and formularies of the Church, and who have been habituated in their practice; or by lawyers, whose whole forensic habits are formed upon an alien modulus, who are little acquainted with its distinctive doctrines, ignorant of its specific terms, and for the most part utterly unskilled in the peculiar history and meaning of even its most critical creeds and formularies? How the ancient law and custom of England would settle such a question has been shown before. In taking our stand upon it, we are the defenders, and our opponents are the assailants, of the old English rule. We have with us Coke and Blackstone and the old race of the giants of our constitution against the accidental innovations and the puny authorities of yesterday. We do not always in these pages accept the advice of Mr. Gladstone; but it is here indeed to the point:—

'Laws ecclesiastical by ecclesiastical judges, let this be her principle; it plants her on the ground of ancient times, of the Reformation, of our continuous history, of reason and of right. The utmost moderation in the application of the principle, let this be her temper, and then her case will be strong in the face of God and man, and, come what may, she will conquer.' *

The especial object of this alteration of the Court of final appeal would be twofold. First, it would remove from it the

* 'Letter,' p. 82.

pseudo-ecclesiastical

pseudo-ecclesiastical character which now attaches to it. Relieved of the presence of the Prelates, it would be in appearance and profession a lay tribunal; sitting to right a subject who complained to his Sovereign of wrong done to him in the Court of the Archbishop, and examining only incidentally and obiter the action of that Court, to see that it had not exceeded its jurisdiction, or decided contrary to its own rules. Acting thus it would be, in fact, holding the plea of the old *Appel comme d'Abus*, and could not justly be objected to by any one as infringing, with an Erastian bias, on the spiritual rights of the Church. This first alteration would be no small gain. But another remains behind, the benefit of which is incalculable. The judgment delivered by the spiritualty upon the point of doctrine would tend greatly to protect the deposit of the faith, whatever might be the decision of the Court as to the accused person. Thus in this very instance the escape of the acquitted persons would be felt by no one to endanger the faith of the Church, if the Records of the Court had shown side by side with their escape a deliberate declaration of the Episcopate upon the teaching of the Church of England as to the inspiration of the Scripture and the endurance of the punishment of the wicked.

This alteration, then, of the law appears to combine more advantages than any other which has as yet been proposed. But, though it seems the best, the question is still open how, with least danger, the desired result may be obtained? Some would find the remedy, not in this separation of the power of ruling doctrine and deciding causes, but in making the Supreme Court itself a distinctly spiritual body. One mode suggested for effecting this is by constituting the Bishops of the Church the Supreme Court, duly furnishing them with legal assessors. Others have argued in favour of adding to the existing Court so large an infusion of spiritual persons as should practically restore the constitution of the tribunal to that of the Court of Delegates, purified from the great abuses of the uncertainty as to the persons and standing of the Judges, which, in fact, destroyed, first the authority, and then the existence of that Court. To both of these proposals we see objections which do not apply to the Court constituted as above proposed. We do not, for example, see how appeals from the Irish branch of the United Church could be dealt with on this latter plan. Yet either of these latter proposals would give us a Court freer from objections than it exists as at present constituted. Of this only we are convinced, that we cannot remain as we are; and on behalf of the Church of England we claim, with all the urgency of men striving for the very life of that ancient truth which should be sought by all, that the present system should be swept away,

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and one which reason can justify be adopted in its stead. There is, it is true, a wholly different mode in which to a great extent the same result may be obtained, and that is, the full development of that restored power of legislative action which, to say the least, we have seen happily commenced. It is the abeyance of this which makes defective laws and incompetent tribunals absolutely intolerable evils:—

'So long as a legislative power is in a state of activity, it may securely entrust to the executive the ordinary control of the administration of justice; and if any serious errors are committed, there are early opportunities of correction.

'But when the legislative organ has been permanently suspended, every other power in the body passes gradually into a false position. The eye of the supreme supervision is closed; a great void, in the first instance, is created. Of the power taken from its lawful owner, much remains waste; part passes to the civil legislature, part becomes licence in the hands of private persons, part falls to the executive governors, and lastly, part to judges, who, under such circumstances, tend more or less, and quite independently of faulty intention in themselves, to become makers rather than interpreters, and thus masters rather than servants, of the law.'*

If it were ruled by the highest temporal courts that the formularies of the Wesleyan body failed to express what they intended to require of their office-holders, half as completely as by the recent judgment it has been decided that the Thirty-nine Articles have failed to express the meaning of the Church, the very next annual Conference would by fresh explications right the wrong. Why should the Church be governed by another law? No; if novel heresies require new articles of the faith, let her break her too long tongue-tied dumbness in the effort to save a life far dearer than even that of a kingly father.

One objection there is, against which all who would save this precious deposit must be forearmed. In whatever direction the movement for redress is made, it is almost sure to awaken from some quarter or other the declaration that the attempt is an invasion of the Queen's supremacy. Nothing is more ready than this unreasonable cry in certain mouths. Dean Goode thinks it might injure him to sign the Oxford Declaration, and forthwith he lifts up his voice for the injured rights of Royalty, and finds two lawyers sufficiently unwise to put their names to the opinion he desires. Messrs. Stephens and Traill pronounce with all due solemnity that such a declaration tends to impeach the Queen's supremacy. This case and opinion are a good specimen of the common worth of that objection, which for the time must be discredited by the crushing rejoinder which it has provoked

* 'Letter,' p. 66.

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under the hands of two of our very soundest lawyers, Sir Roundell Palmer and Sir Hugh Cairns.

But there are abler men than the Dean of Ripon, and wiser heads than those of his counsel, who are ready to use the same argument whenever it will avail to impede the Church in the recovery of her rights. There are men of great political liberality who seem to repay themselves for their abhorrence of any stretch of prerogative in things temporal by encouraging it to the utmost when applied to the spiritualty of the realm. There are men who avow their belief that a national church is in the best state when unbridled opinion flourishes without restraint within her, and the hand of the State is heaviest on her from without.

For the due estimate of all these pleas of injury and damage to the supremacy, it is well ever to remember what it really is. It is no uncertain arbitrary privilegium of the Crown, as these high prerogative lawyers would paint it: it is the creature of the law, the supreme majesty of which in our free land is as much above the prerogative of the prince as it is above the clamours of the multitude. In fact, the Sovereign is supreme in matters ecclesiastical, exactly as he is in matters temporal; with that just, equal, defined, and therefore powerful supremacy which the law assigns to his high office. There is no mysterious, shadowy right of supremacy in the English Crown as to things spiritual against which faithful subjects may be unawares rebelling; whilst they obey the decisions of the Queen's Courts they are in no danger of invading her supremacy, though they seek to improve their action, or express their disapprobation either of the reasoning by which those courts may reach their decisions, or of the decisions themselves, provided only that they dutifully submit themselves to them.

They who claim for the supremacy of the Crown any higher authority than this are not, indeed, its true supporters. Were it the indefinite oppressive tyranny which they love to represent it to be, it would soon find its way to that limbo of extinguished powers in which the Star Chamber and the Court of High Commission slumber the sleep which knows not an awakening. Would it long be tolerated in our free England that whilst French Protestants can purify their communion from the errors of an unsound teacher like Monsieur Coquerel, jun., the Church of England should be forced to endure the presence of false teachers of more dangerous hue because the attempt to provide a Court which could condemn these errors might haply militate against what these men call the Queen's supremacy, but which as they dream of it is nothing better than an arbitrary relic of the most despotic times? Of the supremacy properly understood there is no jealousy in any quarter. On the contrary, it is

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duly and even affectionately valued; it is the countersign of our ancient nationality. It is a trophy of our victory over the great spiritual usurper: it is the witness for our episcopate against the intrusive claims of foreign pontiffs: it is the safeguard of our common rights and liberties. Only let not its honoured name be quoted to shelter intolerable wrongs, or prevent that practical removal of evils the habit of removing which is the glory of our national character. The Royal supremacy will not be threatened, but secured, by such an amendment of our Court of Higher Appeal as would, in full harmony with our great Reformation statutes, remove the present fever of alarm by giving good security that for the future the ancient faith would not be gainsaid with impunity by clergy of the Established Church. Such a change would tend to establish on a surer foundation, with an increased peacefulness, that marvellous power of expansion to meet the wants of our population which our Church is now on every side exhibiting. She needs but this assurance of her highest security to labour on with peaceful quietness and increasing zeal. But the State will palsy all her powers for its own service if in doctrine or in discipline it breaks in on the fixed rule of her inward life. There is a truth deeper than the great lawyer probably himself appreciated, in the words of Lord Coke, with which we will conclude:—

'And certain it is, that this kingdom hath been best governed, and peace and quiet preserved, when both parties, that is, when the justices of the temporal courts and the ecclesiastical judges have kept themselves within their proper jurisdiction, without encroaching or usurping one upon another; and where such encroachments or usurpations have been made, they have been the seeds of great trouble and inconvenience.' *

* Coke, 'Fourth Inst.' ch. 74.

NOTE ON THE ARTICLE ON 'ROME IN THE MIDDLE AGES,' p. 231.

It appears from the 'Ecclesiologist' for April, 1864 (p. 61), that the time during which Beno de Rapiza's name occurs in the registers of the Lateran was 'from A.D. 1080 until after A.D. 1105.' The theory which we have proposed as to the Church of St. Clement, appears, therefore, to satisfy all the circumstances of the case.

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For 66,482 square miles, stated as the area of Mexico, *read* 106,067 square leagues, as given in a subsequent page.

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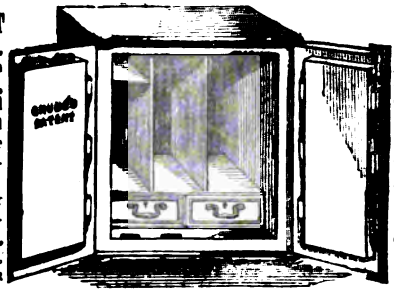

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12 Table Spoons	1 13 0	2 4 0	2 10 0	2 15 0
12 Dessert Forks	1 4 0	1 12 0	1 15 0	1 17 0
12 Dessert Spoons	1 4 0	1 12 0	1 15 0	1 17 0
12 Tea Spoons	0 16 0	1 2 0	1 5 0	1 7 0
6 Egg Spoons, Gilt Bowls	0 10 0	0 13 6	0 15 0	0 15 0
2 Sauce Ladles	0 6 0	0 8 0	0 9 0	0 9 6
1 Gravy Spoon	0 6 6	0 10 0	0 11 0	1 12 0
2 Salt Spoons, Gilt Bowls	0 3 4	0 4 6	0 5 0	0 5 0
1 Mustard Spoon, Gilt Bowl	0 1 8	0 2 3	0 2 6	0 2 6
1 Pair of Sugar Tongs	0 2 6	0 3 6	0 4 0	0 4 6
1 Pair of Fish Carvers	1 4 0	1 7 6	1 10 0	1 12 0
1 Butter Knife	0 2 6	0 5 6	0 6 0	0 7 0
1 Soup Ladle	0 10 0	0 17 0	0 17 0	1 0 0
1 Sugar Sifter	0 3 3	0 4 6	0 5 0	0 5 6
Total	9 19 9	13 10 3	14 19 6	16 4 0

Any article to be had singly at the same prices. An oak chest to contain the above, and a relative number of Knives, &c., £2 15s. Tea and Coffee Sets, Dish Covers, and Corner Dishes, Cruet and Liqueur Frames, &c., at proportionate prices. All kinds of Re-plating done by the patent process.

CUTLERY, WARRANTED.

The most varied assortment of TABLE CUTLERY in the world, all warranted, is on sale at WILLIAM S. BURTON'S, at prices that are remunerative only because of the largeness of the sales.

Ivory Handles.	Table Knives per Dozen.	Dessert Knives per Dozen.	Carvers per Pair.
	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
3¼-inch ivory handles	12 6	10 0	4 3
3¾-inch fine ivory handles	15 0	11 6	4 3
4-inch ivory balance handles	18 0	14 0	4 6
4-inch fine ivory handles	4 0	17 0	7 3
4-inch finest African ivory handles	32 0	26 0	11 0
Ditto, with silver ferules	40 0	33 0	12 6
Ditto, carved handles, silver ferules	50 0	43 0	17 6
Nickel electro-silver handles, any pattern	25 0	19 0	17 6
Silver handles of any pattern	84 0	54 0	21 0
Bone and Horn Handles.—Knives and Forks per dozen.			
White bone handles	11 0	8 6	2 6
Ditto, balance handles	21 0	17 0	4 6
Black horn rimmed shoulders	17 0	14 0	4 0
Ditto, very strong riveted handles	12 0	9 0	3 0

The largest stock in existence of plated Dessert Knives and Forks, in cases and otherwise, and of the new plated Fish Carvers.

WILLIAM S. BURTON,

General Furnishing Ironmonger by Appointment to H.R.H. the Prince of Wales,

SENDS A CATALOGUE GRATIS AND POST-PAID.

It contains upwards of 500 illustrations of his illimited stock of sterling silver and electro-plate, nickel silver, and Britannia metal goods, dish covers, hot-water dishes, stoves, fenders, marble chimneypieces, kitchen ranges, lamps, gaseliers, tea trays, urns, and kettles, clocks, table cutlery, baths, toilet ware, turnery, iron and brass bedsteads, bedding, bed-room cabinet furniture, &c., with lists of prices, and plans of the

TWENTY LARGE SHOW-ROOMS,

At 39, Oxford Street, W.; 1, 1a, 2, 3, and 4, Newman Street; 4, 5, and 6, Perry's Place; and 1, Newman Yard, London.

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